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THE LIFE

OF

JOHN WILSON, D.D. F.R.S.

FOR FIFTY YEARS PHILANTHROPIST AND SCHOLAR IN THE EAST

BY GEORGE SMITH, LL.D.

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Οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες οὗτοι καὶ ἐνθάδε πάρεισιν.

WITH PORTRAIT AND ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

1878

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This Volume is Dedicated

TO THE OLD AND TO THE NEW:

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, LORD LAWRENCE, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., D.C.L.,

LAST AND GREATEST OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

AS HIS BROTHER HENRY WAS OF ITS SOLDIERS;

AND TO

CHARLES U. AITCHISON, C.S.I., LL.D.,

CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF BRITISH BURMAH;

FOREMOST IN EVERY SENSE OF THE COMPETITION CIVILIANS UNDER

THE CROWN.

PREFACE.

WHEN, a year ago, I was asked by his son to go over the voluminous papers and write the life of Dr. Wilson of Bombay, I at once sacrificed other engagements to the duty. As Editor of the *Calcutta Review* for some time before the Mutiny of 1857, and as Editor of *The Friend of India* and Correspondent of *The Times* for many years after it, I was called to observe and occasionally to discuss the career of the Philanthropist and Scholar of Western India. For forty-seven years as a public man and a missionary he worked, he wrote, he spoke, and in countless ways he joyfully toiled for the people of India. While viceroys and governors, officials and merchants, scholars and travellers, succeeded each other and passed away all too rapidly, he remained a permanent living force, a mediator between the natives and the governing class, an interpreter of the varied Asiatic races, creeds, and longings, to their alien but benevolent rulers. Nor was his work for his own countrymen less remarkable, in its degree, than his life of self-sacrifice for Hindoos and Muhammadans, Parsees and Jews, outcastes and aborigines, and his building up of the indigenous Church of India. His influence maintained an English standard of morality and manners in society, while he was the centre of a select group of administrators, not confined to Bombay, like Sir Donald M'Leod, to mention only the dead. As an Orientalist and

scholar, the power of his memory was only less remarkable than the ardour of his industry; his linguistic instinct was regulated by the philosophy with which his native country is identified, and all were directed by the loftiest motive and the purest passion that can inflame the breast. Wealth and honours he put from him, save when he could make them also ministers in the work of humanity. From Central India to Central Africa, and from Cabul to Comorin, there are thousands who call John Wilson blessed. His hundreds of educated converts and catechumens are the seed of the Church of Western India. Every missionary and student of India Missions must sit at his feet.

From 1864, when I first visited Bombay, to his death at the close of 1875, I learned to know the man as well as his work. But he cannot be so well reproduced on the cold page, for his own writings do not reflect the charm of his talk, which delighted generations of friends, from Sir John Malcolm to Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook, Sir Bartle Frere and Mr. Grant Duff. My aim is that this volume may supply the materials, at least, from which his Country and the Church Catholic, oriental scholars, and the princes and educated natives of India, shall not only see what manner of man he was but be stimulated by his rare example. I hope also that the sketches of the other good and great men who worked for a time by his side, may not be without interest; and that, still more, it may be seen how the British Government is rising to the height of our national responsibility for the good of the millions of Southern Asia, and of the neighbouring Malay, Chinese, Tatar, Persian, Arab, Abyssinian, and Negro peoples.

This is an English book, and therefore, though it occasionally treats purely scholarly questions, the English vowels are used to transliterate oriental names and terms. Save in occasional extracts which demand the preservation of the original spelling, and in the name which I would fain have printed "Boodhist," hardly an Asiatic word or phrase will be found which is not so rendered as to be capable of correct pronunciation, and of being easily understood. Scholars who write for scholars only, do well to follow the Indian and European vowel sounds. Scholars, officials, and all who desire the English reader to be attracted to, instead of being repelled from, the study of India and the East, will use English as uniformly as ineradicable custom permits.

Besides the acknowledgments made in the course of the narrative, I have to thank for their assistance his Excellency Sir Richard Temple, Bart., who, as the present Governor of Bombay, instructed the departments to supply copies of some of Dr. Wilson's official correspondence; Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who, as Director of Public Instruction for some years, was closely associated with Dr. Wilson; the third Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart.; the Revs. Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee and R. Stothert, M.A.; Dr. Birdwood, C.S.I., and Dr. R. Rost, of the India Office; Hugh Miller, M.D., Esq. of Broomfield, Helensburgh; W. P. Jervis, Esq. of Turin; Professors Charteris and Eggeling; and Professor Weber of Berlin, who has communicated to me, through Mr. John Muir, D.C.L., C.I.E., his very high estimate of the scientific pursuits of Dr. Wilson as an Orientalist who subordinated scholarly reputation to missionary ends. Only the long frontier war, and

the other cares of his office as Governor of Cape Colony, have prevented his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere from contributing reminiscences of his lifelong friend.

As this volume has passed through the press death has removed these contemporaries and correspondents of Dr. Wilson—the Rev. John Cooper, his early colleague; Dr. Lang, of Sydney; M. Garcin de Tassy, of Paris; Professor Westergaard, of Copenhagen; and Mr. George Thompson.

SERAMPORE HOUSE, MERCHISTON,
EDINBURGH, 19*th October* 1878.

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CHAPTER I.

1804-1828.

HOME—SCHOOL—UNIVERSITY—VOYAGE TO BOMBAY.

Lauder and Lauderdale—The Border and the Men it has sent to India—The Wilsons of Lauder—The Burgh Common and the Big Farms—John Wilson, "The Priest"—Memories of Waterloo—Dr. James Fairbairn on Schoolboy days and the Dawn of Evangelicalism—John Wilson, Schoolmaster and Tutor—Early Indian and Bombay Influences—The Arts Course at Edinburgh University—The Theological Professors—Rebellion of the Divinity Students—Founds the University Missionary Society—Earliest Publications—Ordained—The Bayne Sisters—Marriage—The Latest of the East India Company's Passports—First view of Cape Comorin and Western India—Arrives at Bombay.

" Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe!
Thou Soul, that art the eternity of thought
And giv'st to forms and images a breath
And everlasting motion, not in vain
By day or star-light thus from my first dawn
Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
The passions that build up our human soul;
Not with the mean and vulgar works of man;
But with high objects, with enduring things,
With life and nature; purifying thus
The elements of feeling and of thought,
And sanctifying by such discipline
Both pain and fear,—until we recognise
A grandeur in the beatings of the heart."

WORDSWORTH in *The Prelude.*

"Audieram enim ego, adhuc puer, de vita eterna nobis promissa per humilitatem Domini Dei nostri descendentis ad superbiam nostram; et signabar jam signo crucis Ejus, et condiebar Ejus sale, jam inde ab utero matris meæ quae multum speravit in Te."—S. AUR. AUGUSTINI *Confessio.*

LIFE OF JOHN WILSON, D.D.

CHAPTER I.

At a point some twenty-five miles to the south-east of the city of Edinburgh, the three counties of Edinburgh, Berwick, and Roxburgh meet. The spot is the summit of Lauder Hill, which rises between the railway station of Stow and the royal burgh of Lauder, chief of all the district of Lauderdale. As we stand on the ancient road, now grass-grown, we survey perhaps the widest and most quietly beautiful scene that the Scottish Border can present. From the Lammermoor to the Cheviot Hills, with the rounded Eildons sprouting at their base, the breadth of the two border counties, the Merse or march of Berwick and the fells of Roxburgh, are spread out before us. Distant Teviot and near Tweed roll down to the North Sea, watering a land of more historic renown than any other part of the too long disunited Kingdom. Behind we have left Gala Water, with its memories of legend and of song; before us, half hidden by the hill on which we stand, is the Leader which gives its name to Lauderdale. For more than twenty miles the stream flows on from the Lammermoors till it mingles its waters with the Tweed below Melrose Abbey. Even Scotland presents few valleys so broad, so fertile, as this Lauder dale throughout its long extent. Monk and warrior early chose it for their own, from Dryburgh Abbey where Sir Walter Scott lies, and Erceldoune or Earlston where Thomas

the Rhymer sang his prophecies, to Thirlestane Castle where the Maitlands of Lauderdale still pleasantly perpetuate a house well known in Scottish history. Here it was, along the great highway, from the marshalling-ground of the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh to the fords of the Tweed and the field of Flodden, that the Edwards led their invading armies, and the Stewarts their avenging forces; while noble and yeoman on both sides the marches fought for their own hand. Old Thirlestane, near whose ruins the Leader now flows so gently, was long the tower from which "Maitland, with his auld grey beard," whom Gawan Douglas thought worthy of a place in his allegory of the "Palace of Honour," beat back the English. The ballad of "Auld Maitland," as taken down from the lips of Jane Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd's mother, who had learned it from a blind man of ninety, deserves all the enthusiasm Sir Walter Scott expresses for it. But even finer to the son of the Border is the more modern song of "Leader Haughs and Yarrow," with its quaint poetic catalogue of names and places sweeter to the natives of Lauderdale and Selkirk than those of Homer or of Milton. The old minstrel sighs at the close for the glory that is departed, for he wrote doubtless in the evil days just after the duke built the present castle in 1674—

"Sing Erlington and Cowdenknowes,
Where Humes had ance commanding;
And Drygrange with the milk-white yowes
'Twixt Tweed and Leader standing:
The bird that flees through Redpath trees
And Gladswood banks ilk morrow,
May chaunt and sing sweet Leader Haughs
And bonnie howms of Yarrow.

"But minstrel Burne cannot assuage
His grief, while life endureth,
To see the changes of his age
Which fleeting time procureth;

For mony a place stands in hard case,
Where blythe folk kend nae sorrow,
With Humes that dwelt on Leader-side
And Scotts that dwelt on Yarrow."

It was at Lauder, too, in the days of the Third James, that Archibald Douglas "belled the cat," hanging before his sovereign's eyes five of the low favourites who misled the royal youth. Nor should it be overlooked that the minister of Lauder, inducted in 1638, was James Guthrie, the Covenanter whom Lauderdale martyred along with the Marquis of Argyll, the Earl of Tweeddale alone pleading for the milder sentence of banishment. But modern times have brought more peaceful associations. Except, perhaps, the Highland Inverness-shire, no part of Scotland has been so fruitful a nursery of heroes for the civilisation, if not the conquest of our Indian Empire. Tweedside and its many dales have, in the last century, sent forth Kers and Elliots, Douglases and Riddells, Scotts and Walkers, Malcolms and Grays, Napiers and Murrays to the noblest work any country has ever done for humanity. To a governor-general like Lord Minto, a statesman like Sir John Malcolm, a scholar and poet like Dr. Leyden, and an economist like James Wilson, we have now to add the Christian missionary John Wilson. He was as great a scholar and as benevolent a philanthropist as the best of them, or as all of them together; and he was a more potent force than they, because he gave himself to the people of India for a life of continuous service, covering nearly half a century, and because that service was inspired and fed every hour by the highest of all motives, the purest of all forms of self-sacrifice.

John Wilson was born in the Berwickshire burgh of Lauder on the 11th day of December 1804. He was the eldest of seven children, four brothers and three sisters, most of whom still survive. He came of a long-lived stock of small proprietors and farmers who for two hundred years inhabited

the thatched, but now enlarged, house in the "Row" of the town in which he first saw the light. His great-grandfather reached the age of ninety-eight, his grandfather lived to be eighty-eight, his father and mother each died at eighty-two. Physically, he thus inherited a constitution of singular elasticity and power of endurance, under the frequent hardship of toilsome journeys and malarious disease in the jungles of Western India, before British railways, or even roads, had opened them up. His father, Andrew Wilson, was for more than forty years a councillor of the burgh, and was an elder in the parish kirk. His mother, Janet Hunter, the eldest of a family of thirteen most of whom lived to a good old age, was a woman of great force of character. This, added to the kindly unselfishness which marked her eldest son also, caused her to be in constant request by her neighbours in times of sickness and trouble. Father and mother combined in their rearing the economic conditions of the surrounding district. Lauderdale, to the east of the Leader, is a district of large farms, yielding an average rental of a thousand a year and upwards, even in those days, and worked in the very best style of the *grande culture*. Of James Hunter, the leaseholder of one of the most extensive of these, John Wilson's mother was the eldest daughter. To the west of the stream lie the town and its unusually wide commonage, covering at the present time 1700 acres, but doubtless larger a century ago. The land is owned by the burgesses, and a very considerable share of it had always been possessed by the Wilsons of the "Row." The old conditions are only now beginning to give place to the same influences which have made the high farming of the Lothians and the Merse famous in the history of agriculture. At last some of the "portioners" have combined to work the common land by the steam plough on a large scale. Yet, till this present year, the greater part of the burgh lands has been little more than fine pasture slopes,

to which the cattle have been led daily, under a common herdsman. Of such a stock, and out of the very heart of farmer-life, sprang the thoughtful scholar, the unwearied preacher, the distinguished philanthropist of Bombay.

No love had he, though the eldest of four sons, for the doubly ancestral and honourable calling. From the womb he had a higher vocation. Had he become the apostle of a superstitious mysticism, like Gooroo Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh dissent from Hindooism, the same stories might have been told of the great Christian Gooroo. For Nanuk, too, was the son of the chief "portioner" of the common of a village near Lahore, and he failed to keep his father's buffaloes from the cultivated fields. Nanuk never played like other children, so that the Hindoos said, "Some god is in him." On the second of Andrew Wilson's sons fell the duty of helping in the farm, and of driving the cattle to the nearest fair of St. Boswell's. From infancy John revealed himself as meant for a very different lot. When a baby he almost alarmed his mother by speaking before he could walk, and with an intelligence unprecedented in the experience of the neighbours. So the Mussulman villagers had said of Nanuk, "A holy man of God has been born!" As he grew up John Wilson was to his schoolfellows "the priest," by which name he was always known among them. His early developed tendencies brought him into trouble. On one occasion the boy was found preaching from a hollow tree behind Thirlestane Castle to the people who were sauntering home on the Sacrament Sunday evening, and was chastised for what seemed to his parents an offence. The secret of his life was not one which mere heredity may explain, though that too will find data in it. It is thus stated by himself in a "diary of religious experience" which he began to write on his twentieth birthday, but did not continue beyond his departure for India :—"When about the age of three years, I

was put to sleep in the same bed with my aged grandfather by my father's side. He was the first person, if I remember rightly, who communicated to me any knowledge about God and my soul. I remember well the effect his instructions, by the blessing of God, produced upon my mind: the impressions which were then conveyed to me have never been wholly removed from me. I can never forget the fervour with which he engaged in his evening private devotions, and the feeling with which at such times he repeated the twenty-third Psalm, especially the concluding verse—

'Goodness and mercy all my life
Shall surely follow me,
And in God's house for evermore
My dwelling-place shall be.'

"I was very early under conviction of sin, and I trust that the Lord at an early period of my life took a saving dealing with my soul. When about the age of four years I was sent to a school in Lauder taught by Mr. George Murray, where I continued about the space of one year. I then went to the parish school taught by Mr. Alexander Paterson, where, under Mr. Paterson's instructions, I made remarkable progress." It was an early and it became a fruitful consecration; even as that of the prophet of Naioth and the statesman of Ramah.

John Wilson proved to be as fortunate in his teacher and in his companions as in his early home life. A new spirit in truth was abroad over the land, which had long lain under the spell of what is called "moderatism" in Scotland. It was the beginning, too, of that fifty years' period of peace and reform, in State as well as Church, which the crowning victory of Waterloo seemed to introduce. Dr. Wilson used to tell how, when he was little more than ten years old, the Edinburgh coach came to Lauder adorned with boughs, and one who had gone to the place where it stopped, to hear the news, rushed down the Row shouting "We've just annihilated

them." In both Lauder and Stow there happened to be evangelical preachers in the parish churches, Mr. Cosens and Dr. Cormack, while the "Burgher" or seceding congregations were everywhere ministered to by earnest men, to whom many of the surrounding families were driven by the old "moderates." The coming of Mr. Paterson to the parish school at this time was an event of importance. It affected at once the spiritual condition of the whole district, and speedily brought within the reach of evangelical teaching all the hopeful youth of the surrounding country. The survivor of that band, the venerable Dr. Fairbairn of Newhaven, has thus written out the memories of these days :—

"John Wilson was one of a group of boys who received their early education at the parish school of Lauder, and most of whom proceeded together to the University of Edinburgh. I have them all in my mind's eye, in the flower of their boyhood, as fresh as yesterday—John and Peter Purves, George Paterson, George Douglas, James and David Runciman, John Paterson, John Wilson, William Romanes, Patrick Fairbairn, Alexander Murray, James Haswell, Alexander Jamieson, Robert Lees, Thomas Simpson, William Broomfield, William Dove, and others. Most of them ran a successful career in life, and some of them attained great eminence. Here they are—distinct, but oh! how distant—for with one exception they have all passed within the veil, and I alone am left to tell their story.

"I have the most distinct recollection of the characters of all my school-fellows, and not least of John Wilson. He was a modest, devout, affectionate, and gentle boy, always ready to take part with the weakest, and never in a quarrel or a scrape. He was, I think, the most diligent and persevering student in the school, and I can readily understand how he attained to such acquirements and success. He was also eminently truthful and sincere. There was one of our number (James Runciman) whom our teacher always charac-

terised as the 'boy who never told a lie,' and he used to associate John Wilson with him in this honourable distinction. I remember in one of the intervals of our school day, a band of us started 'up the burn' for fishing and other diversions. Seduced by the summer sunlight (oh how bright it was in those days!) we heeded not the lapse of time, till the school hour had passed. Then came a conference to determine what we would say for ourselves, and various proposals, savouring, I fear, of diplomacy, were made. But the discussion was cut short by John Wilson saying, in a tone unusually energetic for him, 'I tell you what—we will tell the truth,' and the truth he told—aye, and continued to tell it till his dying day.

"I well remember also a very bright and calm summer Sabbath day. As the people went along the road to church, there was a question in every mouth—'Will they be *fechtin'* on sic a day as this?' After sermon there was a fellowship-meeting in the session-house of the Burgher meeting-house, into which my friend John and I contrived to get admission. Again the question went round, 'Will they be *fechtin'?*' and the inquiry tinged all the services with unusual solemnity. A venerable white-headed elder, Saunders Downie, the tailor—who has passed long since into the fellowship of the four-and-twenty Elders that sit around the Throne—delivered himself to this effect: 'Surely,' he said in his godly simplicity, 'surely they'll let the blessed Sabbath ower afore they fecht.' Whether they were 'fechtin',' or whether they let the blessed Sabbath over before doing so, you will judge when I say that that Sabbath day was the 18th of June 1815. Then came a week of anxiety; groups of people stood all the day at the head of the town, in the expectation of hearing the booming of the guns of the distant castle of Edinburgh announcing a victory. At last came the full accounts of the great battle, which filled every mouth and heart for many a long day. I recollect we were both much impressed with all this, and had

our minds opened for the first time to the fact that there was a wide world beyond the limits of our little valley, and that it was a world in which much evil abounded, and which stood in great need of improvement.

"Then came a movement on behalf of the first of the evangelistic schemes which succeeded in penetrating to that part of the country. This was the Bible Society; and I recollect a sermon being preached on its behalf in the Burgher meeting-house by the Rev. Dr. Waugh of London, at which my friend and I were present. The matter and manner of the preacher were both deeply impressive; and I rather think that, if the seeds of the evangelistic spirit were not that night sown for the first time in John Wilson's mind, they were, to say the least of it, very copiously and effectually watered. After that we went to the University of Edinburgh, and we arrived there just at the time when evangelical religion began to reassert its power in this country. The old Gospel, which had been "by Cameron thundered and by Renwick poured," now flowed forth in the sweet stream of Henry Grey's pathetic eloquence, or was uttered from the pulpit of St. George's by the mighty voice of Andrew Thomson. Some of us were not very sure about it at first. Coming as we did from the country of Thomas Boston, there was something new to us in the methods of these great preachers. One of our number indeed, and he not the least earnest among us, never quite overcame his scruples. He held it all to be 'sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal,' and declared that he could only find 'the root of the matter' in the Secession meeting-house in the Potterrow, then ministered to by the Rev. Mr. Simpson. I must say this incident has taught me a great lesson of caution in judging of new religious movements. We soon discovered, however, that a new-born day of light and truth had at last broken out in this country; and this discovery was fully made to us by the coming of Dr. Robert Gordon to Edinburgh. That was an

era in our spiritual history never to be forgotten. We were all carried captive by the mighty spell of his eloquence. John Wilson attached himself to the ministry of Dr. Gordon, and you know the great power which it exercised over his mind and history. All my recollections of my beloved schoolfellow are such as to harmonise with his after-life. Truly in his case 'the child was father of the man.'"

In his fourteenth year John Wilson went to Edinburgh University, to begin that eight years' course of linguistic, philosophical, and theological studies by which the Scottish Churches still wisely produce a well-trained and often cultured ministry. Two Border youths, from the not very distant Annandale, had, after similar home and school training, matriculated at the University at the same age, and had not long passed out of it when the Lauder boy first entered his name in that fragment of the old building which occupied the quadrangle until the present library was completed. These were Edward Irving and Thomas Carlyle. Very fresh traditions of the former still circulated among his juniors, while the latter had just returned from his mathematical teachership in Kirkcaldy to write for Brewster's Encyclopædia. Both had been heroes in Sir John Leslie's class, where Wilson succeeded them in reputation in due time. We cannot say that the picture, in the autobiography which Carlyle wrote in 1831 as "Sartor Resartus," of "the University where I was educated," and the "eleven hundred Christian striplings" turned loose into its "small ill-chosen library," is altogether a caricature of the facts. At any rate, Carlyle admits that there were some eleven of that number who were eager to learn, and Wilson was one of them in his time, as Irving and Carlyle had been in theirs. Like them, too, Wilson took to teaching. At the close of the first session, the lad conducted the school of Horndean on the Tweed, laying thus early the foundation of that educational experience by which, as Ver-

nacular Missionary, Principal of an English College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University, he was afterwards to revolutionise society in Western India. One of his sisters still tells how the boy of fifteen prepared to resist a midnight attempt to rob him of the school fees on the first occasion on which he had gained the hard-earned money. At the close of the second college session, the Rev. Dr. Cormack, of the neighbouring village of Stow, made the successful student tutor to his son and nephews, a duty which he discharged in a manner to endear him to the parents of both almost up to the time of his departure for India. Dr. Cormack, when himself tutor in the family of the Roses of Kilravock, had married one of the daughters, and her brother, Colonel Rose, had sent home his sons to be educated in the manse at Stow. When Colonel, afterwards Sir John, Rose, himself returned to his family estate in the Highlands, he tried to induce John Wilson to settle in his family there for some time, and to accompany his boys to Holland, so highly did he appreciate the tutor's services. The youths were happy who had such a guide, himself still young. Even now it is almost pathetic to read the letters which they wrote to him during his absence at college and in India, and carefully treasured by him among his most precious papers. One of the lads is now Sir John Rose Cormack, a well-known physician in Paris. The other two went to India in their day, where their old friend met them sometimes, and where they won a name for courage and ability in the Sikh wars.

A tour which, in the autumn of 1824, the tutor made to the North with his pupils, called forth a series of letters to his home in which we find such entries as these. At Kingussie he visited the periodical fair: "All the people were very merry. They were mostly all dressed in the Highland dress, and, speaking Gaelic, they appeared quite comical. I have laughed this whole fortnight at them." The letters show the same

detailed power of observation and genial humour which marked his Indian tours, and made him the most delightful companion on such occasions. In 1827 he reports, "I have been obliged to buy a pair of silver spectacles for myself:" thus early did study begin to tell on him.

To this residence for four years, with college intervals, in Dr. Cormack's family, we must trace the determination, which he early formed, to give his life to the people of India. When afterwards bidding farewell to Dr. Brown, the minister of Langton, he expressed regret that he had to sail before the annual meeting of the Berwickshire Bible Society, for, he said, "My wish was to have stated publicly that it was the reading of your annual reports that first awakened me to the importance of Missions, and led me to resolve to devote myself to the foreign field."[1] But it was the Rose and Cormack influence which directed that resolve to the East, at a time when Scotland had not a missionary there. The first surprise of the young tutor of sixteen, when he began his duties in the manse of Stow, was caused by the Hindostanee which alone the Rose boys spoke, like so many Anglo-Indian children fresh from the influence of native servants. That was one of the first languages he was to master when he began work in Bombay, in order by voice and pen to influence the Muhammadans and all who used what is a mere *lingua franca*. He was more or less in an Indian atmosphere, as each irregular mail in those days brought news of Maratha wars and Pindaree raids, of the triumphs of Lord Hastings, of the political exploits of Malcolm, the yeoman's son of the not distant Burnfoot, and of Governor Munro, the Glasgow boy. But more living to the youth than all that was the personal friendship of General Walker, who often drove into Stow

[1] I take this from notes of Dr. Wilson's student life supplied by Dr. Brown's son, the Rev. Thomas Brown, the accomplished minister of the Dean Church in Edinburgh.

from Bowland, his seat on the Gala Water. As political officer in charge of the great Native State of Baroda, with Kathiawar and Kutch, he had won for himself a name as a philanthropist and administrator, by carrying on the work of the old Governor, Jonathan Duncan, for the prevention of female infanticide among the Jadeja Rajpoots. When revisiting Kathiawar in 1809, before bidding it a final farewell, General Walker had enjoyed the sweet reward of seeing not a few of the children whom he had preserved, and of hearing one infant voice lisping to him in the Goojaratee tongue—"Walker Sahib saved me." The entrancing story of humanity became familiar to Wilson in his youth, for in 1819, at the very time of his intercourse with the lad, the retired officer was engaged in a correspondence with the Court of Directors, in which he urged them to keep up the preventive system that had effected so much, but was being neglected by a new generation of officials. The only result was the General's appointment as Governor of St. Helena, the small population of which he sought to benefit with the same kindly wisdom that he had shown in north Bombay. That work was not unknown in the country-side, for the minister of Stow had been its historian. But it was reserved for the young tutor himself to complete it, alike by stirring up the Bombay Government, and by writing the "History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India" in 1855, and again in 1875. Thus to the influences of home and of school, of companions and of minister, there was added, at the time when he was most susceptible of such impressions, the subtle power of the society of men like Cormack and Walker, who drew him unconsciously to the work prepared for him in the then far off and shadowy East.

In the second of the four years of his theological studies, or in his twentieth year, Wilson became more closely identified with Edinburgh in both its university life and its literary

and ecclesiastical coteries. He had taken full advantage of the Arts course, for among the professors of that faculty were able teachers and accomplished *savans*. Pillans, unjustly satirised by Byron, had been transferred from the rector's chair in the High School of Edinburgh, which Dr. Adam had made illustrious, and which his successor had not dimmed at least, to the professorship of Humanity or Latin, taking with him his "dux," John Brown Patterson, the most promising student of his day, who became warmly attached to Wilson. Inscriptions on missionary churches and university foundation stones in the East prove that Wilson retained to the last all the graceful Latinity which he acquired at Lauder and Edinburgh. We may pass over the Greek professor, but the students found ample atonement in the Moral Philosophy class of Professor Wilson, whose whirlwind of rhetoric twenty-one Tory and eleven Whig patrons of the chair had preferred to the massive erudition and the philosophical power of him who became our modern Aristotle—Sir William Hamilton. Had the Lauder student come under the spell of one who did not become professor of Metaphysics for some years afterwards, even he must have gained a more analytic and expository power in those investigations of the hoary philosophies of Vedist and Buddhist, Zoroastrian and Soofee, by which he did much to shake the grim idolatries and subtle pantheism of southern and western Asia. But he enjoyed what was of equal value for such a purpose at that time,—the physical researches of Sir John Leslie, Playfair's successor in the chair of Natural Philosophy. There he stood in the front rank, a significant fact, for it is through the clay of the physical error worked up with the iron of speculative falsehood in the systems of the East, that they are first to be shaken and shattered. What of mathematical principles, physical law, and the natural sciences John Wilson then mastered, he developed and applied all through his conflicts with

the defenders of the Oriental faiths, and in his discourses and writings, as the first scholar of Western India. In geology, in botany, in the more recondite region of archæology, he kept pace with the most recent researches, to which, in his own province, he largely contributed. Nature came second only to the divine Word, and worked harmoniously along with it in his whole missionary career.

The same cannot be asserted of the Theological Faculty of the University of Edinburgh at that period. It was the dreary time, just before, in 1828—too late for Wilson—Thomas Chalmers was transferred from St. Andrews, where he had brought to the birth of a more spiritual and intellectual life men like Robert Nesbit, soon to precede Wilson to Bombay; and Alexander Duff, William S. Mackay, and David Ewart, destined to follow him, but to Calcutta. The divinity Professors were also parish ministers, who droned through their lectures as through their sermons, while their hearers slept or attended to their own private affairs. The pamphlets of these days, on Sir John Leslie's case for instance, make strange revelations of academic ineptitude and ecclesiastical incompetence, to those who care to rake among them. But for the dawn of the Evangelical party in the pulpits of Gordon in the New North Church, Andrew Thomson in St. George's, and Henry Grey, and of Thomas M'Crie, outside of the kirk, the men of the next generation would have been worse than their fathers. John Wilson, unlike him who was afterwards Principal Cunningham, had taken with him to the Divinity Hall the living power which had first moved his childish heart, when, awestruck, he had seen it visibly in his grandfather's evening prayers. Now, on 11th December 1824, on entering his twenty-first year, he began that "review of the Lord's gracious dealings with my soul," already referred to.

"This day I have completed my twentieth year, God teach me to improve the fleeting moments of my existence. As

bought with a price, even with the precious blood of Christ, may I devote myself wholly—soul, body, and spirit—to declare and show forth thy glory to my sinful brethren of mankind." About this time he seems to have formally signed a "solemn profession, dedication, and engagement" of himself to God. The time-stained paper is without date, and is headed, in pencil of a much later year evidently, "Form, I think, taken from Willison." With it are two similar deeds of holiest consecration, in which, on 1st January 1759, and again at Elgin on 11th May 1785, an ancestor of his first wife, James Hay, son of the Rev. Dr. James Hay, vowed himself to the Lord. In both cases each page, and in some instances paragraph, is signed by the covenanting person. All through his life of three score and ten, openly, as in those most private papers which mark his energising in soul, we see how John Wilson kept the covenant thus made in the fervour of a first love, and the comparative innocence of an early freedom from the power of the world. At college as at school, of full age as when a child among his companions, he is still "the priest" in the highest sense—the priest unto God. From his Journal at this time we take these further extracts. He is in the Stow Manse, in that first year of his theological studies, which the loose regulations of those days allowed students to spend out of college if they wrote the necessary exercises. His heart is set on missionary work, it will be observed. He writes to a friend at this time, "The Memoirs of David Brainerd and Henry Martyn give me particular pleasure":—

"*Tuesday*, 14*th December* 1824.—This day was cheered by the hope that I had more success in teaching than usual. Read part of the life of the Rev. David Brainerd. What an example of the power of divine truth! How many his trials! how great his labours! O Lord, fill my soul with a lowly opinion of myself, and sanctify and prepare me for the same work in which he was engaged."

"*Thursday*, 16*th*.—The servants in the manse asked me to permit them to come into my room to join with me in evening prayers. Gave them permission, with the hope that they might derive, by the blessing of God, some benefit from this. Read in the Greek Testament, in the evening, an account of the fall of Babylon."

"*Friday*, 24*th*.—This day had some very edifying conversation with Alexander Kelly, shepherd to the burgh of Lauder. Admired his knowledge and the soundness of his views of divine truth. Had some sweet communion in evening prayer."

"*Saturday*, 25*th*.—This day sent a copy of my tract to my former pupil, Master John N. Rose, and a letter on the importance of religion. In the evening an order arrived from General Walker, governor of St. Helena, for Mr. Cormack to purchase on his account five guineas' worth of books for the congregational library."

"*Tuesday*, 28*th*.—Rejoiced to hear of the great progress of divine truth from the *Monthly Extracts of the Correspondence of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. What astonishing effects have, by the blessing of the spirit of God, been produced by the simple reading of the Word of God! Moral miracles are daily attesting the truth of Christianity."

"*Friday*, 31*st*.—This day brings another year to a close. Can I dare to appear before the Lord and ask him to deal with me according to my doings in the year which is past? No; my conscience itself condemns me. It tells me that in myself I am poor, and miserable, and blind, and naked. It reminds me that much of the year which is ready to depart was spent in the service of Satan; in the cherishing of my lusts; in the gratification of my evil nature, and in seeking my own destruction."

"*Thursday*, 6*th January* 1825.—Read part of *Cecil's Remains*. Felt unhappy in the afternoon from not having

had much communion with God during the course of the day. May I always feel unhappy when I do not set the Lord continually before me. May I ever seek to enjoy the light of his countenance, for when he causes this to shine upon me I am rich and comfortable. If I had every earthly comfort at my command they could do nothing to cheer my mind and support my soul. May I hunger and thirst after righteousness, and be filled with the good things of the kingdom of God."

"*From the 7th to the 13th January.*—In a very sinful frame of mind. O Lord, look upon me in the face of Christ Jesus."

"*Wednesday, 26th.*—This day the quarterly meeting of the Stow Auxiliary Bible Society was held; few present. In collecting for this institution on some preceding days, found most people generally approving of the objects of the Bible Society, but often not disposed to assist it by any of that substance which they have received as talents to be accounted for to the Lord, the giver of every good and perfect gift. I remember, however, that an aged woman said to me that she would rather in some measure starve her body than not contribute something to the glorious cause of circulating the word of God upon earth."

"*Friday, 28th.*—Commenced reading the Epistle to the Romans in the Greek Testament. How dreadful is the condition of those whom the Lord gives up to the following of their own natural propensities! How awful are those feelings which the human mind in its depravity loves to entertain! May my soul be thoroughly washed from all iniquity."

"*Monday and Tuesday, 1st and 2d February.*—Delighted with good news from near and far countries. Read with great pleasure the *London Missionary Chronicle* and *Scottish Missionary Register*. The Lord is doing great things at home and abroad."

"*Saturday, 6th.*—This day visited my dear parents and

friends at Lauder. Mentioned to them my intention of soon offering myself as a missionary candidate to the Scottish Missionary Society, and oh! what a burst of affection did I witness from my dear mother. Never will I forget what occurred this evening. She told me that at present she thought the trial of parting with me, if I should leave her, would be more hard to bear than my death. When I saw her in her tears I cried unto God that he would send comfort to her mind, and that he would make this affair issue in his glory and our good. I entreated my mother to leave the matter to the Lord's disposal; and I told her that I would not think of leaving her if the Lord should not make my way plain for me, but that at present I thought it my duty to offer my services to the Society. She then embraced me and seemed more calm. My father said little to us on the subject, but seemed to be in deep thought. In the course of the evening the words 'he that saveth his life shall lose it,' and 'he that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me,' came home to my mind, and kept me from making any promise of drawing back in my resolutions to preach the gospel, by the grace of God, to the heathen world. O Lord, do thou, who hast the hearts of all men in thy hands, and who turnest them according to thy pleasure, grant that my parents, with faith in thy word and promises, may joyfully commit me in all things to thy disposal, and may I willingly obey thy will in all things, for Christ's sake, Amen."

With this record of a scene often repeated since, when the best and bravest of our youth have gone forth to an Indian career, the Journal closes for that year. When Robert Nesbit had determined to do the same, he could not tell his mother, but asked Wilson to break the tidings for him. Wilson lost no time in offering himself to the directors of the Scottish Missionary Society in the twenty-first year of his age. At the beginning of his second divinity session in November he was

formally received into the seminary, as it was called, at 18 St. John Street, He became an inmate of the family of the Rev. W. Brown, M.D., the Secretary, and there spent the three succeeding years till his departure for India. At College he went through the regular course of study and examination for the ministry of the Church of Scotland. His Journal records his reading, his intercourse with his fellows, his self-abasement in the sight of God and of his own conscience, and his breathings after a more perfect communion with the Father in the Son. The Professor who influenced him most was Principal Lee[1] at a later date, and also Dr. Brunton, who taught Hebrew, and with whom, as Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee for many years afterwards, he corresponded by every mail. Dr. Meiklejohn pretended to teach Church History with an efficiency which has been measured by his habit of yawning when praying in public. As to the Professor of Systematic Theology, let this transcript from a venerable yellow scrap of torn paper, marked in red ink more than once by Dr. Wilson with the word "keep," tell what he was :—

"EDINBURGH COLLEGE, *Monday, 27th November* 1826.

"At a general meeting of the theological students attending the University, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :— 1*st*. That a deputation should be appointed to wait on the Rev. Dr. William Ritchie, S.S.T.P., to inform him, with the greatest tenderness and respect, that, on account of the weakness of his voice, his lectures when read by him are quite inaudible by the students, and to request of him to take into consideration the propriety of appointing a substitute. 2*d*. That Messrs. James Anderson and L. H. Irving should form the deputation, and report the result of their visit to a general meeting, to be held to-morrow at 2 o'clock P.M. JOHN WILSON, *Chairman*."

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[1] Writing to a friend in December 1827, Wilson says :—"Dr. Lee proceeds admirably in the Hall. Sound in the faith ; entertaining an ardent affection for preaching sermons, and enlightened in his judgment ; by close study, extensive reading, and accurate thinking, he is well qualified to fill the chair of Rollock and of Leighton."

"Minutes of a General Meeting of the Theological Students attending the University of Edinburgh, called in order to receive the report of the deputation appointed to wait on the Rev. Dr. Wm. Ritchie.

"LADY YESTER'S CHURCH, *Edinburgh, 28th November* 1826.

"Mr. William Cunningham having been called to the chair, and the minutes of the former meeting having been read and approved of, the deputation appointed to wait on the Rev. Dr. Ritchie stated that, having transmitted to him the minutes of the former meeting enclosed in a most respectful letter, the Rev. Dr. intimated to them his decided refusal to listen to any such application. The students having considered and approved of the conduct of the deputation, resolved (*duobus contradicentibus*) that it was not competent for them to proceed to any ulterior measures at present, except simply to lay before the Town Council and the Presbytery of Edinburgh the minutes of both meetings, and directed the Secretary accordingly to transmit copies of both to the Right Hon. the Lord Provost and the Reverend the Moderator of the Presbytery. (Signed) WM. CUNNINGHAM, *Chairman.*"

Thus strangely were associated the future grave, judicious, and academic Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, and the erudite Principal of the New College, both to be Moderators of the General Assembly in their time. And the work they did, or tried to do, is one which it had been well for more university faculties and colleges than that of theology in the University of Edinburgh, then and since, if there were students wise enough to repeat, in the interests of common honesty and sound scholarship. Scotland and its academic institutions, national and non-national, have always been too poor to pension the old, or quietly get rid of the incompetent teachers, with whom the abuses of patronage or of popular election have saddled successive generations of students. But the story is not at an end, though we have to go elsewhere for the close. A fellow-student in the Arts' classes, Mr. D. Eisdaile, who was afterwards professor in the Government College at Poona, thus writes:—"Dr. Ritchie had been for a few sessions in a state of dotage, quite unable to keep

order in the class—very deaf and very blind, but clinging hard to his professorship. The attendance had been for two or three years a mockery and a delusion, and the doctor's lecturing an absurdity—not listened to, not even heard. The only circumstance impressed on my memory is, hearing Dr. Wilson tell me that, when the body of students presented their request to the old man in his house in Argyle Square that he would give up, when he saw John Wilson among them, he remonstrated with him, saying 'I never thought, Mr. Wilson, that you would have appeared in the ranks of my enemies.' In the early part of his college career I do not think he had many friends and acquaintances in Edinburgh, so that his attachment was the warmer to one like myself, to whom he could speak freely and reveal his inmost thoughts. I was accordingly made the depository of his dealings with the Press in that fourth year of his college course, when he printed a sermon on Missions, in which I helped him by taking a number of copies. I recollect wondering at this early display of his penchant for putting his thoughts in print, which pervaded his whole life, and of which the world has reaped the benefit."

With all his gentleness, and often all the more effectually because of his almost sensitively chivalrous bearing, John Wilson was the enemy of incompetence and idleness, which injured his Master's work. In the previous session he had shown his terrible earnestness by founding "The Edinburgh Association of Theological Students in aid of the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge." In 1825, under the date Thursday, 22d December, this remark occurs in his journal—"This has been one of the happiest days of my life. About three weeks ago I proposed to Mr. John T. Brown that we should make some exertions for the purpose of instituting an association of the theological students for aiding the diffusion of the Gospel. This object, by the blessing of God, to whose name be the praise, we were enabled to accomplish this day." Divided

into two by the Disruption of the Established Church in 1843, that Association has ever since been the fruitful nursery of missionaries, alike in the University and in the New College of Edinburgh. Of the 120 regular students in the Faculty of Theology at that time, more than sixty became members. Wilson was the secretary, as he had been the founder, and read the first essay. Mr. Thomas Pitcairn, afterwards clerk of the General Assembly of the Established and then the Free Church, was first president, with John J. Bonar, subsequently of Greenock, and David Runciman of Glasgow, as vice-presidents. The committee were John G. Lorimer, John B. Patterson, A. Matheson, G. Galloway, J. Dunlop, J. Gardiner, Gilbert Laing, and William Cunningham, with John T. Brown as treasurer. The name of David Thorburn appears as seconding the motion which called the Association into existence. For the first three years Wilson was its life. When he left it for India the members sent forth their founder with prayers and benedictions, and a gift of memorial volumes. For years after he continued to correspond with it as a means of stimulating young theologians to give themselves to India. When he paid his farewell visit to Scotland in 1870 his delight was to address not only the New College Society, but the old Association in the old rooms in the University. He organised a library; he began a correspondence with the great missionary societies then in existence, that the students might be fed with the latest intelligence from foreign lands; and he kept up a series of circular letters with the corresponding students' societies of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; Belfast; and Princeton in the United States; the careful drafts[1] of which testify to the zeal with which the youth of twenty-one worked.

[1] His letters to Princeton are still of interest as vivid and accurate pictures of the religious and ecclesiastical condition of Scotland more than half a century ago :—"Our country has been long celebrated for its religious privileges,

A fine spirit of catholicity marks all the communications of the secretary, and in some instances he bursts out with a protest against the creation of new agencies to compete unnecessarily with those already at work Even at this time he seems to have awoke to the absurdity and the waste involved in so many ecclesiastical divisions, as he afterwards did more painfully when in the front of heathenism. His statistics have a curious interest for Scotland now, when the seven sections of presbyterianism have been so far amalgamated into three, and the number of ministers has been doubled in proportion to the increase of population, although the missionary spirit has made comparatively less progress.

Privately, John Wilson by pen and voice was ever pointing the abler of his student companions to the mission field, for his ideal was high. His communications from Robert Nesbit both strengthened his own determination and enabled him to combat the fears of his fellows, whose mothers held

and at present the light of the Lord is shining in the midst of us. There are many ministers who labour for the good of the souls of our people, and there are many schools for instruction open to all.

Denomination.	*Number of Ministers.*
Established Church	1191
Reformed Presbyterians	18
United Associate Synod	308
Relief Synod	85
Associate Synod	12
Original Burgher Associate Synod	32
Constitutional Presbytery	10
Episcopalian Communion	78
Congregationalists	79
Baptists	about 20
	1833

The labours of these ministers are aided by the exertions of parochial schools in every district of the country, and by various religious societies. The Society whose exertions have, by the blessing of God, proved most beneficial to Scotland is "The Society in Scotland (incorporated by royal charter) for Propagating Christian Knowledge." It was instituted in 1701, and an Act of recommendation in its favour having been issued by the General Assembly, contributions to a large amount were soon raised for its support. The means which it uses for the promotion of its design are the establishment of schools

them back. He published, chiefly for such, an essay on the motives and encouragements to active missionary exertions. He prepared, and issued in 1828 anonymously, a little work now rarely met with, but which did good service in its day, *The Life of John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians.* In that he traced the work of the Puritan Fathers in New England, in their propagation of Christianity among the Red Indians. Very characteristic of his own future policy is his quotation of Eliot's words: "There is need of learning in ministers who preach to Indians much more than to Englishmen and gracious Christians, for these had sundry philosophical questions, which some knowledge of the arts must help to give answers to, and without which these would not have been satisfied. Worse than Indian ignorance hath blinded their eyes that renounce learning as an enemy to the gospel." All Eliot's scholarship and devotion to the mastering of the native dialects are carefully noted, no less than the humility of the man who protested against the application to

and the maintenance of catechists and missionaries. The quantity of good, both temporal and spiritual, resulting from its labours it is impossible to calculate. It has been the means of communicating the principles of education and religious knowledge to hundreds of thousands in our Highlands and Islands. For the last thirty years the average number of scholars attending its schools has been 15,000. At present it employs 12 missionaries and 16 catechists. Since the year 1767 it has printed and distributed upwards of 50,000 copies of the sacred Scriptures. Important and beneficial as the exertions of this Society have proved to the population of our Highlands, they have not been adequate to the wants of our northern countrymen, and the knowledge of this fact led to the formation of the Gaelic School Society, in the year 1811, whose fundamental principle is that it is essential for every man to read the word of God in his own tongue. This Society confines its attention chiefly to the establishment and support of circulatory schools, and its success has been very great. In the report for 1825 it is stated that the total number of schools maintained through the year was 83, and the total number of scholars 4674. Since the commencement of the Society the number of books it has circulated in the Highlands and Islands may be estimated at about 100,000. Of this number about 50,000 were copies of the Bible, New Testament, and Psalm Books. The inhabitants, of themselves, encouraged by the success of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge and the Gaelic School Society, founded another education society at Inverness in the year 1818."

himself of the pre-eminent title of "The Indian Evangelist." The missionary student could not have set before himself a better ideal of the kind than that of the acute Cambridge scholar, whose eighty-six years of self-sacrifice Cotton Mather has chronicled. When, towards the close of his university studies in March 1828, John Wilson received the farewell eulogies of the students, as expressed by Pitcairn and Cunningham, John Brown Patterson and David Thorburn, of whom the last alone survives, his reply was an address which rang with new appeals to the friends of his youth, based on the words just quoted, and on this prediction of the same writer, in his "Essays To Do Good," a century before—"North Britain will be distinguished by irradiations from heaven upon it of such a tendency (to propagate Christianity). There will be found a set of excellent men in that reformed and renowned Church of Scotland, with whom the most refined and extensive essays to do good will become so natural that the whole world will fare the better for them." We who look back on history may see the anticipation partially fulfilled in the movement which gave Wilson, Duff, and their colleagues to India, Morrison to China, and Livingstone and Moffat to Africa. These are the words which the young Wilson left behind him as his legacy to the students of the University of Edinburgh—how have they met them?

"'The work of preaching the gospel in foreign lands is attended with trials, dangers, and sacrifices!' Have we forgotten! where is now the promise of Christ, 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world'? How is that hundred-fold to be obtained and enjoyed which is promised to those who forsake houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, for Christ's sake? Where is faith in the operations of the Spirit of God, which can view the difficulties of the Christian warfare as calculated to render the consolations of the gospel precious to the soul in every circumstance?

Is it probable that dependence on the grace of God will not be exercised by the Christian when he must feel that vain is the help of man, that success must be the result of the divine application of the word, and that he is in a great measure deprived of those sources of earthly enjoyment which, from the corruption of human nature, are frequently made the occasions of sin?

"'The work of missions is difficult.' But time is short. Soon shall we be freed from all our toils, and anxieties, and griefs, and disappointments; and if we suffer with Christ we shall also reign with Him. 'The work of missions is attended with difficulties, trials, and dangers!' Spirits of Eliot and Brainerd, Martyn, and Fisk, and Hall, do you regret that for the promotion of its interests you left the lands of your fathers and your youth, and laboured and died in a foreign clime? No; you declared that, when engaged in it you were happy;—that, when you reviewed your labours in connection with it, you were ashamed that you had not devoted yourself to its interests with more zeal and self-denial;—and that, when entering the dark valley of the shadow of death you 'saw no trials, no sacrifices, nothing but sins and mercies.' Since you joined the glorious band of witnesses to the truth you have seen and felt more of its importance, and your testimony respecting it is, that eternity can only sufficiently reveal its character. You feel that is the glory of the song of Moses and the Lamb, that it is sung by people of every kindred and country and tongue and nation; and if you were permitted again to visit this world you would fly, like the angel of the Apocalypse, to preach the gospel to all that dwell on the face of the earth. In sincerity and humility of soul let us say, 'Thy vows are upon us, O God, we will render praises unto Thee.'"

The young evangelist had a right to use such language, for had he not given himself? These were days when India,

little known still in the land that rules it, was less known than it had been in the previous generation which had seen Warren Hastings impeached, and burghs bought and sold by Anglo-Indian Nawabs. The dawn of knowledge and zeal was not to rise for five years yet, with the Charter which really opened India in 1833. Then such an incident as the following was only too truly typical: Dr. Wilson had been meanwhile licensed to preach by his native Presbytery of Lauder; and, after some difficulty caused by the adherence of the "moderates" to a routine which did not contemplate missions to non-Christian lands, he had been ordained on "a request in his own name, and in the name of the directors of the Scottish Missionary Society. During the first summer after receiving license he paid two visits to the Manse at Langton. On the first occasion he delivered an impressive discourse on Paul's address at Mars' Hill. During the evening of that Sabbath the medical attendant came to see some member of the family, and after the visit joined the others in the drawing-room. The subject of Missions to India was introduced, and as the doctor had been in the East he took part, expressing strongly the opinion that it was utterly hopeless to attempt to convert the natives of India to Christianity. "I remember," writes Mr. Brown, "the flush which came on Dr. Wilson's face when he eagerly took up the question, replying to the objections which had been advanced, and dwelling on the power of the Gospel to enlighten those that were in darkness. The doctor soon changed the subject."

At a time when medical missions were unknown, and eight years before David Livingstone had turned from cotton-spinning to be a licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians in Glasgow, with the frustrated hope of becoming a missionary in China, John Wilson would not consider his preparation for India complete until he had studied medicine. He had taken a high place in the classes of Physical and Natural

Science. In 1827-8 he passed through classes for Anatomy, Surgery, and the Practice of Physic. Many a time afterwards, in the jungles of Western India and the ghauts or ravines of its hills, did he find his knowledge of the art of healing a blessing to the wild tribes and simple peasantry. Much of his own endurance is to be ascribed to such knowledge, although in Bombay itself physicians in and out of the service were ever his most attached friends.

But one qualification seemed still wanting to make the youth of twenty-three, whom, just half a century ago, on Midsummer's Day 1828, by the imposition of hands, the Presbytery did solemnly ordain and set apart to the office of the holy ministry, a fully-equipped missionary. So new was the whole subject of Christianising foreign lands at that time, that every instance of a Protestant evangelist going forth raised the question whether he ought to be married. On this ecclesiastical authorities were divided. The Scottish Missionary Society had assigned India as the country of his labours, a fact thus recorded in his Journal:—"O Lord, Thou hast graciously heard my prayers in this respect. Do thou prepare me for preaching Christ crucified with love and with power; do Thou provide for me, if agreeable to Thy will, a suitable partner of my lot; one who will well encourage me and labour with me in Thy work. Do Thou, in Thy good time, convey me in safety to the place of my destination; do Thou open up for me a wide and effectual door of utterance; do Thou preserve my life for usefulness; and do Thou make me successful in winning souls to Christ." "I rejoice when I think," he wrote to a friend, "that I shall live, and labour, and die in India." On the 18th December 1827, he had written to his father and mother: "Dr. Brown intends to prepare the articles which I am to take with me to India. He asked me to-night if I intended to marry; but I was not able to give him an answer. If I could get a suitable partner now I would have no hesita-

tion in marrying; but it is a matter of extreme difficulty to find a young lady with the piety, zeal, talents, and education which the work I have in view requires." He was soon after introduced to the family of the Rev. Kenneth Bayne of Greenock, who, on their father's death, had settled in 22 Comely Bank, a northern suburb of Edinburgh. The last entry in his Journal records the triumphant joy of one of the daughters in the prospect of death. Two more of the sisters met with a sad death by drowning, several years afterwards, and another survived him a short time. The other three formed a remarkable group of accomplished, cultivated, and zealous women, who gave their lives for India, as the pioneers of female education. Margaret, the eldest, had added to the ordinary teaching a course of study in the university city of Aberdeen. She proved equally facile in the exposition of the faiths of the East, in the mastery of the languages of Western India, in the organisation of native female schools, and in the writing of graceful verse, while she was ever the gentle wife and the fond mother, during the too brief six years of her life in Bombay. When she consented to share the then dreaded toils of an Indian evangelist's life with John Wilson, she at once doubled his efficiency.

In the simple Scottish fashion the newly ordained missionary was married to Margaret Bayne, by her minister Dr. Andrew Thomson, of St. George's, on the 12th August 1828. These were busy months for both, with the prospect of a Cape voyage, and the probability of life-long farewells. Incessant preaching and missionary addresses kept him ever about his Father's business. To this day the few old folks who remember it tell, with tears in their eyes, of his farewell sermon in the quaint pulpit of the cruciform kirk of Lauder.[1] The bailies

[1] Here that other great missionary, in the sense of being the warmest and broadest friend foreign missions have had at home, Dr. Norman Macleod, used to preach for his brother afterwards. In the adjoining manse he wrote his *Wee Davie*. We shall meet him with Wilson in Bombay.

and council of the royal burgh conferred on the lad all the honours they had to bestow, by giving him, on formal parchment, "the haill immunities and privileges of a burgess royal and freeman." On the 30th August the missionary and his wife sailed from the ancient port of Newhaven, on that heavenly quest on which no knight of poetic creation or fabled purity ever entered with more self-sacrificing ardour. A thick haze hid Edinburgh from their sight. After some days in London, and Portsmouth from which the "Sesostris" East Indiaman sailed, as was usual then, there remained only the very significant duty of presenting to the captain the Company's permission to sail. We give the letter of the Court of Directors in full, as one of the last relics of that Indian bureaucracy which Wilson was to do so much to change, till he saw it almost disappear.

"East India House, 27th June 1828.

"Sir—I have laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company your letter requesting, on behalf of the Scottish Missionary Society, that the Reverend John Wilson may be allowed to proceed as a missionary to Bombay, accompanied by the young lady to whom he proposes being married before he leaves England. In reply, I am commanded to acquaint you that the Court have resolved to comply with your request, so far as regards Mr. Wilson, upon the usual terms and conditions; and that, when the necessary engagement has been entered into, an order will be granted for his reception on board the ship on which his passage may have been taken. I am further to inform you, that when Mr. Wilson shall be married the Court will be prepared to take into consideration any application which he may prefer for permission for his wife to accompany him.—I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, J. Dart, *Secretary.*

"Reverend William Brown."

The long voyage of five months was not made shorter by the fact that the captain was uncongenial and arbitrary, and the majority of the passengers had no sympathy with the missionary and his wife or their object. But even there the consistent and kindly devotion of both bore fruit. Opposition

nearly disappeared among the passengers; the sailors, whom he influenced for good, treated Mr. Wilson very tenderly amid the high frolic of these days in crossing the line. The attempt of a piratical vessel to attack the ship, and a storm off Table Bay, further relieved the monotony of a Cape passage. Sufficient time was spent at Cape Town—then, and till the Mutiny of 1857 led to a change in the furlough rules, a favourite sanitarium for Anglo-Indians—to enable Mr. and Mrs. Wilson to see a little of its society, and to visit not only Constantia, of wine-growing fame, but the Moravian settlement of Grœnenkloof, forty miles in the interior. After coasting Ceylon Wilson obtained his first view of India:—

"On the 1st of February Cape Comorin, the most southern point of India, appeared in sight, and my feelings were consequently of a very solemn nature. When I reflected on the present situation of the country, and on my prospects connected with it, I was constrained to resort to the throne of grace. My dear Margaret and I united in the prayer that God might prepare us for all the trials of life, and support us under them; that He might ever lift on us the light of His gracious and reconciled countenance; that He might impart to us the views, feelings, dispositions, and purposes which are suitable to the sacred work which we have in view; that He might enable us to pay the vows which we have made; that He might grant us much success in the work of converting sinners; and that He might impart to us the rewards of grace which are promised to those who turn many to righteousness. The character of the day (Sabbath) was suited to our exercises, and we had great reason to thank God for the felicity which we experienced. The sentiments of our hearts were not expressed in the plaintive language of the Psalmist, 'How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land,' but in that of the joyful resolution, 'From the end of the earth will I cry unto Thee, when my heart is overwhelmed.' We continued for thirteen days sailing along the coasts of Malabar, Canara, and the Konkan. The country is very mountainous, but in its appearance very unlike my native Scotland. The towns have a wretched appearance, but they are very populous. We arrived in Bombay on the evening of the 14th of this month, and next morning the Rev. Mr. Laurie, one of the ministers of the Scotch Church, came with a boat to take us on shore."

CHAPTER II.

OLD BOMBAY AND ITS GOVERNORS TO 1829.

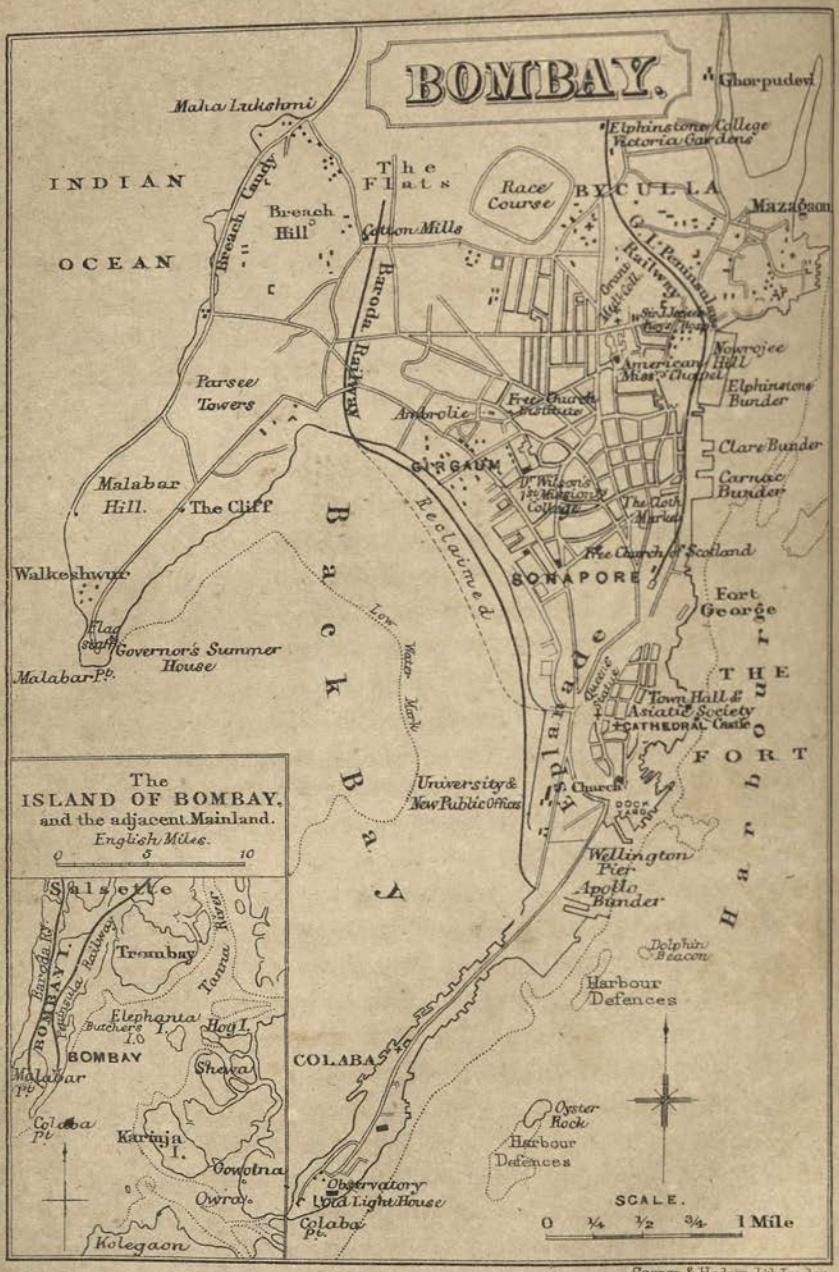
The Tyre and Alexandria of the Far East—Early History of Bombay—Cromwell, Charles II., and the East India Company—The first Governors—A Free City and Asylum for the Oppressed—Jonathan Duncan—Mountstuart Elphinstone—Sir John Malcolm—Cotton and the Cotton Duties—India and the Bombay Presidency Statistics in 1829—The Day of Small Things in Education—First Protestant Missionaries in Bombay—English Society in Western India—Testimony of James Forbes—John Wilson's First Impressions of Bombay.

" Jamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi
Imminet adversasque aspectat desuper arces.
Miratur molem Æneas, magalia quondam ;
Miratur portas, strepitumque et strata viarum.
Instant ardentes Tyrii : pars ducere muros
Molirique arcem, et manibus subvolvere saxa ;
Pars optare locum tecto, et concludere sulco ;
Jura magistratusque legunt, sanctumque senatum ;
Hic portus alii effodiunt ; hic alta theatris
Fundamenta locant alii, immanesque columnas
Rupibus excidunt, scenis decora alta futuris :
Qualis apes æstate nova per florea rura
Exercet sub sole labor."

VIRGIL.—*The Æneid.*

"Yes, I will sing, although the hope be vain
To tell their glories in a worthy strain,
Whose holy fame in earliest life was won,
Who toiled unresting till the task was done.
Far as the distant seas all owned their sway ;
High as the heaven none checked their lofty way.
Constant in worship, prompt at Duty's call,
Swift to reward the good, the bad appal,
They gathered wealth, but gathered to bestow,
And ruled their words that all their truth might know.
In glory's quest they risked their noble lives ;
For love and children, married gentle wives.
On holy lore in childhood's days intent,
In love and joy their youthful prime they spent,
As hermits, mused, in life's declining day,
Then in Devotion dreamed their souls away.
Come, hear my song, ye just, whose bosoms glow
With Virtue's flame, and good from evil know.
As fire assays the purity of gold,
Judge ye the merit of these Chiefs of old."

KALIDASA'S *Raghuvansa*, by Ralph T. H. Griffith.



Cooper & Hodson, Lith. London.

CHAPTER II.

BOMBAY, with the marvellous progress of which, as city and province, Wilson was to be identified during the next forty-seven years, has a history that finds its true parallels in the Mediterranean emporia of Tyre and Alexandria. Like the Phœnician "Rock" of Baal, which Hiram enlarged and adorned, the island of the goddess Mumbai or Mahima, "the Great Mother," was originally one of a series of rocks which the British Government has connected into a long peninsula, with an area of 18 square miles. Like the greater port which Alexander created to take the place of Tyre, and called by his own name, Bombay carries in its ships the commerce of the Mediterranean, opened to it by the Suez Canal, but it bears that also of the vaster Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. Although it can boast of no river like the Nile, by which alone Alexandria now exists, Bombay possesses a natural harbour, peerless alike in West and East, such as all the capital and the engineering of modern science can never create for the land of Egypt. Instead of the "low" sands which gave Canaan its name, and the muddy flats of the Nile delta, Bombay presents ridge after ridge intersecting noble bays, and hill upon hill, rising up into the guardian range of the Western Ghauts. From their giant defiles and green terraces fed by the periodic rains, the whole tableland of the Indian Peninsula gently slopes eastward to the Bay of Bengal, seamed by mighty rivers, and covered by countless forts and villages, the homes of a toiling population of millions. On one fourth, and that the most fertile fourth, of the two centuries of Bombay's

history, John Wilson, more than any other single influence, has left his mark for ever.

From the Periplus, and from Marco Polo, we learn the commercial prosperity and ecclesiastical activity, in the earliest times, of the kingdoms of Broach, Callian, and Tanna, on the mainland and around Bombay. But, as an island, Bombay was too exposed to the pirates who, from Abyssinia, Arabia and India alike, scoured these Eastern seas, to be other than neglected. Even the Portuguese despised it, although, as a naval power, they early made a settlement there, seeing that it lay between their possessions in the Persian Gulf and their capital of Goa. But they still held it against the East India Company, whose agents, exposed to all the exactions of a Mussulman governor in the factory at Surat, coveted a position where their ships could make them more independent. Twice they made ineffectual attempts to take the place, and, in 1654, when Cromwell had given England a vigorous foreign policy, the Directors represented to him the advantage of asking the Portuguese to cede both Bombay and Bassein. But although the Protector had exacted a heavy indemnity for all Prince Rupert had done to injure English commerce, he took hard cash rather than apparently useless jungle. And, although he beheaded the Portuguese ambassador's brother for murder on the very day that the treaty was signed, there is no evidence that he took any more interest in the distant and infant settlements in India than was involved in his general project for a Protestant Council or Propaganda all over the world. It was left to Charles II., in 1661, to add Bombay to the British Empire as part of the Infanta Catherina's dowry; and to present it to the East India Company in 1668, when the first governor, Sir Gervase Lucas, who had guarded his father in the flight from Naseby, had failed to prove its value to the Crown. For an annual rent of "£10 in gold" the island was made over to Mr. Goodyer—

deputed, with Streynsham Master and others, by Sir George Oxenden, the President of Surat—"in free and common soccage as of the manor of East Greenwich," along with all the Crown property upon it, cash to the amount of £4879 : 7 : 6, and such political powers as were necessary for its defence and government. Among the commissioners to whom the management of the infant settlement fell on Oxenden's death, is found the name of one Sterling, a Scottish minister, and thus, in some sense, the only predecessor of John Wilson. With the succession of Gerald Aungier, as President of Surat and Governor of the island in 1667, the history of Bombay may be said to have really begun. It is a happy circumstance that the beginning is associated with the names of the few good men who were servants of the Company, in a generation which was only less licentious than that of the Stewarts at home, if the temptations of exile be considered. Oxenden, Aungier and Streynsham Master were the three Governors of high character and Christian aims, who, at Surat, Bombay and Madras, sought to purify Anglo-Indian society and to evangelise the natives around.

Bombay, which grew to be a city of 250,000 inhabitants when Wilson landed in 1829, and contained 650,000 before he passed away, began two centuries ago with 600 landowners, who were formed into a militia, 100 Brahmans and Hindoos of the trading caste who paid an exemption tax, and the Company's first European regiment of 285 men, of whom only 93 were English. The whole population was little above 5000. A fort was built and mounted with twenty-one guns, and five small redoubts capped the principal eminences around. To attract Hindoo weavers and traders of the Bunya caste, and to mark the new *régime* as the opposite of the intolerant zeal of the Portuguese, notice was given all along the coast, from Diu to Goa, that no one would be compelled to profess Christianity, and that no Christian or Muhammadan would be

allowed to trespass within the inclosures of the Hindoo traders for the purpose of killing the cow or any animal, while the Hindoos would enjoy facilities for burning their dead and observing their festivals. Forced labour was prohibited, for no one was to be compelled to carry a burden. Docks were to be made; manufactures were to be free of tax for a time, and thereafter, when exported, to pay not more than three and a half per cent. The import duties were two and a half per cent with a few exceptions. Transit and market duties of nine per cent, that indirect tax on food and clothing which the people of India in their simplicity prefer to all other imposts, supplied the chief revenue for the fortifications and administration. And it was needed, for "the flats," which still pollute Bombay between the two ridges, were the fertile seed-bed of cholera and fever, till in 1684 the first of the many and still continued attempts at drainage were made. The result of the first twenty years of the Company's administration was that Bombay superseded Surat. One half of all the Company's shipping loaded at London direct for the island, where there was, moreover, no Nawab to squeeze half of the profits. The revenues had increased threefold. The population consisted of 60,000, of whom a considerable number were Portuguese, and the "Cooly Christians," or native fishermen, whom they had baptised as Roman Catholics. In and around the fort the town stretched for a mile of low thatched houses, chiefly with the pearl of shells for glass in their windows. The Portuguese could show the only church. On Malabar Hill, where Wilson was to die in "The Cliff" associated by all classes with his name, there was a Parsee tomb. The island of Elephanta was known not so much for the Cave Temples which he described, as for the carving of an elephant which gave the place its name, but has long since disappeared. At Salsette and Bandora the Portuguese held sway yet a little longer. From Tanna to Bassein their rich Dons revelled in spacious country seats,

fortified and terraced. The Hidalgos of Bassein reproduced their capital of Lisbon, with Franciscan convents, Jesuit colleges, and rich libraries, all of which they carefully guarded, allowing none but Christians to sleep in the town.[1]

The tolerant and liberal policy of the English government of Bombay soon caused all that, and much more, to be absorbed in their free city, and to contribute to the growth of the western portion of the new empire. If to some the toleration promised by Aungier, and amplified by the able though reckless Sir John Child, seemed to go too far, till it became virtual intolerance because indifference towards the faith of the ruling power, the growing public opinion of England corrected that in time. For the next century the British island became the asylum not only of the oppressed peoples of the Indian continent, during the anarchy from the death of Aurungzeb to the triumph of the two brothers Wellesley and Wellington, but of persecuted communities of western and central Asia, like the Parsees and Jews, as well as of slave-ridden Abyssinia and Africa. Made one of the three old Presidencies in 1708, under a later Oxenden, and subordinated to Calcutta as the seat of the Governor-General in 1773, Bombay had the good fortune to be governed by Jonathan Duncan for sixteen years at the beginning of this century.

What this Forfarshire lad, going out to India at sixteen, like Malcolm afterwards, had done for the peace and prosperity, the education and progress of Benares, and the four millions around it, he did for Bombay at a most critical time. Not less than Lord William Bentinck does he deserve the marble monument which covers his dust in the Bombay Cathedral, where the figure of Justice is seen inscribing on his urn these words, "He was a good man and a just," while

[1] See that already rare work, *The English in Western India*, by Philip Anderson, A.M., chaplain, Bombay. 1854.

two children support a scroll, on which is written, "Infanticide abolished in Benares and Kattywar." Between the thirty-nine years of his uninterrupted service for the people of India, which closed in 1811, and the forty-seven years of John Wilson's not dissimilar labours in the same cause, which began in 1829, there occurred the administrations, after Sir Evan Nepean, of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, both of the same great school. Since the negotiations of the Peshwa Raghoba, in 1775, with the Company who sought to add Bassein and Salsette to Bombay and so make it the *entrepôt* of the India and China Seas, the province of Bombay had grown territorially as the power of the plundering Marathas waned from internal dissensions and the British arms. The first part of India to become British, the Western Presidency had been the last to grow into dimensions worthy of a separate government in direct communication with the home authorities, though in imperial matters controlled by the Governor-General from Calcutta. Bombay had long been in a deficit of a million sterling a year or more. But the final extinction of the Maratha Powers by Lord Hastings in 1822 enabled Bombay to extend right into Central India and down into the southern Maratha country, while Poona became the second or inland capital of the Presidency. The two men who did most to bring this about, and to settle the condition of India south of the Vindhyas territorially as it now is, were Mountstuart Elphinstone and John Malcolm. What they thus made Bombay Wilson found it, and that it continued to be all through his life, with the addition of Sindh, to the north, in 1843, and of an exchange of a county with Madras in the south. Lord Dalhousie, and afterwards Lord Canning, would have added the fertile cotton-fields of Berar to it in 1861, but for the mismanagement of the Resident at Hyderabad, and that is still a cause of irritation between the Government of India and the Nizam. The change seems

at hand, by which, if Sindh is transferred to the Punjab Province, the old Maratha principality of the Bhonslas, known as the Central Provinces around Nagpore, will be united administratively to Bombay.

Mountstuart Elphinstone had no warmer admirer than Wilson, who wrote a valuable sketch of his life for the local Asiatic Society. A younger son of the eleventh Lord Elphinstone, and an Edinburgh High School boy, he went out to India as a "writer" with his cousin John Adam, who was afterwards *interim* Governor-General. Having miraculously escaped the 1799 massacre at Benares, he was made assistant to the British Resident at Poona, then the Peshwa's court. He rode by the Duke of Wellington's side at the victory of Assye, as his interpreter, and was told by the then Colonel Wellesley that he had mistaken his calling, for he was certainly born a soldier. Subsequently, after a mission to Cabul, on his way from Calcutta to Poona to become Resident he made the friendship of Henry Martyn. The battle of Kirkee in 1817 punished the Peshwa's latest attempt at treachery, and it became Elphinstone's work to make that brilliant settlement of the ceded territories which has been the source of all the happiness of the people since. His report of 1819 stands in the first rank of Indian state papers, and that is saying much. When, after that, he discovered the plot of certain Maratha Brahmans to murder all the English in Poona and Satara, the man who was beloved by the mass of the natives for his kindly geniality saved the public peace by executing the ringleaders. His prompt firmness astounded Sir Evan Nepean, whom he afterwards succeeded as Governor, into advising him that he should ask for an act of indemnity. The reply was characteristic of his whole career—"Punish me if I have done wrong; if I have done right I need no act of indemnity." The eight years' administration of this good man, and great scholar and statesman, were so marked by

wisdom and success, following a previously brilliant career, that on his retiring to his native country he had the unique honour of being twice offered the position of Governor-General. What he did for oriental learning and education, and how his nephew afterwards governed Bombay, and became Wilson's friend in the more trying times of 1857, we shall see.

Sir John Malcolm, too, had his embassage to Persia, and his victory in battle—Mahidpore; while it fell to him to complete that settlement of Central India in 1818 with Bajee Rao, which the adopted son, Nana Dhoondopunt, tried vainly to upset in 1857. Malcolm's generosity on that occasion has been much questioned, but it had Elphinstone's approval. His distinguished services of forty years were rewarded by his being made Elphinstone's successor as Governor of Bombay in 1827. In the ship in which he returned to take up the appointment was a young cadet, now Sir Henry Rawlinson, whose ability he directed to the study of oriental literature. He had been Governor for little more than a year when he first received, at his daily public breakfast at Parell, the young Scottish missionary from his own Border land. Even better than his predecessor, Malcolm knew how to influence the natives, by whom he was worshipped. He continued the administrative system as he found it, writing to a friend—"The only difference between Mountstuart and me is that I have Mullagatawny at tiffin, which comes of my experience at Madras." The Governor was in the thick of that collision with the Supreme Court, forced on him by Sir John Peter Grant's attempt to exercise jurisdiction all over the Presidency—as in Sir Elijah Impey's days in Calcutta. He had just returned from one of those tours through the native States, which the Governor, like Elphinstone before him and the missionary after him, considered "of primal importance" for the well-being of the people. The decision of the President of the Board of Control at home, then Lord

Ellenborough, was about to result in the resignation of the impetuous judge. Such was Bombay, politically and territorially when, in the closing weeks of the cold season of 1828-9, John Wilson and his wife landed from the "Sesostris," East Indiaman.[1]

Economically the year 1829 was marked by the first serious attempt on the part of the Directors at home, and the Government on the spot, to extend the cultivation and improve the fibre of the cotton of Western India, which was to prove so important a factor alike in the prosperity and the adversity of Bombay in the coming years. In that review of his three years' administration to 1st December 1830, which Sir John Malcolm wrote for his successors, and published to influence the discussions on the Charter of 1833, under the title of *The Government of India*, this significant sentence occurs:—"A cotton mill has been established in Bengal with the object of underselling the printed goods and yarns sent from England;

[1] Our readers will find it useful to refer to this list of the Governors of Bombay just before and during Dr. Wilson's work there—

Governor.	*Years.*
Jonathan Duncan	1795
Sir Evan Nepean, Bart.	1812
The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone	1819
Sir John Malcolm, K.C.B.	1827
Earl of Clare	1831
Sir Robert Grant	1835
Sir James Rivett-Carnac, Bart.	1839
Sir George Arthur, Bart.	1842
Sir George Russell Clerk	1847
Viscount Falkland	1848
Lord Elphinstone, G.C.B.	1853
Sir George Russell Clerk (2d time)	1860
Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.	1862
Sir Seymour Fitzgerald	1867
Sir Philip Wodehouse	1872
Sir Richard Temple, Bart.	1877

Sir W. H. Macnaghten was massacred in 1841 when about to leave Cabul to join his appointment as Governor of Bombay. The Honourable Messrs. George Brown in 1811; John Romer in 1831; James Farish in 1838; G. W. Anderson in 1841; and L. R. Reid in 1846, were senior members of council, who acted for a short time as *interim* Governors.

but there are, in my opinion, causes which, for a long period, must operate against the success of such an establishment." The period has not proved to be so long as the conservative experience of the Governor led him to believe. In this respect Bombay soon shot ahead of Bengal, which afterwards found a richer trade in jute and tea. But the withdrawal of the last restriction on trade was, when Wilson landed, about to co-operate with a consolidated administration to make Bombay the seat of an enriching commerce, of which its varied native communities obtained a larger share than elsewhere. A society composed of Hindoo, Parsee, Jewish, and even Muhammadan merchant princes, was being brought to the birth, side by side with the great Scottish houses, at the head of which was Sir Charles Forbes. And the man had come to lift them all to a higher level; to purify them all, in differing degrees, by the loftiest ideal.

At this time our Indian Empire was just one third of its present magnitude, but its native army was 186,000 strong, a fourth more than since the Mutiny. Including St. Helena, the area was 514,238 square miles, the population 89½ millions, and the gross revenue £21,695,207. The whole was administered in 88 counties by 1083 British civil officers, and defended by 37,428 white troops. Of the three Presidencies the Western was by far the smallest, but its geographical position gave it an advantage as the centre of action from Cape Comorin to the head of the Persian Gulf, and from Central India to Central Africa. Its area was 65,000 square miles, not much more than that of England and Wales. Its population was 6¼ millions in ten counties, and its gross annual revenue 2½ millions sterling. The whole province was garrisoned by 7728 white troops and 32,508 sepoys, under its own Commander-in-Chief; and it had a Marine or Navy, famous in its day and too rashly abolished long after, which was manned by 542 Europeans and 618 natives.

Notwithstanding the enlightened action and tolerant encouragement of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Malcolm, public instruction and Christian education were still in the day of small things in Bombay, although it was in some respects more advanced than Bengal which soon distanced it for a time. In the Presidency, as in Madras and Calcutta, a charity school had been, in 1718, forced into existence by the very vices of the English residents and the conditions of a then unhealthy climate. Legitimate orphans and illegitimate children, white and coloured, had to be cared for, and were fairly well trained by public benevolence, for the Company gave no assistance till 1807. In the Charter of 1813, which Charles Grant and Wilberforce had partially succeeded in making half as liberal as that granted by William III. in 1698, Parliament gave India not only its first Protestant bishop, archdeacons, and Presbyterian chaplains, but a department of public instruction bound to spend at least a lakh of rupees a year, or £10,000, on the improvement of literature, and the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the people. In 1815 the Bombay Native Education Society was formed, and opened schools in Bombay, Tanna, and Broach, with the aid of a Government grant. Immediately after Mountstuart Elphinstone's appointment as Governor it extended its operations to supplying a vernacular and school-book literature. It recommended the adoption of the Lancasterian method of teaching, then popular in England, and it continued the useful work till 1840, when it became in name, what it had always been in fact, the public Board of Education. Since it failed to provide for the Southern Konkan, or coast districts, Major Jervis, R.E., who became an earnest coadjutor of Wilson, established a similar society for that purpose in 1823, but that was affiliated with the original body. When Poona became British, Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Deccan, established a Sanscrit college

there, which failed from the vicious Oriental system on which it was conducted, in spite of its enjoyment of the Dukshina or charity fund of Rs. 35,000 a year, established by the Peshwas for the Brahmans' education.[1] The Society's central school in Bombay was more successful, and is still the principal Government High School. When Mountstuart Elphinstone left Bombay in 1827, the native gentlemen subscribed, as a memorial of him, £21,600, from the interest of which professorships were to be established "to be held by gentlemen from Great Britain, until the happy period arrived when natives shall be fully competent to hold them." But no such professors arrived till 1835, when they held, in the Town Hall, classes which have since grown into the Elphinstone College. In that year, out of a population of more than a quarter of a million in the Island of Bombay only 1026 were at school; in the rest of the province the scholars numbered 1864 in the Maratha, and 2128 in the Goojaratee-speaking

[1] When, in 1842, presiding at the annual examination of the General Assembly's English school at Poona, Dr. Wilson thus pictured the days of Brahmanical supremacy and bigotry in the capital of the Peshwas. The italics and capital letters are his:—"Twenty-five years ago, when the Brahmans constituted the soul, at this place, of the Maratha Government, the most powerful which had been formed in India since its conquest by the Mussulmans—which it was the first to impair and to limit—few persons could have *imagined* the existence and progress of a Christian seminary such as that which the Church of Scotland has been honoured to found in the capital of the Dekhan. Even after the conquest of the province by the British, we find the Commissioner, Mr. Chaplin, when instituting the Poona College, with the concurrence of the Bombay Government, sacrificing every sound educational principle to his apprehension of the non-concurrence of the people with the measures which he thought it might be desirable ultimately to adopt. 'The Commissioner states'—it is mentioned in the interesting Report of the Board of Education just published—'that in order to secure as far as possible the *popularity* of the establishment with the Hindu community, he had proposed the appointment of teachers in all *their* branches of learning, *although* MANY OF THEM WERE PERHAPS WORSE THAN USELESS.' He adds [after a considerable interval] 'that he had *not yet taken any measures towards the introduction of* ANY *branches of European science:* but he had endeavoured to direct the attention of the College principally to such part of their *own Shashtras* as are not only more useful in themselves, but will best prepare their minds for a

districts, or 5018 in all. In the four years ending 1830, just before and after Wilson's arrival, the Bombay Government remarked, "with alarm," that although it had fixed its annual grant to public instruction at £2000 it had spent £20,192 in that period. So apathetic were the natives that they had subscribed only £471, while the few Europeans had given £818 for the same purpose. Truly the system of a vicious Orientalism was breaking down, as opposed to that of which Wilson was to prove the apostle—the communication of Western truth on Western methods through the Oriental tongues so as to elevate learned and native alike. In their report of 1828-29 the Native Education Society had remarked, but without the facts to support the statement, "We venture to say that in no part of the globe have such wide and effectual advantages spread so quickly from means at first apparently circumscribed, and in the face of so many and great difficulties."[1] In truth, in Bombay as in Calcutta and the rest of

gradual reception of more valuable instructions at a *future time.*' In the establishment which he actually formed and supported, we find the polytheistic Vedas and pantheistic Vedánta occupying a most prominent place; every native excluded from the walls of the seminary—as is actually the case in the present day—who could not lay claims to the holiness and dignity of the Bràhmanhood; a *dead* and imaginary sacred language, the Sanscrit, chosen as the *sole* medium of communicating instruction; heathen rights and ceremonies tolerated and enjoined by the College authorities, and *paid for* by the Christian Government, and our own judges and magistrates scowled at and insulted, when they ventured to visit the tabooed enclosure; and endless bickerings and quarrels among both the professors and students. In fact, we find so many gross and glaring evils in it, that the Revenue and Judicial Commissioners and Agent for Sirdars, with the Collector, recommend its '*abolition;*' and Government say, in reply to their representations, that '*the Institution had failed of its object, that it had fulfilled no purpose but that of perpetuating prejudices and false systems of opinion; and that unless it could be reformed* [as it now to a great extent happily is through the wise measures ably and zealously carried into effect by its European Superintendent, Captain Candy] *it had better be abolished.*'"

[1] These statistics are taken from a confidential Report on "Education in British India prior to 1854, and in 1870-71," made by the Home Department to the Government of India in 1872. The Report should be written up to the present year and published.

India, education was languishing or being directed to the most evil ends, as long before pointed out by James Mill in one of the Leadenhall Street despatches to the Governor-General, for want of those reforms which the coming Charter of 1833 enabled the government under men like Lord William Bentinck and Macaulay, and guided by missionary-statesmen like Alexander Duff and John Wilson, to direct, with incalculable results both social and spiritual. The almost exclusively Orientalising policy of the Government previous to 1835, left Bombay a *tabula rasa* on which Wilson soon learned to engrave characters of light and life that were never to be obliterated.

Nor had the few missionaries then in Western India anticipated him. Self-sacrificing to an extent for which, save from their great successor, they have rarely got credit, they were lost in the jungle of circumstances. The American missionaries were the first Protestants to take up the work which, in the early Christian centuries, the Nestorians had begun at the ancient port of Kalliana, the neighbouring Callian, which was long the seat of a Persian bishop. In 1813, Dr. Coke sailed for Bombay with the same Major Jarvis, R.E., who did so much for the Konkan. His successors, for he died at sea, began that work of primary importance in every mission, an improved edition of the New Testament in the vernacular Marathee, for which Mr. Wilson expressed his gratitude soon after his arrival. But when, at a later period, one of their annual reports ignorantly represented the Americans as having been the first to evangelise the Marathas, he felt constrained to publish this statement of the facts.

"The American missionaries first came to Bombay in 1813; but the whole of the New Testament in Marathee had been published by the Serampore missionaries in 1811. Dr. Robert Drummond published his grammar and glossary of the Goojaratee and Marathee languages at the *Bombay Courier*

press in 1808. Dr. Carey published his Marathee grammar and dictionary at Serampore in 1810. All these helps were enjoyed by the American missionaries; and though they are by no means so important as those which are now accessible to all students and missionaries, we would be guilty of ingratitude to those who furnished them were we to overlook them. *Suum cuique tribue* should ever be our motto. The Romish Church we know to be very corrupted; but I have seen works composed by its missionaries about two hundred years ago, which could 'give the Marathas the least idea of the true character of God as revealed in the Scripture.' It is too much when the labours of the Romish missionaries are considered, to affirm that 'not a tree in this forest had been felled' till the American missionaries came to this country. There have been some pious Roman Catholics in Europe, and why may there not have been some amongst the eight generations of the 300,000 in the Marathee country? The Serampore missionaries admitted several Marathas to their communion before 1813."

The first American missionaries had their own romance, like all pioneers. They were driven from Calcutta by the Government in 1812, and told they might settle in Mauritius. Judson happily was sent to Burma by Dr. Carey. Messrs. Hall and Nott took ship to Bombay. Thence the good but weak Sir Evan Nepean, who had been shocked by Elphinstone's firmness in the Poona plot, warned them off; but an appeal to his Christian principle led him to temporise until Charles Grant and the Charter of the next year restrained the Company. In 1815 the London Missionary Society repeated at Surat, and afterwards in Belgaum, an effort to found a mission which in 1807 had failed in the island of Bombay. In 1820, the Church Missionary Society began in Western India that work which in time bore good fruit for Africa also. In 1822 the increase of British territory, caused by the extinction of the

Maratha power, induced the Scottish Missionary Society, which since 1796 had been working in West Africa, to send as its first missionary to Bombay the Rev. Donald Mitchell, a son of the manse, who, when a lieutenant of infantry at Surat, had been led to enter the Church of Scotland. He was followed by the Revs. John Cooper; James Mitchell; Alexander Crawford, whose health soon failed; John Stevenson, who became a chaplain; and, finally, Robert Nesbit, fellow student of Dr. Duff at St. Andrews University under Chalmers, and Wilson's early friend. "Desperately afraid of offending the Brahmans," as a high official expressed it,[1] the authorities would not allow the early Scottish missionaries to settle in Poona, which had too recently become British, as they desired. Had not a native distributor of American tracts just before been seized, by order, and escorted to the low land at the foot of the Ghauts? So there, on the fertile strip of jungly coast, in the very heart of the widow-burning, self-righteous, intellectually able and proud Maratha Brahmans, the Scottish evangelists began their work of sheer necessity, for they considered that Bombay was already cared for by the American and English missions. The Governors, Elphinstone and Malcolm, however, although they would not allow the good men to be martyred in Poona, as they supposed, with all the possible political complications, subscribed liberally to their funds, a thing which no Governor-General dared do till forty years after, when John Lawrence ruled from Calcutta. In Hurnee and Bankote, from sixty to eighty miles down the coast from Bombay, these missionaries had preached in Marathee and opened or inspected primary schools, with small results. So terrible was the social sacrifice involved in the profession and communion of Christianity that the first Hindoo convert, in 1823, some weeks

[1] See *Memoir of the Rev. Robert Nesbit*, by the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell. 1858.

after his baptism, rushed from the Lord's Table when Mr. Hall was about to break the bread, exclaiming, "No, I will not break caste yet." Long before this the good James Forbes, father of the Countess de Montalembert, had given it as his experience of Anglo-Indians at all the settlements of Bombay, from Ahmedabad to Anjengo, and dating from 1766, "that the character of the English in India is an honour to the country. In private life they are generous, kind, and hospitable; in their public situations, when called forth to arduous enterprise, they conduct themselves with skill and magnanimity; and, whether presiding at the helm of the political and commercial department, or spreading the glory of the British arms, with courage, moderation, and clemency, the annals of Hindostan will transmit to future ages names dear to fame and deserving the applause of Europe. . . . With all the milder virtues belonging to their sex, my amiable countrywomen are entitled to their full share of applause. This is no fulsome panegyric; it is a tribute of truth and affection to those worthy characters with whom I so long associated, and will be confirmed by all who resided in India."[1] Mr. Forbes finally left India in 1784, when only thirty-five years of age, but after eighteen years' experience.

The successive Governors had given an improved tone to Anglo-Indian society, and the few missionaries and chaplains had drawn around them some of the officials both in the Council and in the ordinary ranks of the civil and military services. But the squabbles in the Supreme Court, and the reminiscences of a Journalist,[2] who has published his memoirs recently, show that here also the new missionary had a field prepared for him, which it became his special privilege to develope and adorn with all the purity of a Christian ideal and all the grace of a cultured gentleman. What in this way

[1] *Oriental Memoirs* (1834), vol. i. page 98.

[2] *The Memoirs of a Journalist*, by J. H. Stocqueler. Bombay, 1873.

he did, unobtrusively and almost unconsciously, in Bombay for forty years, will hardly be understood without a glance at this picture of the Island in 1830, as drawn by the editor of the *Bombay Courier*:—

"The opportunity of leaving Bombay was not to be regretted. 'Society' on that pretty little island had a very good opinion of itself, but it was in reality a very tame affair. It chiefly consisted of foolish *burra sahibs* (great folk) who gave dinners, and *chota sahibs* (little folk) who ate them. The dinners were in execrable taste, considering the climate. . . . But the food for the palate was scarcely so flavourless as the conversation. Nothing could be more vapid than the talk of the guests, excepting when some piece of scandal affecting a lady's reputation or a gentleman's official integrity gave momentary piquancy to the dialogue. Dancing could hardly be enjoyed with the thermometer perpetually ranging between 80° and 100° Fahrenheit, and only one spinster to six married women available for the big-wigs who were yet to be caged. A quiet tiffin with a barrister or two, or an officer of the Royal Staff who could converse on English affairs, and a game of billiards at the old hotel or one of the regimental messes, were about the only resources, next to one's books, available to men at the Presidency endowed with a trifling share of scholarship and the thinking faculty."

Such was Bombay, the city and the province, when John Wilson thus wrote to the household at Lauder his first impressions of the former:—

"Everything in the appearance of Bombay and the character of the people differs from what is seen at home. Figure to yourselves a clear sky, a burning sun, a parched soil, gigantic shrubs, numerous palm trees, a populous city with inhabitants belonging to every country under heaven, crowded and dirty streets, thousands of Hindoos, Muhammadans, Parsees, Buddhists, Jews, and Portuguese; perpetual marriage processions, barbarous music, etc., etc.; and you will have some idea of what I observe at present. In Bombay there are many heathen temples, Muhammadan mosques, and Jewish synagogues, several Roman Catholic chapels, one Presbyterian Church, one Episcopal Church, and one Mission Church belonging to the Americans. I preached in the Scotch Church on the first Sabbath after my arrival, and in the Mission Church on Sabbath last."

CHAPTER III.

1829-1836.

ORGANISATION AND FIRST FRUIT OF THE MISSION.

The Languages of the People—If necessary for Officials much more for Missionaries—Foundation of Wilson's Oriental Scholarship—Masters Marathee so as to preach his first Sermon in six Months—Tentative efforts at Hurnee—First visit to a Hindoo House and Discussion with a Parsee—Prohibition of Suttee: Letter to Lord William Bentinck—"Plan of Operations in the Island of Bombay"—His first European Friends—Establishes the *Oriental Christian Spectator*—Census of Bombay—Wilson and Duff—Presbyterian Constitution of a Native Church—Transferred from the Scottish Missionary Society to the General Assembly—Progress of the Mission to 1836—Letters to Mr. J. Jordan Wilson, and beginning of the Ten Years' Conflict.

" A good man was ther of religioun,
And was a poure PERSOUN of a toun ;
But riche he was of holy thought and werk.
He was also a lerned man, a clerk
That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche ;
His parischens devoutly wolde he teche.
Benigne he was, and wonder diligent,
And in adversité ful pacient ;
And such he was i-proved ofte sithes.
Ful loth were him to curse for his tythes.
But rather wolde he *ye*ven out of dowte,
Unto his poure parisschens aboute,
Of his offrynge, and eek of his substaunce.
He cowde in litel thing han suffisaunce.
Wyd was his parische, and houses fer asonder,
But he ne lafte not for reyne ne thonder,
In siknesse nor in meschief to visite
The ferreste in his parissche, moche and lite,
Uppon his feet, and in his hond a staf.
This noble ensample to his scheep he *ya*f,
That first he wroughte, and afterward he taughte,
Out of the gospel he tho wordes caughte,
And this figure he addede eek therto,
That if gold ruste, what schal yren doo ?

. . . .

And though he holy were, and vertuous,
He was to sinful man nought despitous,
Ne of his speche daungerous ne digne,
But in his teching discret and benigne.
To drawe folk to heven by fairnesse
By good ensample, this was his busynesse :
But it were eny persone obstinat,
What so he were, of high or lowe estat,
Him wold he snybbe scharply for the nones.
A bettre preest, I trowe, there nowher non is.
He waytede after no pompe and reverence,
Ne makede him a spiced conscience,
But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taughte, but first he folwede it himselve."

CHAUCER.—*The Prologue.*

CHAPTER III.

If a knowledge of the language of the people, vernacular and, where possible, classical also, is the indispensable qualification of every official, so that it is carefully provided for by the competitive examinations in England and by the professional tests in the four great groups of Provinces in India, how much more is it required by the foreign missionary. The assistant-magistrate, even the district officer, who rules a million of people in one of the 200 counties of the Indian Empire; the judge who, outside of the three English cities, hears cases and writes his decisions in the prevailing language of the province, may be content with a merely official use of the Marathee or Goojaratee, the Tamul or Teloogoo, the Hindee or Hindostanee, the Bengalee or Oorya, to say nothing of the Persian and the Sanscrit which enrich all the thirty languages of our Indian subjects. There is no conscientious civil or military officer, however, who will not value his linguistic knowledge for the highest social as well as political ends, in kindly intercourse with all classes; and there is no one of scholarly tastes who will be content without some acquaintance with the learned languages of the East, whether Aryan or Semitic. But as the heart of a people is reached through its mother-tongue, and all that is best worth knowing about a country is to be found in its dialects and literature, the Christian missionary and scholar, above all officials, will master the vernacular as his most precious instrument, and the classical language that feeds it as his most useful storehouse of information and illustration, argument and authority.

The Scottish, like the American missionaries who first worked in Western India, were pre-eminent in such studies, following an example fortunately set them and all subsequent preachers and teachers in the East, by the Baptist "cobbler" and most versatile orientalist of his day,—William Carey. Mr. Wilson's student friend especially, Robert Nesbit, who had preceded him to India by sixteen months, was already a fluent speaker of that Marathee, of which he became so remarkable a preacher and writer that the natives could not trace even a foreign accent in his pronunciation and use of its idioms. From the first to the last day of his India life Wilson was of opinion that a year or longer should be allowed to every young missionary to acquire the vernacular of his province. He himself had brought to India a more than professional familiarity with Latin and Greek; he knew French for literary purposes; and he carried farther than his old professor and now friend, Dr. Brunton, the study of Hebrew. He had not been a month in Bombay when he and his most apt pupil, his wife, left it for the comparative seclusion of, first Bankote and then Hurnee, that they might, aided by their brethren and in the midst of the country people, thoroughly learn Marathee, to begin with.

In the eight months of the first hot and rainy seasons, from April to November, Mr. Wilson laid the foundation of his Orientalism with a rapidity, a thoroughness, and a breadth, due alike to his overmastering motive, his previous training, and his Mezzofanti-like memory. He himself tells, in the letters and journals of the time, how he set to work after a fashion that may well form the model of every worker in India in whatever position. We find Nesbit thus writing to him at the close of that six months' fruitful apprenticeship:—"I am accused of injuring your health by making you study Marathee and talk with me at night . . . Will the exhortation to take good care of your health now make any amends? Get up at

six, by all means; and, that you may be able to do so, go to bed at ten." Mr. Wilson thus addressed his directors in Edinburgh:—

"As a year has passed away since I commenced my studies of the native languages, it is now my duty to give you a brief account of my progress. By referring to my journals I find that it was on the 18th of August, being five months after my arrival in India, that I began to hold consultations with the Hindoos, and on the 27th of September when I preached my first sermon. When I was in the Konkan I generally devoted about nine hours to the study of Marathee. Since I commenced my labours in Bombay I devote, according to my ability, all the intervals from active missionary duty which I enjoy. I may mention five hours daily as the average in which I am thus engaged. During the first two months of my studies I pursued, as far as is practicable, the Hamiltonian system. Mr. Nesbit during that time kindly furnished me with the English of my lessons. I afterwards principally depended on my pundit, who had only a knowledge of Marathee, and on the literary helps which I could obtain. The books which I used were translations from the English made by the Native Education Society, native stories, the translation of the Scriptures, mission tracts, and an account of the Hindoo religion written by a Brahman in my employment, in reply to queries which I addressed to him. I kept a writer for four months who furnished me with lists of words under the different principles of association which I could think of. I devoted about an hour daily to consideration on the religion, manners, and customs of the Hindoos, which I regulated according to Mr. Ward's account.

"In Bombay I have some facilities for study which I did not enjoy in the Konkan. These principally consist in my being able to get all difficulties readily and satisfactorily solved, and in my being favoured with the sheets of Captain Molesworth's and Mr. Candy's Dictionary as they pass through the press. For the last three months I have devoted the hour between seven and eight in the morning to the reading of Hebrew with the points. I am very desirous, for the sake of usefulness among the Jews here, and other important reasons, to attain to greater proficiency in this ancient language. My teacher, who is a rabbi, is an excellent scholar. He is well acquainted with Mr. Wolff, whom he has frequently seen in Jerusalem; and he declares, even among his countrymen, that the Messiah has already appeared. I am not without hopes of his being a converted man. I expect in a

short time to be able to commence the study of Hindostanee, a language which will enable me to communicate the truths of the Gospel to many natives in Bombay to whom at present I cannot find access."

Of Captain Molesworth, brother of Lord Molesworth, and his great dictionary, we shall hear more. At Bankote, sixty-eight miles south of Bombay, Mr. Wilson took his seat in the missionary council. On the first Sabbath after his arrival he witnessed the baptism of the second Hindoo convert of the mission, and administered the sacrament to "the children of the East and West seated together at the same table." At Hurnee he thus describes his tentative missionary efforts, after his acquisition of Marathee, in the opening passage of the Journal, which he again continued to write for a few weeks. The interest of the passage lies chiefly in the contrast it presents to his Bombay experience. Mr. Cooper, who is referred to, died in 1868 in Edinburgh, after long service as a United Presbyterian minister in the Midlothian village of Fala.

"*November 1st*, 1829. *Sabbath.*—I preached to the natives in the afternoon on the distinguishing characteristics of the children of God. The man whom I met on Friday did not attend the Marathee services.

"*2d.*—I preached to the beggars in the morning, and united with Mr. Cooper in addressing the natives in the afternoon.

"*3d.*—I addressed the natives in the morning.

"*4th, 5th.*—I addressed the servants in the morning, and united with Mr. Cooper in preaching to the natives in the afternoon.

"*6th.*—I addressed the natives in the morning.

"*7th.*—I addressed the natives, and made preparations for the approaching Sabbath.

"*8th. Sabbath.*—I preached to the Europeans on "The carnal mind is enmity against God." A lady who heard my discourse appeared to be a good deal affected by it. I observed her in tears. May God unfold to her the knowledge of her state by nature and practice, and lead her to embrace the truth as it is in Jesus.

"*9th.*—I examined the bazaar-school, and preached to the beggars

in the morning and forenoon. Messrs. Nesbit and Taylor of Belgaum arrived from Bombay, where they had been attending a meeting of the Bombay Missionary Union. Mr. Taylor, who is a highly respected and honoured servant of the Redeemer, communicated some very interesting intelligence to us respecting the spread of the Gospel. He mentioned that he had baptized four criminals lately, who, previously to their death, afforded him a reason to hope that they had been renewed in the spirit of their minds; and showed us a very interesting letter respecting the proceedings of the Baptist Mission in Burma. Dr. Judson baptized ten individuals during the first three months of this year.

"10*th.*—I spent most of the day with Mr. Taylor. He left us in the evening.

"11*th.*—Along with Mrs. Wilson I removed from Hurnee to Dhapoolie, in the hope that, as stated to us by Dr. Stewart our host, a change of air would be beneficial to our health.

"12*th.*—I spent this day principally in intercourse with the Europeans at this military station.

"13*th.*—I visited in the morning the schools of Dhapoolie and Jilgaum. In the first of these I found twenty-four boys and one girl. Few of them could read. The teacher, like too many of those supported by the Scottish Missionary Society, appears to confine his chief attention to writing and arithmetic, which are taught according to a very careless system. In the second I found fourteen boys. A proper proportion of them were able to read. In the course of the day I preached to the natives, and distributed a considerable number of tracts.

"14*th.*—I travelled between Dhapoolie and Hurnee.

"15*th.*—I preached in the forenoon and evening to the Europeans, and in the afternoon to the natives. The English services were attended by several of the officers from Dhapoolie and the commander of the Konkan Division of the Army."

So the work of preaching, examining, and teaching goes on daily, all the month, till his removal to Bombay. We have, in what follows, the beginning of those tours, and discourses with natives of all classes, which gave Mr. Wilson at once his extraordinary influence and his vast stores of information regarding the people of the country.

"18*th November.*—I left Hurnee early in the morning, and, along with W. M. Webb, Esq., rode to Punch-nuddee.

"The country through which we passed is very beautiful. The scenery is variegated, and it is distinguished by numerous hills and valleys which are covered with trees and jungle shrubs, and which present a verdure very delightful to the eye. We arrived at Punchnuddee at half-past 8 o'clock. As our porters had not come up, we found at first no place on which to repose ourselves. We procured, however, some bunches of straw which we spread in the veranda of the temple in which we intended to sleep during the night, and which served as couches. I spent the most of the day in addressing the natives who came to the temple, in preaching in the village, and in distributing tracts. I had the fullest discussion with a Brahman, who stayed with me for about three hours, on the subject of religion I have yet enjoyed or witnessed. The following is an outline of part of our conversation :—

I. 'Do you make inquiries on the subject of religion ?'

B. 'Why should we make inquiries respecting religion ?'

I. 'When a man comes into the world his mind is filled with evil, and his face is turned towards hell. If he follow his evil inclinations, and make no inquiry about the way to heaven, he will meet with destruction.'

B. 'Yes. When man is born there is nothing in his mind but lust, wrath, selfish affection, etc. Wisdom must be obtained.'

I. 'Do you know the message which we declare in this country ?'

B. 'I know a little about it.'

I. 'Our declaration is that all men need a Saviour.' [A simple statement of Christian truth followed.]

B. 'Your religion is good ; but other religions are good. Those who walk according to them will be saved.'

I. 'The Christian religion is the only religion established and approved by God. Men, instead of "making merit," make sin. The Christian religion is the only religion which offers a righteousness to man. Men are naturally unholy and unprepared to meet God ; the Christian religion alone affords a provision for the purification of man, and for his preparation for heaven.'

B. 'The Hindoo religion is a good religion.'

I. "Tell me everything which you can say in its favour, and I will not interrupt you. I will then tell you something about Christianity, and you will not interrupt me. On what grounds do you believe that the Hindoo religion is of divine origin ?'

B. (after much hesitation). 'I will give you an illustration.'

I. 'First give me a proof, and then give me an illustration.'

B. 'The Hindoo Shastres are written in Sanscrit. Sanscrit is the language of God. The Hindoo Shastres are therefore from God.'

I. 'Your proof has no weight. Sanscrit is not even the original language of mankind. In Sanscrit many false stories have been written, and many may be written. Have you no other proof to offer?'

B. 'No other.'

I. 'The evidences of Christianity are of two kinds, external and internal.' (Here a summary of them was given.)

B. 'God has endowed you with a great understanding; but our Shastres are proved by their prophecies as well as yours.'

I. 'Mention some of your prophecies which are like ours in their announcement and fulfilment.'

B. 'I do not remember any at present.'

I. 'I exhort you, believe in Christ.'

B. 'Your story is true; but, as I am a part of God, I know that I will be absorbed in the divine essence.'

I. 'You are not a part of God. God is perfectly holy; you are sinful. God is infinitely wise; you are limited in knowledge and understanding. Do you ever suffer mental affliction?'

B. 'I do.'

I. 'If your mind is a part of God, why does God afflict himself?' (No answer.)

I. 'Your spirit will go to God after death, and be judged by God. If you believe in the Saviour you will go to heaven; if you do not believe you will go to hell.'

"This person returned to me late in the evening. I gave him some accounts of the contents of the Bible; and informed him that the chief story of the Old Testament was that the Saviour will come, and the chief story of the New was that the Saviour has come. One of the passages of the Bible which Mr. Webb and I read was Isaiah, 47th chapter. In the circumstances in which we were placed we felt its remarks on idol-worship with a power which we had never formerly experienced."

"*29th November. Sabbath.*—I commenced my ministry among the natives of Bombay by preaching to about twenty individuals in Mr. Laurie's house.

"*30th.*—I wrote out the scrawl copy of a plan of the operations which I intend to pursue in Bombay.

"1*st December.*—I purchased some furniture, made some fruitless inquiries about a house, and took farewell of the Rev. Mr. Graves previously to his departure to Ceylon for the benefit of his health. This learned, pious, and laborious missionary has been one of the greatest supporters of the cause on this side of India. His second edition of the Maratha New Testament, which he has just now completed, is a work of uncommon merit. It is distinguished by fidelity, great critical knowledge, and high attainment in the native language.

"2*d.*—I preached to a company of the natives on Colaba.

"3*d.*—I paid the usual respects to the Governor, who has welcomed me to Bombay in the kindest manner, and breakfasted with him; and, along with two of the members of the corresponding committee, looked at several empty houses.

"4*th*, 5*th.*—I spent these days in the purchase of furniture, and other similar business.

"6*th. Sabbath.*—I preached to the congregation of the Scotch Church in the forenoon; and to twenty-four natives in the afternoon.

"7*th.*—I wrote an advertisement of a short religious Magazine, which is intended principally to contain a record of the progress of the Gospel; and consulted with R. T. Webb, Esq., who, along with myself, Mr. Stone of the American Mission, and R. C. Money, Esq., a member of the corresponding committee, is to be one of the conductors of it, about some matters connected with it.

"13*th. Sabbath.*—I addressed twenty-two natives at Mr. Laurie's house.

"13*th*, 14*th.*—I engaged with Mr. Laurie in examining and transcribing the accompts of the Mission, and in preparing communications for the directors.

"15*th.*—I visited the house which has been taken for me; conversed with Narayan, who was baptized by Mr. Stevenson, and made arrangements concerning the Mission. In the

evening I heard the delightful intelligence that an order for the abolishment of Suttees throughout India had been passed by the Governor-General in Council. On account of this measure every Christian must rejoice—(1.) According to a moderate computation it will save three thousand lives annually. (2.) It will tend greatly to the improvement of the moral feelings of the Hindoos. What can be more shocking than the scenes which are witnessed at the funeral pile? Connected with them there is the violation of every principle of humanity, and the exhibition of the most sinful cupidity—the motive by which relations are commonly excited to the encouragement of the horrid deed. (3.) Its tendency will be that of opening the eyes of the Hindoos to the enormities of their religion. It is a testimony from the Government which was greatly needed; and the absence of which, combined with other circumstances, has, I have found, been viewed as an encouragement. When it has been for some time put in force, it will permit the Hindoos, with greater coolness and with less prejudice, to contemplate their Shastres, than at present when they see their most revolting recommendations reduced to practice. The Christian public are undoubtedly bound to return public thanks to Almighty God for the favour which in this respect He has shown to His cause."

The Bombay Missionary Union, consisting of the London, Scottish, and American missionaries in Surat, Belgaum, the Konkan, Poona, and Bombay, afterwards addressed a formal resolution to Lord William Bentinck, accompanied by this letter from Mr. Wilson, as the secretary—"This resolution is a faint expression of the feelings of those who formed it. It was dictated by the most fervent gratitude, for the measure will immortalise the name of him who carried it into effect, and which will be fraught with unspeakable blessings to the inhabitants of India till the latest generation. The missionaries in the Bombay Presidency have already observed a day

of special thanksgiving to God for the abolition of Suttees, and they now beseech Him to shower down His best blessings on the head of your lordship, whom He has honoured to be the instrument of communicating an unspeakable blessing to this benighted land." This was the first-fruit of the determination of the noblest of all the Governors-General, who had been but a year in office, to put down with one hand all such crimes against humanity, while with the other he removed the obstacles to the progress of education worthy of the name. For a quarter of a century had the men of Serampore been vainly attacking the English Government's toleration and even encouragement of Suttee. When the new regulation prohibiting it reached Carey, as he was going into his pulpit on Sunday morning, he gave perhaps the most pregnant illustration of the teaching of the "Lord of the Sabbath," by at once sending for his pundit and completing the translation into Bengalee before night. So Mr. Marshman, his successor in the office of Bengalee translator, tells the story. It was a happy augury for Wilson's work that the news of this first blow at the crimes sanctioned by Brahmanism—and that directed according to the teaching of the purest toleration—should meet him as he began his career of philanthropy in Bombay. It was long till Suttee was abolished in the feudatory States, where he met with the horror more than once. But since the Mutiny no Chief, however powerful, has gone unpunished by the government of India who has even connived at a barbarity which the freed conscience of all India soon learned to condemn. No man, no poor drugged widow who may yet never have been a wife, dare light the Suttee's pyre with impunity in the most remote jungle of a native State, from still Brahman-ridden Travancore to the most fanatical hamlet of the deserts of Rajpootana.

In June 1830 we find Mr. Wilson writing thus to Dr. Cormack of Stow:—"We intend soon to take up the subject

of infanticide. Mr. Money (son of W. T. Money, Esq., Mr. Wilberforce's friend,) told me that he had some thoughts of memorialising the Supreme Government. Lord W. Bentinck, you know, has abolished Suttee; and there is no saying what he may do. A Jain priest from Kathiawar, who knew General Walker, is almost daily with me. He speaks very affectionately of him; but he says that they have allowed the good *bandobast* (arrangement) which was made, to go to destruction. I shall give you an account of the movements on this subject."

The closing weeks of the year 1829 were spent in the organisation of the infant mission, in daily preaching to the natives, in Sunday sermons to the British sailors in the harbour for whom Mr. Wilson always cared, and in the Scotch Church. Till Christmas he was the guest of the chaplain Mr. Laurie, at his house in the most southerly point of the peninsula, Colaba, itself a separate island at one time. The day after he moved into his own house in the Fort. This seems to record his first discussion with Parsees, and his first visit to a Hindoo house in Bombay.

"30*th*.—I engaged, with Mr. Allen, in preaching to the natives. . . . 31*st*.—Some Parsees, with whom we sat for a considerable time, reprobated the monuments in the English Church, and accused the English of idolatry. We had a very curious conversation with them on this subject. I was happy to inform them that in the Scotch Church there were no images. I deeply regret that there should be any occasion for mistake on this and similar subjects. Christianity cannot be presented to the heathen in too simple a form. Every practice should be warranted by Scripture; this is the only safe principle. I preached for the first time in a Hindoo house. My audience was larger than could be accommodated."

On the same ground Bishop Cotton long after opposed the introduction of a reredos with figures into St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, where it was placed after his death; defending his

prohibition on the ground of expediency, however, by the fact that certain Sikh inquirers had been scandalised by the figures in the painted glass windows of some of the Government churches. The varied character of his work Mr. Wilson thus sums up at this early period :—

"28*th January* 1830.—My engagements have been so numerous and oppressive that I have had no disposition, and scarcely any time, to make even the shortest entrances in my journal. I will, therefore, give a general statement of the arrangements which I have made, and on which I am now acting, and of one or two measures which have been carried into effect. On Sabbaths I preach to a congregation of natives amounting to between forty and fifty. About the half of them are servants, who are sent by their masters for instruction. The remainder are principally led to attend from curiosity, or from a regard to their worldly interests. Christ himself was called to address those who followed Him from a view to the loaves and fishes. I occasionally officiate in the Scotch Church, and once in the three weeks I preach on board one of the vessels in harbour in connection with the Bombay Seamen's Friend Association.

"I regularly conduct worship in the Marathee language, and deliver a short address on some passage of Scripture at nine o'clock in the mornings at my own house. My audience varies ; but on some occasions it has been encouraging. At four o'clock in the afternoons I proceed to the streets of the city to declare the glad tidings of salvation. When I am in a public situation great numbers come around me ; and when I am in a private one, I have the advantage of being heard by all those who see me, and of addressing myself with greater particularity to individuals. On Tuesdays and Fridays I preach, after the sun is set, in native houses. My services on these occasions, though attended with many difficulties, afford me considerable comfort. They are conducted at the time when the impure shastres and religious stories are read to the people. On account of the want of circulation of air in the houses they are not without their danger. I hope, however, that by-and-bye I will be able to find some places where I may regularly officiate with some degree of comfort. On Saturday evenings I have a meeting with the Beni-Israelites. It has hitherto proved encouraging. Marathee is the vernacular language of this people.

"Three female schools have been instituted by Mrs. Wilson. The progress of the pupils is far from being encouraging. Much patience,

attention and consideration will be required to bring them into such a state as will warrant the hope that they will be useful auxiliaries in the mission. The degraded state of those of whom they are composed forms a sufficiently powerful motive for exertion in their behalf. Manuel, who was lately admitted into the Church, is constantly engaged as an inspector. A more regular attendance and efficient discipline, and consequently stricter economy, are secured by this means than could possibly be obtained by another measure. The children are as frequently visited by Mrs. Wilson as her health will permit; and the readers will be required at least once in the week to attend at the house for particular instruction.

"I have established two boys' schools, which, as far as is practicable, are conducted on the principles pursued in the Sessional School of Edinburgh. I have been much disappointed with regard to the number of scholars. The indigenous schools, and the schools of the Native Education Society, are so arranged in Bombay, I find, as to prevent the collecting of any very large number of boys in connection with any of the missions. I do not, however, despair of seeing an improvement. When the discipline of my schools is better understood, and when its fruits become apparent, and when the hostility of neighbouring teachers begins to cool, I expect to see an increase in the number of scholars. Pedro is employed as inspector. One of the schools is under my own roof.

"In connection with my labours some pleasing circumstances have occurred. A Veishya, who is engaged by me as a schoolmaster, and who had daily opportunities of hearing the gospel, about a fortnight after he entered into the service of the mission began to shew signs of seriousness. He commenced the perusal of the Scriptures, and diligently perused them when he could find leisure. I frequently heard him engaged in this exercise, and his tone indicated solemnity. I concluded from what I observed on several occasions that he wished to get private instruction from me; but as I thought the voluntary expression of his desire would enable me perhaps to throw some light on his character, I took no notice of what passed before me. In short time, however, he informed me that he wished to be considered as a religious inquirer, and solicited permission to attend me on the evenings. I cheerfully acceded to his proposal; and for the last six weeks he has regularly attended me. I am much pleased with his attention and progress, and the modesty of his professions. I have not yet considered it proper to speak to him on the subject, because it is comparatively easy for a person under the influence of strong impressions, which may

prove not to be the work of the divine Spirit, to consent to any proposals which may be made on this subject; and because, when the general deceitfulness of the Hindoo is considered it appears necessary, if a wish is entertained to preserve the Church in a state of purity, to give to all catechumens a longer time of probation than may be necessary in other circumstances.

"A few weeks ago a Brahman was executed for murder. I had an opportunity of attending him in the jail, and conversing with him on the subject of religion. As he did not perfectly understand Marathee I asked the assistance of Captain Molesworth and Lieutenant Candy, who addressed him in Hindee. He appeared to be a good deal affected with divine truth; and, apparently under its influence, he destroyed his string, and constituted Messrs. Candy, Birdwood, and myself the guardians of his child, which he wished to be educated in the Christian faith. On the day previous to his death, however, he was led to borrow another string. When we observed it upon him we remonstrated with him. He said that he was led to wear it in order that his body might be burned by his caste; that he put no trust in it; and that we could not deprive him of the faith in the Saviour, which had been imparted to him. As he was about to enter into the eternal world we thought it proper to occupy his time by directly communicating instruction to him. He died calling on the name of Jesus; and left us in such a state of hope as warranted us to say that *perhaps* he was a believer.

"I lately had some intercourse with a very intelligent member of the Romish Church from the south of India, and very free discussion respecting the apostasy of the body to which he belonged. I have reason to believe that my instructions were blessed to him. When leaving Bombay he expressed his horror at most of the abominations of Popery, his determination to read and study the Scriptures for himself, and his eagerness to correspond with me on the subject of religion. He requested some bibles and tracts for distribution, and offered to translate into Portuguese any tract (on the corruptions of the Romish Church) which I might compose. He was greatly benefited by the intercourse which he had with Pedro Lewis.

"I have a monthly meeting with some European soldiers. There is every reason to believe that in connection with them the divine blessing has rested on my labours.

"I have been a good deal tried by the conduct of Narayan Shunekur, who was baptized in May last by Mr. Stevenson. He has on more than one occasion shown great aversion to religious ordinances and re-

ligious instruction. He is engaged as a printer with Captain Molesworth, who lives in my neighbourhood, and his attendance on me has not accorded with his opportunities. Pedro and Manuel give me great satisfaction. The latter individual has commenced the study of Marathee.

"A young gentleman in the Civil Service of the Company who was brought under serious impressions during our voyage to India, makes a decided profession of Christianity; and, in the judgment of his pious acquaintances, *adorns* the doctrine of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I could mention some other facts of a similar nature, which I have no doubt would prove highly gratifying to you. Many reasons, however, will occur to you which will lead you to perceive the propriety of my not mentioning them to you. A weekly meeting is held at my house for prayer and conference on the Scriptures; the average attendance is that of sixteen ladies and gentlemen.

"I am much pleased with Bombay as a missionary station, and when I reflect on the great door of usefulness which has been opened to me, I am much depressed with my insufficiency for the discharge of my duties. The real difficulties of a missionary's life are little known and felt by the religious public. To encounter them and overcome them, much faith, courage, compassion, wisdom, perseverance, and prayerfulness is required. 'Can these dry bones live?' is a question which thrusts itself upon me whenever I am about to deliver the message of salvation. The countenances of my auditors betray pride, stupidity, superstition, unconcern. My addressing them calls forth wrath, folly. My leaving them affords them an opportunity of giving vent to their evil dispositions. When I repeat my visits to them then I see little but aversion. Circumstances are not always of this kind, for there is frequently attention, consideration, and impression manifested by the poor Hindoos; but, when general circumstances are considered, it may be asked 'who is sufficient for these things?' Were it not the consideration that we are ambassadors for Christ, that the people around us are perishing for lack of knowledge, that the Word and Spirit of God are omnipotent, and that the promises of God are on our side, I do not know what could support us or induce us to declare divine truth. There are, I am happy to say, very promising appearances in different parts of India. In due season we shall reap if we faint not."

The experience of country and city, of preaching and teaching, of creeds and customs, all based on familiarity with the Marathee tongue, which Mr. Wilson had thus crowded

into the first year of his life in Western India, fitted him to line out a policy for himself, and to lay the foundations of his mission deep and broad. He was saved from the errors of his predecessors, and in confidential communications to the Society at home he did not hesitate to exercise that independence of judgment and of action which he had claimed from the first, and without which much that was unique in his powers and his methods might have been lost to Bombay in the uniform level of average work. In this passage of such a letter to the secretary of the Society he anticipates, at that early date, the mistake which many missionaries have begun to avoid only in very recent years. That is, witness-bearing, rather than the mere denunciation or exposure of idolatry, is the key to the hearts and consciences of the natives of India.

"In reference to the mode of addressing the natives pursued by my brethren, I have been led to entertain and express the deepest regrets. With one exception, as far as I can form a judgment, they are too frequently inclined to speak on the folly of idolatry; and to neglect the preaching of the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to present divine truth to the minds of the heathen in any manner which is destitute of solemnity. I know that their temptations to pursue this course are great. It is the easiest; it excites the feelings of the hearer without any difficulty. It is, however, unprofitable; and I believe that it is one of the chief reasons of the comparatively small success of modern missions. It is deceitful; a missionary falls into it without his being aware of it, and perseveres in it at the very time when he declares that an opposite course is his duty and his aim. It tempts to the use of inconclusive arguments; it excites a thousand unprofitable objections; produces a bad impression on the heathen, and destroys a missionary's temper. It is the bane of our Mission, and, I believe, is the great cause of the comparatively small success of modern missions.

"The preparations which are made for addressing the heathen are not so regular and extensive as could be wished for. This, I believe, originated in a great degree in the distraction which was produced by the charge of too many schools; and it is persevered in more from the manner in which the labours are arranged and conducted than from indolence. On this account, however, it ought not to be overlooked. When united with an incorrect pronunciation, proceeding from a want of attention in the early stage of study, or from carelessness on the part of the pundits, and with a violation of the rules of concord, on which the Marathas lay great stress, it forms a serious evil. . . .

"I thank God for enabling me to make much greater progress in Marathee than I expected. I fear, however, that I may have in some degree injured my health. As I did not feel the climate so irksome as I expected, my attention was not directed to this subject till a few weeks ago I received a letter from Mr. Robson, the author of *St. Helena Memoir*, who has been residing at Hurnee, and I found some pain in the region of my heart." It was from that region that his fatal illness proceeded.

The financial affairs of the Scottish Missionary Society were, for local purposes, managed by a corresponding committee, chiefly of laymen, at Bombay. After some hesitation whether he should not begin operations at Poona, that committee had agreed with Mr. Wilson that he should remain in the capital. "I desire," he wrote to the directors at home, "to express my deep-felt gratitude for calling me to labour in a large town. It is evident that cities afford peculiar facilities for missionary exertion. The Acts of the Apostles lead us to conclude that in the Apostolical age the efforts of the servants of Christ were chiefly directed to them, and from this consideration the word 'pagan' came to be applied to the heathen." He accordingly drew up, at the end of 1829, the "Plan of opera-

tions which I intend to pursue in the island of Bombay." He accompanied it by detailed regulations for the monitors or pupil teachers, the masters, and the Christian inspectors of his schools. The whole scheme shows a rare foresight as well as the practical experience of the educationist; and it has, indeed, been carried out in more recent times, in most of its principles, in the village circle, and other primary vernacular schools established by the various governments in India by means of a school-rate.

"In discharging the duties of my office, I shall devote my undivided attention to the work of preaching among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ. The different classes of the native community, as far as I have the power of addressing them, I shall consider as the objects of my ministry. In endeavouring to bring before them the gospel of salvation I shall direct my chief efforts to the work of personally declaring to them the truths of Scripture. I propose to have a regular service at my own house in the mornings, with a view to the instruction of my domestics, and of such individuals as may be induced to attend. I propose, in the afternoons, to address the natives in the streets of the city; and in the evenings, after the sun is set, to deliver prepared discourses, during three days of the week, in such of the native houses as I may be able to engage for that purpose. The last-mentioned arrangement, though it is novel, appears to me to be particularly calculated for usefulness. It will be conducted at a time when the natives can with peculiar facility be attracted together, and in a manner which will prevent the frequent interruptions with which a missionary is disturbed.

"With a view to suiting my labours to the circumstances of the young, and in the hope of conciliating their parents and introducing the gospel into their private circles, I intend to devote a share of my attention to Christian schools. I propose—exclusive of a Portuguese school, which I may be able to establish—to form two such institutions, capable of containing each about 200 boys; and to conduct them on the principles which have been so well illustrated by John Wood, Esq., Advocate, in the Sessional School of Edinburgh, and which have been introduced into some of the most respectable seminaries in Scotland. By confining myself to the number now stated, and by conducting them in the manner proposed, I hope to be able to exercise a vigilant super-

intendence over them, frequently to address the children, to prevent heathen practices in them; and I cherish the belief that, by the divine blessing, the object which a missionary society ought ever to have in view may be in some degree accomplished by them. For conducting the business of them, it will be necessary to appoint a head master for each of them, and instructed monitors for each class, who shall receive a small pay; and for preventing deception, and securing their Christian character, it will be expedient to appoint an inspecter in whom I can trust, and who will report to me the deviations from the rules which may be laid down for their government. Hindoo teachers can easily be procured. For monitors I intend, in the first instance, to apply to the American Mission. I have two individuals in view who will be suitable as inspectors. According to a calculation which has been made, the expense of maintaining these office-bearers will allow education to be conducted at a rate which is somewhat cheaper than in the generality of mission schools in the west of India. Female education will receive all that attention which circumstances will permit. The circulation of the Scriptures and tracts, and those opportunities of usefulness which though not of a stated, are of a highly important nature, will of course be attended to in their proper order.

"Circumstances may suggest a modification of my present plans, or prevent, in some degree, their being carried into execution. I trust, however, that my principles will not be lost sight of."[1]

'REGULATIONS framed for the Management of the Schools, drawn up on 7th December 1829.

"*Monitors.*—1. No person shall be employed as a monitor who has not made considerable progress in his education. 2. Every monitor shall receive a small sum as a remuneration for his labours. 3. The monitors shall be regularly instructed by the missionary in the tasks which they will be required to teach. 4. The duties of the monitors shall be to facilitate and secure the acquisition of the tasks, and to examine their pupils respecting their meaning. 5. All difficulties respecting terms, sentences, or allusions, which occur to the monitors, and which cannot be solved by the master or inspector, shall be carefully marked and stated to the missionary.

[1] It was in 1791 that, as Southey describes, the Madras chaplain Dr. Andrew Bell developed, from the simple custom of the native school children writing on the sand with their fingers, the whole monitorial and intellectual system of instruction which became so famous.

"*Master.*—1. No person shall be employed in this situation who is a Gooroo (priest) in any temple, who does not promise to give a true statement of the object of the schools to parents and others interested in them, and who does not bind himself to abstain from teaching heathenism, and to comply with the directions which may be given to him. 2. The pay of the master shall, as far as possible, depend on the number of children, the regularity of their attendance, and their progress in education. 3. The duties of masters shall be to superintend and instruct the monitors, to exercise discipline, and to use every lawful endeavour to advance the interests of the schools.

"*Inspector.*—1. Every inspector shall be a professing Christian. 2. Inspectors shall be required to remain in the schools during the usual hours of teaching, to mark the attendance, to prevent heathen practices, to report all deviations from the rules, and to use their endeavours by visitation or otherwise, to induce the adult population to attend the evening services which may be conducted with a view to their benefit.

"JOHN WILSON."

Of the eight members of the corresponding committee at that time, all became the fast friends of Mr. Wilson, and all were distinguished by their high character as officials and merchants. Besides the Scotch chaplains there were the Hon. Mr. Farish, who officiated for some time as Governor; Mr. R. T. Webb of the same civil service; Mr. R. C. Money, Persian secretary to government, whose name is perpetuated by a missionary institution; Dr. Maxwell of the Medical Board; Dr. Smyttan, who became Mr. Wilson's most intimate friend; and Mr. M'Grigor. With friends and scholars like Captain Molesworth and Captain Candy, Mr. Hynd from Liverpool, and the various missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson soon became the centre of that gradually extending society of thoughtful and cultured persons into which, in time, he was to introduce the native gentlemen of the city. As indispensable to such varied and aggressive work as he had undertaken, Mr. Wilson had originated the oldest Christian periodical in India, the *Oriental Christian Spectator*. The now rare sets of this monthly magazine, which was continued

for thirty years, form an invaluable record of progress in all forms in Western India and the adjoining countries. In that appeared the literary fruits of Wilson's ceaseless labours of every kind.

Thus far the missionary policy of Mr. Wilson does not seem to have included a high class English school or college. The central school of the Native Education Society professed to provide for the increasing number of Hindoos and Parsees who sought English for commercial or official use; and the scheme given above provided for the Portuguese. As yet Lord William Bentinck had not moved, Macaulay had not taken his seat in council as first law member, and Dr. Duff was only making his way to Calcutta through the perils of repeated shipwreck. But Mr. Wilson had early taken steps "to begin instructing the natives in the English language." A letter from his friend Mr. R. C. Money to the Governor, written on the 4th August 1831, called forth this reply from Lord Clare, showing that almost everything remained to be done :—

"DAPOORIE, *August 20th*, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR—A variety of business has prevented me from sooner acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 4th of this month. At present to begin instructing the natives in the English language would appear a world of infinite labour and difficulty, and I should like to learn whether any and what progress has been made in the schools already established towards giving them any such knowledge. I apprehend there are at present so few teachers who know English it would be very difficult indeed even to make a beginning. I went through the government Institution lately at Poona, and though the boys had made a wonderful progress in arithmetic, and even mathematics, neither they nor their instructor spoke one word of our language. I do not know how you are provided in this respect in the schools at Bombay, and unless instruction in the English language is made a necessary part of every boy's education, who is brought up in every seminary patronised by government, but little progress will be made.

"Much has been done in the way of education since then in most

parts of India, but we must not attempt too much at first. That is a subject, however, which merits consideration; at present I confess I do not see how to make even a beginning.

"You are quite right, I believe, in what you say respecting infanticide in Kutch. That horrid practice has hardly been even checked, and after all our endeavours we have done but little towards reforming, I believe, the most unprincipled and profligate race in India. Threats and exhortations have been equally disregarded, but we must not be discouraged. The abolition of Suttee was at one time believed to be almost impracticable.

"I hear Mr. Elphinstone's portrait is very ill placed. I wish it were in the Town Hall.—Yours, my dear Sir, faithfully,

"CLARE."

It was on the 29th March 1832 that the germ of what became the General Assembly's Institution was established as the "Ambrolie English School, connected with the Scottish Mission." "This infant institution," as it is described in the first year's report, was under the immediate eye of Mr. Wilson as its superintendent. Books as well as teachers had to be created for it, such as Marathee and Goojaratee translations of the *English Instructor*, the Catechism, and Dr. A. Thomson's text-books, and a work entitled *Idiomatical Exercises in English and Marathee*, "to aid the natives in understanding the structure and vocables of the English language." In the first year the school was attended by 415 Hindoos and 3 Parsees. Fees were exacted, and the Christian character of the education was insisted on from the first. The highest prize was a sum of fifty rupees (£5) for the best essay on the spirituality of God, open to those youths "who attended the Wednesday evening lectures of the Rev. John Wilson."

The population of Bombay, according to the census of 1833, consisted of 18,376 Christians, principally Roman Catholics; 143,298 Hindoos, including Jains; 49,928 Muhammadans, with Arabs and Persians; 20,184 Parsees, and 2,246 Jews, including native or Beni-Israelites. The total population, or 234,032, was slightly above that to which Edinburgh and

Leith together have grown at the present time. Such was Mr. Wilson's field, and it was to go on increasing threefold as his labours for the good of its varied communities extended.

Calcutta and Bombay, Eastern and Western India, presented, in their native communities, needs which were supplied from the first by the systems of Duff and Wilson. These differed indeed in the priority of time and importance given to certain methods of operation, but they all the more effectually secured the same great end of saturating Asiatic society and government progress with Christian truth conveyed by the most intellectual methods. Duff's instrument was the English language, and it was at first applied exclusively to boys and young men. Wilson's instrument was the vernaculars of a varied population—the Marathee, Goojaratee, Hindostanee, Hebrew, and Portuguese; with Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit in reserve for the learned classes. These he acquired and fluently used, often in provincial dialects too, in a few years, in preaching and in teaching both girls or women, and boys or young men. But the Calcutta missionary no more neglected Bengalee and even Sanskrit as his college developed, or female education as society advanced in intelligence, than his great Bombay colleague was indifferent to English. It was a happy adaptation of the men to the conditions, which indeed helped to make them what they became, that English held the first place with the one, and a purified Orientalism was long the most important weapon of the other. Looking back half a century, those who know the social and spiritual state of both Eastern and Western India may fancy that a fuller adoption of Orientalism in the former, and an earlier use of English for the highest instruction in the latter, would have been better for both the missions, and for the advancement of India. But that is only to forget that such an arrangement would have paralysed Duff in his fight beside Macaulay, with the fanatical orientalist party in the government, without

whose defeat progress of any kind would have been impossible; while it would have long postponed, if it did not altogether change, that hold which Wilson obtained on the affections and the intellect of the native communities, which was due to his oriental lore and his more than Asiatic courtesy and grace. In truth, the historian of British India who can estimate causes aright, will put side by side with Duff's opening of the boys' English school in Calcutta in August 1830, the establishment of Mrs. Wilson's first of many female schools in Bombay in December 1829. Both were seeds which have already grown into great trees. Each represented that side of civilisation without which the other becomes pernicious. Each reacted on the other. Every succeeding generation of young men demands educated women in increasing numbers. These bring up better instructed children; and in instances no longer rare, present the spectacle, unknown to Asia all through its history, of pure and happy family life. Mrs. Wilson's organisation and management of the female schools, her frequent contributions to the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, and her superintendence of the mission during her husband's absence on preaching tours, were interrupted only for a time by the birth of four children, of whom two sons survive.

Although thus carefully laying the foundations of his missionary policy and machinery, and well aware that for many a day his must be a work of preparation, Mr. Wilson from the first expected and worked for baptised converts. He did not lose himself in his system, nor did he loftily or vaguely look for a harvest from the seed he was hourly sowing, only in the distant future. He rather tested, improved, and extended his system, by the assured belief that the Divine Spirit would show immediate or speedy fruit such as his few predecessors had not witnessed in Western India. He was a man to make and follow his own policy, not theirs; while he was too wise and kindly to neglect their experience. So he

formed a native church in Bombay in February 1831, two years after landing, and a year after evangelising the island. He thus announces the fact to his father, himself an elder of Lauder Kirk, and familiar with the ecclesiastical organisation: "I formed a native church on Presbyterian principles. Eight members joined it; and I administered the Lord's Supper to them and to some Europeans." The draft minute of this transaction, the beginning of a church which he watched and helped till it grew to be the vigorous body it now is, worshipping in its own fine ecclesiastical building, has a peculiar interest as a contribution to these modern "Acts of the Apostles." In the half century since those days, when the number of the Protestant native church in India, in all its branches, has grown to be above the third of a million, and is increasing annually, according to the official census, at the rate of 6½ per cent, contrasted with the half per cent of Hindoos, all the foreign missionaries have long since agreed that the Church of India must, as it grows to support itself more largely, determine its own organisation, free from the divisions of the western sects and historical creeds. This too was Mr. Wilson's view; but in 1831 what so well fitted as presbytery for the infant church?—

"Bombay, 4th February 1831.

"This day, in the house of the Rev. John Wilson, minister of the gospel in connection with the Church of Scotland, and missionary from Scotland, amongst some converted Hindoos and others a native church was formed. John Wilson, the servant of Jesus Christ, stated that he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel by the Presbytery of Lauder on 6th May 1828; that he was ordained to the office of the ministry in the same place on 24th June 1828, and that he arrived in India on the 13th February 1829. Mr. Wilson baptized on the 2d of January in his own house Heer Chund, Ransod, Saha Wanee, and Dewukee, a Hindoo woman. He also declared worthy of communion on the same day John Rennie Baptist, an African by descent, who had been baptized in his youth. On the 17th January 1831, he baptized Raghoba Balajee Weishya. Along with these Margaret Bayne Wilson, the

spouse of Mr. Wilson, who had been married to him in 1828; Rama Chundra, formerly a Brahman, who had been baptized at Bankote in 1829, Narayan, formerly a Shenavee, who had been baptized in Bombay in 1829, and Manuel Gomes, a Roman Catholic, who had come into the true church in 1830. All these persons having declared that they were willing to unite in church fellowship, Mr. Wilson proceeded to explain the nature of church order and fellowship. He said that on these subjects the Holy Scriptures were the only infallible guide; and these Scriptures, in several passages which he read, taught there were persons who ruled and persons who were ruled. The persons who ruled in the Church were of two kinds, elders and deacons."

After a detailed explanation of the Presbyterian organisation, the minute concludes—"All the persons having approved of these statements, Mr. Wilson, in the name of Christ, by prayer constituted them into a church. They agreed to recognise him as their minister, and he gave them suitable instruction. On the 6th of February the Lord's Supper was administered to the church. Mr. Webb and a converted Hindoo participated along with the members. The son of Rama Chundra was baptized by Mr. Wilson in the presence of the Rev. John Stevenson and Raghoba Balajee." Mr. Webb was the Civilian who became soon after a member of the government.

Up to 1831 the registration of the baptisms of native converts had been made in the book of the kirk-session of the chaplains in Bombay. In all forty-two persons had thus been admitted to the church by the Scottish missionaries in the Konkan. Mr. Wilson at once saw the necessity of separate registers for converts, as congregations should be formed and the native church be extended. Writing to his colleagues, who immediately agreed with him, he thus with his usual foresight and faith contemplated the future: "Converts to the Christian religion are in the present state of the law wholly anomalous, and, as far as they are concerned, it matters not where their baptisms are registered. Nay, there may arise a

great evil from the insertion of their names in the list referred to (that of the Scotch Kirk); when the government begin to legislate there is nothing more probable than that they will ask 'What has been your custom?' When we tell them that we have sent lists of baptisms at Bombay, Poona, Bankote, Hurnee, Nehar, etc., to the kirk-session at Bombay, they will probably say 'Very well, gentlemen, go on in that way;' and this dooms the native churches for ages to the greatest inconvenience and much expense. Would it not be better for us *ab origine* to keep registers of our own in connection with the respective native congregations?" Thus the organisation of a church followed, in its simplicity and its power, the model of the first gathering of the Eleven in the upper room at Jerusalem, and their successors.

Not so thought the small body, though chiefly Presbyterian ministers, who formed the executive of the Scottish Missionary Society. From the day that he entered their seminary when a student of twenty-one, he had stipulated for a degree of independence which their somewhat extreme rules seemed to forbid. He had hardly landed in India when he found that his colleagues were engaged in a controversy with the directors, the management of which soon fell into his hands. In June 1830 we find him writing to Dr. Cormack of Stow in all the frankness of friendship:—"Our directors in St. John Street have lately sent out to my brethren some very alarming communications. They do not recognise our Presbyterian principles and our ordination vows, and they wish to bring us under a spiritual tyranny. I am sure that you and other worthies of the Church will keep a watch upon them." The controversy we may now speedily dispose of. It was the old one between a strong man—strong in intelligent devotion to his work, and a weak committee—weak by reason of distance from the new condition of things in question, and of the reduction of the strongest among them to the low level of

routine uniformity. From the treatment that nearly broke the heart of Carey and his colleagues, against which Andrew Fuller and John Foster in vain protested, down to the present hour, committees have been only necessary evils when interfering with wiser men than themselves. In the infancy of Missions discretion and charity were especially required on the part of distant directors. Practically it was found that the rules of the Scottish Missionary Society so acted as to clash with the standing and the conscientious duties of the missionaries as ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland.[1] The missionaries, if they were to be merely the paid employés of a committee responsible to an undefined body of contributors, would lose the protection and the efficiency which the perfect representative system of their Church gave them, in common with all its members and office-bearers.

In August 1830, accordingly, Mr. Wilson printed and sent to each of the directors, and to his own friends, a "Memorial addressed to the Directors of the Scottish Missionary Society on their opposition to the practice of Presbytery by the Presbyterian Missionaries." It is a bold and trenchant document, showing a far-sighted regard for the good and the growth of the native church, yet free from all sectarianism in spirit. The result was a reply offering a compromise, under which the Society and its Bombay missionaries, reduced to Messrs. Wilson, Nesbit, and J. Mitchell, worked together for a time.

[1] The somewhat similarly constituted London Missionary Society, which was almost as presbyterian in its early directors and missionaries as the Scottish Society, showed much more wisdom both then and since. Mr. Wilson seems to have been aided in the controversy by this wise regulation, which he took from the printed instructions of the London Missionary Society to their missionaries among the heathen :—"Should a Christian Church be formed from among those who have been converted by your instrumentality, we have merely to remind you that the fundamental principle of our society leaves the external form and constitution of that Church entirely to their and your choice. To the Word of God alone your attention on these subjects will be directed."—Extracted from the copy of the Rev. Josiah Hughes of Malacca, 1830.

But as the Society's funds declined, and the female schools especially became imperilled, in spite of the growing local support in Bombay itself, the directors began to see that their missionaries had been right. The Church of Scotland had meanwhile been sending out its own agents, Duff, Mackay, and Ewart, to Calcutta, by means of the India Mission Committee, of which Mr. Wilson's old Professor, Dr. Brunton, was the convener. Before the General Assembly of 1835, accordingly, there was laid a petition from its ministers who were missionaries, and also from the chaplains in Bombay and Poona, which resulted in their transfer from the Society to the Church in its corporate capacity. Thus officially did Mr. Wilson begin with Dr. Brunton a correspondence which continued till 1843. The letter reflects the progress made by the Mission in the first six years of its existence:—

"Bombay, 3d October 1835.

"My Dear Sir—Three weeks ago I had the pleasure of receiving your letter dated the 29th April last, and I am truly grateful to you for the kindness of the feelings with which you received our petition for the transference of our mission to the General Assembly, and the zeal and promptitude with which you have prosecuted its objects. Should our now united wishes be accomplished, as I fervently trust they will, I hope that the relation in which we shall stand to one another will be one of mutual satisfaction and comfort: and that our combined exertions at home and abroad will, by the divine blessing, minister greatly to the advancement of that kingdom which is paramount in the council of heaven, and which is the highest exhibition of God's glory and grace to created intelligence. Than the Church of Scotland there is no body to which, from an admiration of its doctrines and constitution, we can possibly be more attached; in whose wisdom and deliberation we can more implicitly trust; whose zeal, when directed to the heathen world, we can view as promising to be more efficient; and whose polity we can conceive to be a greater blessing to a Church newly forming in a country hitherto covered with moral darkness. Than Bombay and the north-west of India, on the other hand, there is no place in the world where the Church of Scotland may more advantageously labour, and where more important results may, in God's own

time, be confidently anticipated. We have a capital which contains a population of Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsees, and Jews, in many respects the most inviting, and which, from its geographical situation and mercantile importance, is frequented by people of all the Indian and other Asiatic nations, and of several tribes of Africa, and from which as from a centre the Gospel may radiate in all directions. We have here the head-quarters of Hinduism, for the Maharashtra Brahmans take the precedence at Benares and through the whole of India for their learning and influence. We have a people whose energy, before it was subdued by the superior skill and prowess of our countrymen, was felt throughout the length and breadth of the land, and which, when it receives a holy direction, may be expected to be instrumental in accomplishing great good. We have also the advantage of having commenced our labours, and done not a little in the acquisition of languages, the study of the different systems of superstition, the preparation of books, the establishment of schools, and the preaching of the Gospel to facilitate our future labours. We have many opportunities for correspondence with Calcutta, where the General Assembly has already a most flourishing and promising mission, and we could co-operate with our brethren there to no inconsiderable extent.

"But I must now reply to your query. It is difficult to form an estimate of the probable amount of the permanent contributions to our mission in India. Last year the receipts of the Bombay Auxiliary Society amounted to Rs. 9400; of the English School for natives under my superintendence to Rs. 1000; and of one of the female schools formed by my dearest wife, who has lately entered into the joy of her Lord, to Rs. 700. There is not the prospect of a falling off in the Auxiliary this year. An increase of contributions to the English school I so confidently expect, that, in addition to its present establishment, I have engaged a European as a teacher for it on a salary of Rs. 150 *per mensem*. The ladies of Bombay have resolved to continue to support the school for destitute native girls, and to associate with it among the natives the remembrance of her who was its devoted founder. Ten thousand rupees may be stated as the annual sum which, in these various forms, will probably be given by our friends in this quarter. Independently of pecuniary contributions we not unfrequently receive from them essential aid in the prosecution of our duties. I may mention as an instance of this, that I experienced the greatest kindness from all the civil and military authorities, and from the native princes, during a journey which I lately accomplished through Goojarat, Kathiawar, and Kutch. I believe that, even with an extension of the

mission, we should not need more than two-thirds of our supplies from Scotland, and that *at present* an annual contribution of £1000, or £1200 from that quarter, would enable us to proceed vigorously."

Thus pleasantly was the last obstacle to Mr. Wilson's success removed, nor thereafter, either before or after the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, were his labours impeded by home interference. A new vigour was given to all the operations of the mission, and not least to the English college, to which, after their successful experience in Calcutta, the General Assembly's Committee directed special attention. Mr. Wilson removed it into the Fort, that is, into Bombay proper in those days, as "the situation is the most convenient for the most respectable natives, and in which there is no similar institution." He mentions the rent of the premises, Rs. 120 a month, as "very reasonable, considering the demand for houses in that part of the town." The fact is of economic interest in the light of the speculative mania of 1863-66, and of the present value of property there.

"We have commenced operations with every encouragement, and have now an attendance of 215 boys, who are taught on the intellectual system, and who are making gratifying progress both in literary and religious knowledge, which the parents were expressly informed by me, through the native papers, they would receive, and to the communication of which they have no objection. The pupils form a group as interesting as can be imagined as far as the variety of tribes is concerned. They have been drawn not only from the different classes of the Hindus, but from among the Pársees, Jains, Mussulmans, Jews, and native Christians; and their association together, independently of the instructions which they receive, cannot but have a powerful influence in removing those prejudices of caste which so much impede missionary operations in this country.

"The school is already indebted to me for as large a sum as I can conveniently advance, and I hope that the Assembly's Committee will be disposed, as soon as convenient, to appropriate for it the sum of £250 per annum, employing £50 for prize books, etc., to be purchased in Edinburgh, and giving me permission to draw upon them for the sum of £50 quarterly. I shall undertake to raise all other necessary

funds in India for the present, and that without making any encroachment on the ordinary income of the Auxiliary Society, which is already all most profitably employed. I shall feel truly grateful to you if you will procure, as you so kindly propose, the consent of the Committee to my being furnished with one of the Assembly's trained teachers from Calcutta. I am anxious to have such a person, not so much merely to support the intellectual system, which has been already so successfully introduced that the Rev. Mr. Taylor of Belgaum, after seeing it in operation, has determined to send to me the teacher of his school as an apprentice, but to give needed help in conducting its business, and to give me a feeling of security, that even though Mr. Payne should be induced to leave it for a more lucrative situation, or for any other cause, the whole burden of it should not be thrown upon me and the native assistant. Some of the books which we use in the school are the same as those used in the Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. Of three of them we had some time ago made translations both into Marathee and Goojaratee, which are now found to be very useful.

"Every economy will be studied in reference to the school in Bombay. Unless, however, every thing connected with it be arranged on a respectable scale, it will not, while the Native Education Society has such abundant resources from the government, be productive of much good. It is a subject of gratitude that the mission enjoys so much of the confidence of the natives as it actually does, and that even the very individuals who have so zealously but unsuccessfully come forward to the defence of the different systems of superstition, are on the most friendly terms with myself, and frequent in public and private intercourse with me. I lately finished a course of weekly lectures on the evidences and doctrines of natural and revealed religion, which I commenced three years ago. I have begun another course on the propagation of the gospel from the resurrection of Christ to the present day. On this course the *Durpun*, edited by a young Brahman, remarked —'a great many natives were present at the first lecture. The course Mr. Wilson has now commenced cannot but be interesting to them, as not only bringing before them the *data* which must lead to the solution of the most important problem which can engage their attention, but as conveying to them most valuable information on the general history of the world, and the greatest moral revolutions which have taken place on the face of the globe. His avowed object is to *convert;* but he wishes in the first instance to *inform* and to afford the means of judging.'

"The state of my health is now such that I have felt warranted to

resume, though from my multifarious duties I cannot *daily* pursue it, my preaching in the native languages at places of public concourse. My audiences are extremely encouraging. The attendance at the stated services of the mission is greater than I have ever formerly witnessed it. I have seven candidates for baptism. The schools both for boys and girls, in which the native languages are taught, are in much the same state in which they were when I transmitted to you our annual report. I should regret exceedingly to see them diminished, as they are in every respect suitable to the circumstances of the lower orders, the 'poor to whom the gospel is preached,' and from whom the first body of converts may be probably raised in India, as well as in other countries. The English school will, I trust, soon furnish a superior class of teachers for them. I have placed in it one or two of their most promising pupils. Should the state of your funds render it necessary the Portuguese school may be suspended for the present without much injury to the usefulness of the mission.

"Though I fear that native missionaries, till they are raised from among the children of converts educated from their earliest days in Christianity and in a Christian atmosphere, will *not*, generally speaking, prove such efficient labourers as Europeans, and though I believe that we must first show them the example of an apostolic ministration, I enter *with my whole soul* into your views as to the adoption and devising of every practical measure for their training. It will be necessary that we, in conjunction with the chaplains, etc., should, as soon as possible, receive from the Assembly all the presbyterial powers vested in the section of the Church of Scotland at Calcutta. The sooner that we are in a state of complete organisation the better.

"I have received a very interesting letter from Mr. Mackay. I enter most cordially into the view which he states, that the experience of the two missions will be in many respects mutually advantageous. Mr. Duff's success in the organisation of presbyterial associations in Scotland is truly encouraging to us amidst all our trials and travail in India. The General Assembly in 1647 thus wrote—'Surely 'tis to be wished, that for defending the orthodox faith, both against popery and other heresies, as also for *propagating it to those who are without, especially the Jews*, a more tried and more firm consociation may be entered into. For the unanimity of all the churches as in evil 'tis of all things most hurtful, so, on the contrary side, in good it is most pleasant, most profitable, and most effectual.' I trust that this wish, in the comprehensive sense in which it is expressed, will ere long be realised. The internal spiritual riches of the Church of Scotland will not be

diminished, but increased by the most abundant external communication.

"My present salary, exclusive of house rent and travelling expenses, which are included in the general expense of the mission, but inclusive of an allowance for my two children, is £230 per annum. The experience of nearly seven years' residence in Bombay, the expense of which is more than one-third greater than that of out-stations, warrants me to say what both my missionary brethren and members of the corresponding committee of the Scottish Missionary Society, long ago urged me to state to my supporters, is inadequate to the comfort and usefulness in the Lord's work which it is desirable I should enjoy, and which, from private sources, I have hitherto enjoyed. I should like it raised to £250. I simply mention this circumstance because you have kindly asked me to be explicit as to the proposed expenditure."

The total cost of the mission in 1836 was £1820, of which one-third was subscribed by the English residents. From first to last Mr. Wilson's income from the mission was insufficient for ordinary requisites, apart from those extensive tours and those social duties which he began to take upon himself, and which gradually became the secret of his power with native, even more than with English society. But nothing save an official demand from the Home Committee ever called forth a reference to his pecuniary affairs. On the contrary, he joyfully devoted such private resources as came to him in subsequent years, and such funds as his friends and admirers entrusted to him personally, to the one work of his life. Mr. J. Jordan Wilson, a wealthy friend of his youth, who was early attracted to him by his student-like zeal and by the belief that there was some slight bond of kinship between them, and above all by close spiritual ties, left him a legacy of a thousand pounds, half of which was for any missionary object he chose, and half for his private use. The letters to his Edinburgh agents, sent in reply to the news of the legacy, directed the expenditure of the whole amount in various ways for the Bombay Mission. The following letter to that gentleman shows how soon and thickly the cares of

the mission pressed upon his resources, and how manifold were his labours:—

"Bombay, 13th November 1830.

"My Dearest Friend—I have little leisure, and some of that is spent in connection with the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, which I regularly send to you, and the numbers of which must be viewed by you as letters, as they generally contain something which has proceeded from our own house. The *Spectator* is very extensively read in India; and there is reason to believe that it is accomplishing much good by diffusing information on the most important subjects. I trust that God will honour it in some degree to expose that monstrous system of iniquity, the Hindoo religion, and to aid the servants of the Saviour in proclaiming the gospel. You will see in the number for November, which I hope will soon reach you, a short paper by myself on the 'Sanscrit and Marathee renderings of Theological Terms.' I intend to follow up this most important subject, and to make such free remarks on the translations of the Scriptures into the Indian languages as I may conceive calculated to further their improvement. The paper which follows the article to which I refer, and entitled 'Selected Sanscrit Shloks,' is by a Mr. Law, a young gentleman of the Civil Service. He is a most extraordinary linguist. He was brought under serious impressions through our instrumentality during the voyage to India. He lately stayed a month with us, and we were much pleased with his Christian character. Our usefulness among Europeans, through the grace of our heavenly Father, continues to extend, particularly among the higher classes. The old serpent, by stirring up the opposition of bigots, has attempted to defeat and prevent our occasional labours among the sailors and soldiers; but he has failed. The true friends of the cause have rallied more closely around us, while our poor countrymen have more highly valued the word of life which they knew had been attempted to be taken from them.

"In your letter you express your wish that I had been connected with the General Assembly's Institution at Calcutta. I think that it is calculated to be highly useful, and I wish it every success. I would remark, however, that colleges though they are admirable instruments in the *instruction* of Christians, are but clumsy instruments in the *making* or *conversion* of Christians. The preaching of the gospel is the grand means of propagating the gospel, and for every professor at present there should be at least twenty preachers. The Assembly's operations will have a glorious effect on the Church at home. Mr. Duff,

whom they have sent out, is a pious young man, and he will, I am happy to say, preach as well as profess. He, like myself, has had toughly to fight, through the newspapers, for religious liberty. See the number of the *Spectator* for November, under the article headed 'Persecution of Hindoo Youth.' I have at present two Hindoos under my care, converts of our mission, whom I instruct with a view to their being admitted to the office of the ministry. I have now seven inquirers around me, of most of whom I entertain a favourable opinion. Five of them are Hindoos, three men and two women; one is an African, and one a Jew. I have great difficulty in instructing this last individual, as he can scarcely speak any other language than Arabic, of which I have a very slight knowledge. He is, however, learning Hindostanee and English.

"Permit me to make an appeal to your Christian sympathy. I know that to you I need to make no apology on this subject. There are many many poor people in Bombay in very wretched circumstances. About two hundred come to me every Monday morning for a little rice, and at that time I endeavour to administer to them the word of life. On Saturdays I preach to about six hundred of the same description of persons at the house of Captain Molesworth. For the relief of this class of persons a society, at my suggestion, has been lately formed, and I believe that their wants will be regularly and systematically relieved. There are other classes, however, for whom I have been able to do nothing, and their circumstances possess peculiar interest. They are persons who lose employment by inquiring into Christianity, or by embracing it; they are persecuted Christians (Armenians and Chaldeans), and Jews from Bussora, Bagdad, Tabreez, and other places, who come with the most heartrending accounts of Muhammadan tyranny; and they are poor Indian Roman Catholics. My heart is often pained by observing their wants; and I am not ashamed to say that we have relieved at times beyond our ability. You know that none of the Missionary Society funds can or ought to be applied to them. If you and some of the other friends of the Redeemer would in a *quiet* way raise a small sum for them, you would confer a blessing on the cause of humanity and Christianity. By informing me of the sum raised, I could act on the faith of getting it, and tell you how to appropriate it. I would furnish you with an account of the way in which it may be expended.

"My darling wife has six female schools, and she is useful in instructing female inquirers."

In this letter we see the germ of every side of the young missionary's work in and for Bombay, save only the English college. Experiences were soon to teach him that, for preaching and immediate fruit no less than in that wider work of preparation, the fruit of which comes plenteously after many days and has already begun so to come, the daily instruction of the most intellectual and influential youth by one to whom they become attached, is second to no other agency—is, indeed, for that class superior to all others. But even up to 1836 he had not learned, as he afterwards did, to perfect his own system of Christian aggression on the corrupting civilisations of the East, by the enthusiastic encouragement of the higher education through English. The following letter to Mr. J. Jordan Wilson, closes with a statement of spiritual truth, happily familiar enough now, but rare in Scotland forty years ago. It is the last of a long correspondence covering fifteen years, in which the younger man led the older to a cheerful peace and a joyous self-sacrifice for the cause of Christ. It is the first where we meet with allusions to a friendship with Dr. Duff, and an admiration for him none the less true and hearty because it was discriminating, which continued on both sides all through their Indian lives.

"Bombay, 7th July, 1836.

"You mention Mr. Duff's elevation to a Doctorship. He is well worthy of his honours, although *some* of his views on the economics of Christian missions are, in my opinion, erroneous. I have just remarked in a letter to a friend to-day as follows:—'Dr. Duff's warm advocacy of the Calcutta Institution has been by far too *exclusive*. I rejoice in the prosperity of the Seminary, and wish it every support; but he ought not to have advocated its cause by disparaging the direct preaching of the gospel to the natives in their own languages by Europeans, and overlooked female education, and the general education of the natives *through the medium of their own tongues*; which form the readiest key to their hearts. The higher Institutions are well calculated to attract the higher classes of society, and to educate teachers and preachers. We must have a body of Christians, however, from which to *select* these

agents. For this body of Christians we must not mainly depend on our Academies. 'To the *poor* the gospel is preached.' 'Of the little flock, and present inquirers at this place,' I also observe to Dr. Brunton, 'some were first impressed by hearing the gospel in the crowded bazaar, some by hearing it at the margin of the sea: some in the church; some in the school-room; some in the place in which the Lord of Glory was born when he came on his mission to this world; some in the social circle; some in the private chamber; and some by the perusal of Christian publications. I have thus been encouraged to remember the words of inspiration:—'Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters.' 'In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good.' I could not refrain from giving you, who are so much interested in my operations, this brief expression of my views. Were I to visit the Modern Athens, and seek to propagate these opinions, I should, instead of being dubbed a 'Doctor in Divinity,' probably be dubbed a 'Babbler,' like Paul in the Ancient Athens. I have the fullest confidence that the Lord will soon vindicate his own cause: and I am perfectly willing, if I have the means of carrying on my labours, to be personally overlooked and despised. I bless God for what I have already seen as to the diminishment of prejudices against 'highway missionaries.' Six years ago my countrymen laughed at me when they saw me 'haranguing mobs.' These same gentlemen have conferred on me their highest literary honour, and notwithstanding my street preaching propensities, have put me into the chair formerly occupied by these great men Sir James Mackintosh, Sir John Malcolm, etc., and suffered me to 'harangue' *them* as their president! I had serious thoughts of saying *nolo episcopari;* but when I thought that I might contribute to shield the whole class of 'Ranters' from contempt, and use my influence for the Lord's cause, I refrained.

"Would that I could, in reply to your inquiry, speak a word in season to you, as you have done to me! The foundation of faith is the Gospel offer of salvation to the chief of sinners who will accept it. We must be content to be saved gratuitously. We can neither purchase our justification before we receive it, nor adequately acknowledge it when we have received it. The Saviour is infinitely worthy of our reliance, and the moment we rely upon him we are safe, and may rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. We must seek for comfort by looking to him and his finished work. The eye, as Dr. Chalmers I believe expresses it, must look to the Sun

of Righteousness for his light-giving and life-giving beams, and not turn in to gaze upon its internal structure. The work of Christ within us is the evidence of our faith; but the work of Christ without us is the object of our faith, and the offers of Christ the warrant of our faith. When Satan says to us, 'you have not believed, else whence all your fears, and all your failings and offences,' we should reply, if we cannot give him the direct contradiction, 'I now believe what the Saviour says to me, and I will now give my fears to the winds in spite of all your efforts.' Our struggle with and distress on account of indwelling sin, which is common to us and all the Lord's people, ought to enhance the Saviour in our estimation, and not to detract from our grounds of confidence in him, which are the unchanging graciousness of his character and the unfailing efficacy of his mediation. My little children never imagined that I ceased to be their father when I chode them, or removed them from my presence, or punished them, till I saw in them a proper contrition. Why, then, O why, should we dishonour God by imagining that he ceases to be our Father? There is too little of the freeness of the Gospel set forth in modern preaching."

Throughout this period Mr. Wilson seems to have kept up a regular and full correspondence with the friends of his youth, to an extent remarkable at a time when communication with home was so slow and so costly. Outside of his own family and his wife's, and apart from the official letters, first of Dr. Brown and then of Dr. Brunton, Mr. Archibald Bonar, W.S., was his most constant correspondent. Mr. Bonar's letters trace the course of the Church of Scotland as the Evangelical party obtained a majority in its councils, and as it prepared itself for what is popularly known as the Ten Years' Conflict, that ended in the Disruption of 1843. In a letter of 19th June 1834, after recording the death from consumption at Leghorn of Mr. Martin, who had been called to St. George's, Edinburgh, as a preacher worthy to succeed Dr. Andrew Thomson, Mr. Bonar thus proceeds :—

"The Assembly met on the 22d ult., and was constituted with unusual pomp. The Commissioner held his levee in the ancient Palace of Holyrood, and there was a great display of troops on the first day. A committee was appointed to converse with his Grace about the usual

profanation of the Sabbath, and it was found that the King and he had agreed that all the Sunday's parade, and even the dinner, should be discontinued. Wednesday being the King's birthday, the Commissioner invited all the ministers to dine with him at the Palace, and in the evening they were introduced in state to Lady Belhaven. Patrick Macfarlane of Greenock was Moderator, and managed very well. It was calculated by some of the knowing ones that the Moderates had a majority of fifteen or twenty. But whether it was so you shall presently see. The first great division took place on Lord Moncreiff's motion, that if in any parish the majority of heads of families, being communicants, declared that they did not wish the presentee—that he was not agreeable to them—that man could not and should not be settled in that parish. After a stormy discussion this motion was carried by a majority of forty-seven ! And though it was ultimately agreed to take the opinion of Presbyteries on the point, yet it was passed as an interim Act, so that it is at this moment a law of the Church against intrusions. The next great question was whether chapels-of-ease should be made parish churches, and their ministers be entitled to all the privileges of parish ministers *quoad sacra*. But to this the Moderates could not agree. They had conscientious (!) scruples about the power of the Church to do this without taking the opinion of the Presbyteries. To be sure, last year the Assembly by an Act admitted the ministers of the Parliamentary churches to like privileges ; but then the majority of these were thought to be Moderates, whereas almost the whole of the chapel ministers will be ' wild men ;' and some men, not otherwise so, get very scrupulous when anything goes against their grain. Well, of course, they opposed this as they do every reformation ; but their opposition was of no avail, for the motion was carried by forty-nine in favour of admitting them. In consequence of this decision the ministers of the chapels within the bounds of Glasgow Presbytery have already taken their seats, and I suppose ours will do so on Wednesday next. You know the notorious character of the Aberdeen Presbytery. Not *one* of the ministers from it voted right this year, and yet by this new Act the orthodox party have there the majority !

" Did I tell you that William Cunningham of Greenock had got the College charge ? He is doing admirably ; of great use in the Presbytery. John Sym, minister of Sprouston, a cousin of Professor Wilson, has been appointed successor to Dr. Inglis. He is only twenty-five years, but a very fine young man. Mr. Candlish, sometime assistant in St. George's, has got that church."

CHAPTER IV.

1830-1836.

PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS WITH LEARNED HINDOOS AND MUHAMMADANS.

How Mr. Wilson became an Orientalist—"Turning the World Upside-down" —Ziegenbalg's "Conferences"—First Discussion with Brahmans—Christian Brahman against Hindoo Pundits—"God's Sepoys"—The Ten Incarnations—The Pundits Retire—Morality *versus* Religion—The Second Discussion—The New Champion with Garlands of Flowers—Mr. Wilson's "First Exposure of Hindooism"—The Third Discussion—Mr. Wilson's "Second Exposure of Hindooism"—Parseeism and Muhammadanism enter the Arena—H. Xavier's and H. Martyn's Controversial Tracts—Dr. Pfander's later Treatises—Mr. Wilson's Reply to Hadjee Muhammad Hashim—Polygamy and Divorce according to the Old Testament and the Koran—The Difference—The Sexualism of the Koran and Slavery—The sons of Israel in Western India—The Black and White Jews—Joseph Wolff, the Christian Dervish and Protestant Xavier—Visit of Mr. Anthony Groves, Dervish of a different stamp—Mr. Francis W. Newman as a Missionary—Mr. Robert C. Money—Sir John Malcolm—Lord William Bentinck—The Earl of Clare—Sir Robert Grant—Mr. Wilson on the British Sovereignty in India in 1835—Bombay Union of Missionaries—Progress in Kaffraria—Mr. Wilson on Carey and Morrison.

"Believe—and our whole argument breaks up.
Enthusiasm's the best thing I repeat;
Only, we can't command it; fire and life
Are all, dead matter's nothing, we agree:
And be it a mad dream or God's very breath,
The fact's the same,—belief's fire once in us,
Makes of all else mere stuff to show itself:
We penetrate our life with such a glow
As fire lends wood and iron—this turns steel,
That burns to ash—all's one, fire proves its power
For good or ill, since men call flare success.
But paint a fire, it will not therefore burn.
Light one in me, I'll find it food enough!
Why, to be Luther—that's a life to lead,
Incomparably better than my own.
He comes, reclaims God's earth for God, he says,
Sets up God's rule again by simple means,
Re-opens a shut book, and all is done.
He flared out in the flaring of mankind;
Such Luther's luck was—how shall such be mine?"

ROBERT BROWNING: *Bishop Blougram's Apology.*

"I assure myself that Christ at the last daie will speak friendly to mee also, for here he speaketh very unkindely to mee. I bear upon mee the hate and envy of the whole world, the hate of the Emperor, of the Pope, and of all their retinue. Well, on in God's name, seeing I am come into the lists so will I fight it out. I know my quarrell and caus is upright and just. The greatest adversarie I have in this caus is the Divel, and indeed he setteth on mee so fiercely oftentimes with this argument (thou art not rightly called), that hee had long since slain mee therewith if I had not been a Doctor."

LUTHER: *Colloquia Mensalia*, Translated by
Captain Henrie Bell, 1652.

CHAPTER IV.

THERE is no recorded instance in the life of any Oriental scholar, whether official or missionary, of such rapid but thorough acquisition of multifarious information regarding the literature and the customs, as well as the languages of the natives, as marked Mr. Wilson's first year's residence in India. Sir William Jones began his purely Indian studies at a later period of life, and carried them on amid comparative leisure and wealth. Colebrooke, the greatest of all Orientalists, laid the foundation of his splendid acquirements so slowly that Sanscrit at first repelled him, though afterwards he would rise from the gaming-table at midnight to study it. Ziegenbalg and Carey had the same overmastering motive as John Wilson, but the former hardly went beyond the one vernacular—Tamul, and the latter was distracted by the hardships of poverty and a discontented wife; so that he began by working as an indigo-planter when learning Bengalee. Mr. Wilson not only mastered Marathee, but Goojaratee; to these he soon added Hindostanee and Persian, while almost his earliest work in Bombay was the preparation of a Hebrew and Marathee grammar for the Jews, there known as Beni-Israel. Thus its four great communities, Hindoo and Muhammadan, Parsee and Jewish, he was early prepared to influence, while he had from the first attained sufficient fluency in Portuguese to care for the large number of half-caste descendants of our predecessors in the island. A scholarly knowledge of Arabic he was later in finding leisure to acquire. But his advance in Sanscrit seems to have been parallel with his

acquisition of Marathee, so that we find him from the very first confuting the Brahmans out of their own sacred books as Paul did in the case of the Athenians and the Cretans. This knowledge he steadily extended to the more obscure and esoteric dialects of the older Hindoo tongues, on which the various sects of quasi-dissenters, like the Sikhs and the Vaishnavas, had their authoritative scriptures. He was early a collector of Oriental manuscripts. Nor was he content with this. He employed Brahmans to gather information for him on a definite principle, and wherever he went he was constant in his cross-examination of the people and their priests. In 1829 we find the first example of this recorded in one of his promised circular letters to the Edinburgh University's Association of Theological Students :—

"I have now seen a little of one of the most interesting portions of the great family of man; and I am filled with horror and amazement at its utter alienation from God. The Hindoos do not even in profession serve the Creator. They follow a course which is altogether opposed to reason and to natural conscience. They are the votaries of a religious system, of the moral obliquities of which it is impossible to form a right conception. The individuals among them who act as their priests are very numerous, and very deceitful; and their efforts are uniformly exerted to confirm their less enlightened brethren in all their superstitious doctrines and practices. At some future time I hope to be able to furnish you with more ample details on this and similar subjects. For the last three months one of the most intelligent Brahmans in this part of the country has been employed by me for the purpose of furnishing me with an account of the Hindoo religion. I prepared a list of queries, according to which he arranges his observations; and I am in the course of receiving a more correct view of the doctrines taught by the Brahmans, and the reasonings by which they endeavour to defend them, than I could otherwise have obtained."

The result of the first fifteen months' unwearied toil was seen in the beginning of a series of discussions on Christianity, forced on Mr. Wilson, to his great satisfaction, by Hindoo,

Muhammadan, and Parsee apologists in succession. The ardent and courageous scholar, having fairly organised his schools, and his translating and preaching work, was by no means content to go on in a daily routine, vaguely waiting or passively believing that Hindoo and Parsee, Jew and Muhammadan, would come over to him. "I have felt it my duty to proceed," he writes to more than one of his home correspondents in 1831, "somewhat out of the course of *modern* missionary procedure. The result of my efforts has more than realised my expectations. Matters I thought were going on too quietly; I could see little of that which is spoken of in the 'Acts of the Apostles' as a turning of the world upside down, and nothing of that stir which attended the labours of the Apostles in the different cities which they visited. There was praying and there was teaching in schools, and there was preaching to some extent, especially by our missionaries; but there was no attempt to make a general impression on the whole population of a town or province. 'Drive gently' was the maxim. I thought on the days of Paul when he stood on Mars' Hill. I thought on the days of Luther, and Knox, and Calvin, and I began to see that they were right. They announced with boldness, publicly and privately, in the face of every danger, in the midst of every difficulty, to high and low, rich and poor, young and old, and I resolved by divine grace to imitate them. I have consequently challenged Hindoos, Parsees, and Mussulmans to the combat. The former I fight by the mouth principally, and the two latter by the pen. The consternation of many of them I know to be great, and hundreds have heard the gospel in the place of tens. I have had in the idolatrous Bombay, and the still more idolatrous Nasik, 250 miles distant, many hundreds for auditors. At present I am waging war, through the native newspapers, with the Parsees and Mussulmans. They are very indignant; some of them had got up a petition praying Govern-

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ment to stop me, but this was in vain. They did not present it. They show talent in their communications, but with a bad cause what can they do? Conscience, the Holy Spirit, the promises of God and the providence of God, are on our side. O for a pentecostal day! This may not be granted during our sojourn. Perhaps God only wishes us to be as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord.'"

A year before this, when announcing the first of these debates, he had pronounced it "the first general discussion on the Christian and Hindoo religions which has perhaps taken place in India." This statement is correct, notwithstanding the "conferences" which the Lutheran missionaries of Denmark had held with the Tamul Brahmans and Muhammadans in South India a century before.[1] "Upon the 6th of March 1707," begins the record, "I, Bartholomew Ziegenbalgen, was visited by a grave and learned Brahman; and, asking him what he proposed to himself by his friendly visit, he replied that he desired to confer with me amicably about the great things and matters of religion." All through the narration there is no sign, at that early time, of the overturning process. In truth, the good men of that mission, which had Tranquebar for its head-quarters, from Ziegenbalg to Schwartz, and to this day, tolerated caste even at the Lord's table, and in all their converts save ordained natives. Very different was the "turning upside-down" of Mr. Wilson's Bombay discussions, and yet in temper and in charity quite as "amicable" on his part, though terribly in earnest. Thus the first began.

Rama Chundra, the Pooranik Brahman who had been baptized at Bankote, visited Bombay in May 1830, for the

[1] See that curious volume "Thirty-Four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries and the Malabarian Brahmins (or Heathen Priests) in the East Indies concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion: Together with some Letters Written by the Heathens to the said Missionaries. Translated out of the High Dutch by Mr. Philipps." London. 1719.

purpose of declaring to his caste-fellows and priestly colleagues his reasons for forsaking them. For a time his arguments failed to prick their apathy. But at last Pundit Lukshmun Shastree was tempted to defend at great length the teaching of Hindooism regarding the ten Avatars or incarnations of Vishnoo, and, in the heat of controversy, to refer the question to five or six Brahmans. Rama Chundra demanded a fair public debate. To this the Pundit reluctantly consented, but himself prepared an advertisement announcing that there would be a discussion upon the evidences of the Hindoo and the Christian religion in the house of Mr. Wilson, at four o'clock on Friday the 21st May; that Rama Chundra, formerly a Pooranik, would defend the Christian religion; and that Lukshmun, a Pooranik, would, "as he felt disposed," take up the side of the Hindoo religion. A great crowd assembled accordingly, and among them upwards of a hundred Brahmans. Lukshmun being the secular Sanscrit teacher of one of the American missionaries, and Rama Chundra a convert of the Scottish missionaries, both missionaries were present. Mr. R. T. Webb, as a layman and a high official, was asked to keep order. The interest of the whole lay in the fact that Brahman met Brahman; the one new to the work of Christian apologetics and exposition, but assisted by Mr. Wilson occasionally; the other also helped by abler reasoners. Mr. Wilson opened the proceedings, which were in Marathee with constant quotations of Sanscrit slokas or verses, by stating the advantages of discussion in the attainment of truth, by exhorting the combatants to observe charity and the audience to put away prejudice, and by meeting only the initial assumption that God had established several religions, with the remark that, as God is the Father of all mankind, he will not appoint opposing laws for the regulation of his family. After the first day the Pundit Lukshmun "did not long keep his ground." Rama Chundra, "though

he occasionally introduced irrelevant matter, and was too tolerant of the sophistry of his opponents, acquitted himself in a manner which greatly interested many of his auditors." During the next three days, accordingly, the discussion fell into abler hands, Mr. Wilson on the one side, and on the Hindoo side Nirbhaya Rama and Kisundas Joguldas, chief pundit and principal pleader respectively of the highest Government Appellate Court, the Sudder Adawlut. The Brahmans were the first to ask for quarter. The benefit of the discussion was not confined to the crowds who heard it. Two editions of the report in Marathee were speedily exhausted; all Hindoo Bombay talked of it; inquiry was stirred up as nothing else could have done, and the delusion was dispelled that Christianity feared the investigation of the learned. True to his wise, natural, and kindly policy, in this as all through his career, Mr. Wilson took care that what he himself had learned as Western truth, but yet was of Asiatic origin as to its mode, he urged on Orientals in an Eastern form, and so commended it to every man. These extracts from the report, giving the more purely native part of the discussion, will show how it played, then as still, in the East as of late growingly in the West, around the three great questions of the nature of God, the relation of morality to religion, the origin and the means of getting rid of sin here and hereafter.

Rama Chundra began by declaring that he had abandoned the Hindoo religion because the statements of its scriptures were inconsistent with truth. Finding that the chief pundit, Nirbhaya, demanded proof that there is one God, he pointed to the works of God, and quoted, as binding on his opponent, the sloka of the Bhagavat-Geet, to the effect that there is one Supreme Being, the author of birth, life, and death.

"*R. C.* In the Hindoo Shastres it is written that God was at first

destitute of qualities, and that afterwards he became possessed of *suttva*, *ruja*, and *tuma*. In this statement three difficulties present themselves to my mind. The declaration that God was destitute of qualities tends highly to his dishonour; and I am unable to understand, if he was destitute of power, how he could become possessed of it. I cannot admit that such qualities as ruja and tuma are to be applied to the Divinity.[1] The Avatars (incarnations) of Vishnoo have taken human life and committed other bad actions, on this account I put no faith in them; but not so with the Avatar of Christ; he has obeyed God in all things, and given his life for man. As then the onion and the musk are known by their odour, and the tree is known by its fruits, so are the Avatars to be known by their works. Their works are evil, and therefore I renounce them.

"*Lukshmun.* I ask a question—If a subject commits a crime, is the king to be blamed for punishing him? Is God to be blamed for taking an Avatar to punish the Rakshusas (demons)?

"*R. C.* Amongst men a king must punish an offender according to his crime; but God has established principles, from which men by their own wickedness come to evil, and go to hell, therefore there was no occasion for an Avatar to come into the world for that purpose.

"*Nirbhaya.* God was not wholly included in the Avatar, and therefore the sins of the Avatars are not to be laid to God.

"*R. C.* Suppose them to be so far disconnected with God as to be only his messengers—if they are true they will act rightly.

"*Kisundass.* Yes! the Avatars were God's Sepoys.

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[1] The published report of the discussion here quotes the explanation of these terms by Mr. Ward of Serampore, in his *View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*, a work of surprising industry to have appeared so early as the beginning of this century. We may now substitute the latest explanations by Professor Monier Williams in his *Indian Wisdom*:—"When the universal and infinite being Brahma (*nom. case of the neuter Brahman*)—the only really existing entity, wholly without form and unaffected by the three Goonas or by qualities of any kind—wished to create for his own entertainment the phenomena of the universe, he assumed the quality of activity (*rajas*) and became a male person, as Brahmà (*nom. case masc.*), the Creator. Next, in the progress of still further self-evolution, he willed to invest himself with the second quality of goodness (*sattva*), as Vishnoo, the Preserver; and with the third quality of darkness (*tamas*), as Siva the Destroyer." This development of the doctrine of triple manifestation (*tri-moorti*), which appears first in the Brahmanised version of the Indian Epics, had already been adumbrated in the Veda, in the triple form of fire, and in the triad of gods, Agni, Soorya, and Indra, and in other ways.

"*R. C.* If God's Sepoys, why did they not act according to his will? If they commit sin, how are they to be known as his Sepoys.

"*K.* They are known by their badge, and not by their conduct.

"*R. C.* Where is the badge? Nirbhaya Rama says they are only parts of God; but if parts, they will be like himself in substance: but God has no parts, he is everywhere present.

"—— *Shas.* If they are not from God, whence are they?

"*R. C.* They may have been men, and therefore they are not to be worshipped.

"*K.* But if they are great and powerful, and are sent in the place of God, with power to punish the Rakshusas, they are as kings, who are not to be blamed for punishing offenders.

"*R. C.* Are we then to bow down to all who do any wonderful acts? Their works prove that they are not part of God. If I have a piece of gold, and break it into many pieces, the qualities in each will still remain the same.

"*K.* In the God you worship you admit three persons: and why then do you reject ten Avatars?

"*R. C.* Not so: in the Deity there are three persons, but one God; as in the sun,—there is the sun, the light, and the heat, but all included in one sun. I utterly reject the Avatars. Why did they take place? The object of the Fish Avatar was the discovery of the stolen Vedas. The object of the Tortoise was the placing the newly created earth upon his back to keep it firm. The object of the Boar Avatar was to draw up the earth from the waters, after it was sunken by the Devtuya. The object of the Man-lion Avatar was to destroy the rebellious giants, Hirunuyaksha and Hirunyukushipoo. The object of the Dwarf Avatar was the destruction of the religious Bulee. The object of the Purushoo Rama Avatar was the destruction of the Kshutriyas. The object of the Rama Avatar was the destruction of Ravuna. The object of the Krishna Avatar was to destroy the giant Kungshu. These are the Avatars which, you say, have already taken place. Is there any appearance of God in such acts? Could he not have accomplished these objects without assuming an Avatar? Did his taking a form make the work easier? I maintain, then, the reason for such Avatars is absurd. This is not the case with Christ: he came that the punishment of sin might be endured, and God's hatred of sin manifested.

"*Shukhurama Shastree.* Cannot a king do what he pleases? Cannot he go into the bazaar and carry off what he pleases? Who can call in question his doings?

"*Mr. W.* This is one of your other modes of explaining the actions of Krishna. A king, by his power, may prevent inquiry into his conduct; but he assuredly can sin. If the greatness of Krishna is to be considered, it must be viewed as an aggravation of his faults. Utterly opposed to these Avatars is that of Christ, in whom we wish you to trust. He came into the world to save sinners. By his miracles he proved his divine mission. His doctrines were holy and his works were holy. He voluntarily gave his life a ransom for us. He illustrated the divine mercy, and the divine holiness. He procured a righteousness for man. He prays for man in heaven. He is able to save man. The books which contain his history are true. They are not like the Hindoo Shastres. In them we find no foolish stories, no errors, and no utter want of evidence. Read them. Search and pray for wisdom. Embrace the truth.

"*Shuk.* How can you show that God has forbidden the worship of idols? for where there is one who does not, there are an hundred who do worship idols.

"*R. C.* All men are sinners, and are inclined to depart from God.

"*Mr. W.* Are the idols like God?

"*Shuk.* Not so: but if obeisance is made to the shoe of a king in the presence of his servants, and they bear the intelligence to the king that such-a-one has great respect for him, for he every day comes and makes obeisance before his shoe, would you not consider this as paying respect to the king?—so is it in worshipping the Deity by the idol.

"*Mr. W.* By this reasoning you make God at a distance; and we say that he is everywhere present, and that he is everywhere propitious. Is God then in the idol?

"*Shuk.* Yes, in every thing.

"*Mr. W.* You say that God is in a particular manner in the idol, and that he is brought in by the Muntras (invocations); but if a Mussulman touches it he goes out!—Even your old Shastres say that you are not to worship idols. The Vedantee philosophers near Calcutta assert this; and they have produced many passages in support of their opinion. There is one in the Bhagavat Geet.

"*Luk.* It is said that man cannot approach God; therefore he must first propitiate Krishna. By Krishna God may be approached, and in no other way.

"*R. C.* You say, then, that Krishna is propitiated by idols, and that through him the Deity. But suppose I am hungry, and have a handful of rice; if I throw that direct into the fire it will be burnt up, and I shall be deprived of my food; but I must have a vessel to

put it in, that it may be put on the fire and be cooked: but suppose the vessel I select is a dirty one, or a cracked one, then my rice will be spoiled in cooking, or the water will escape, and it will not be cooked; and in either case I shall remain hungry. I must then be careful that I select a proper vessel. So must it be with your Avatar—(incarnation). Take care and get a proper one.

"*K.* We should follow him only if his works are good, and not otherwise.

"*R. C.* Therefore you must see and get a proper mediator.

"*Shuk.* I hold that by the performance of ablution the mind is washed; for all evil proceeds from evil thoughts; and by the performance of ablution morning and evening I am brought to think of this, and thereby a check is thrown upon evil thoughts, and so the mind is purified.

"*R. C.* In your own Shastres the inefficiency of these remedies is declared.[1]

"*K.* I allow that unless the mind is firm these austerities are of no avail.

"—— *Brahman.* What is sin?

"*Mr. W.* The breaking of the law of God.

"—— *Brahman.* How did sin get into the world?

"*Mr. W.* How shall sin get out of the world? This should be the great inquiry. When a man is seized with cholera he does not distress himself by inquiring about the manner in which it came to him, but earnestly seeks a cure. The grand reason why we object to your remedies is, that they all proceed on the principle that man is saved by his own works. Admit this principle and you destroy the kingdom of God."

It is "the immemorial quest and old complaint." In the Brahmans' conferences with Ziegenbalg the same fixed ideas

[1] Will water absolve from sin?—what, then, are there no fishes in the river? Will fasting absolve from sin?—does not the snake feed on air when he can get nothing else? Will living upon raw fruits and herbs absolve from sin?—what! do not the goat and other animals feed on them daily? Will abstinence from drink absolve from sin?—does the Chatuk bird ever drink? Will living in a hole under ground absolve from sin?—what! are there no rats in the holes in the jungle? Will covering the body with ashes absolve from sin?—does not the donkey roll in the dust all day long? Will sitting in a state of absorption absolve from sin?—does not the Bugla bird sit all day long on the banks of a river? Therefore none of these austerities can be of any avail unless the mind is upright.

of the pantheist, the polytheist, the ritualist, ever recur, prefaced always by the assumption which Mr. Wilson put out of the controversy at starting, that to save the European one way and the Hindoo another "is one of the pastimes and diversions of Almighty God," as the Tamul priest of Vishnoo expressed it. The argument of Kisundass, that the nine Avatars or incarnations of Vishnoo—the tenth, Kalki, is to appear as a comet in the sky, on a white horse, with an apocalyptic sword, to restore the righteousness of the golden age—were God's Sepoys, known by their badge and not by their conduct; and that of Shookaram, that as a king God can sin as he pleases, denote the universal belief of the Hindoos that morality and god-worship have different and frequently opposite spheres. Since, about 1864, Sir Henry Maine first brought his study of early institutions and his official task of constant legislation to bear on Hindoo society, this has been recognised, and students of the science of religion, who are at the same time familiar with the social phenomena of native society, have worked it out.[1] Hence missionary and legislator alike, together as well as separately, each in his own sphere, have to act so that the crimes sanctioned by the theology of the Hindoos shall be prohibited by an application of the moral law of Christianity, and the jurisprudence of the civilised nations of the West; while the legislator has to guard against the opposite extreme of seeming to sanction, and of really perpetuating with a new authority, the vast mass of Hindoo religious and therefore civil law, which he must leave untouched. From Lord William Bentinck and Macaulay to Lord Lawrence and Sir Henry Maine, and from Claudius Buchanan and Carey to Duff and Wilson, this double process has gone on, till India enjoys a more humane criminal code and a more perfect toleration of creeds and opinions than Great Britain itself.

[1] See Mr. A. C. Lyall's papers in the *Fortnightly Review*, especially that at p. 560 of the number for April 1878.

The excitement caused by this discussion among the natives of Bombay had not passed away when, in February 1831, another champion arrived to renew the controversy. This was Mora Bhatta Dandekara, who thought to succeed where the pundit Lukshmun and his friends had failed. Many Brahmans were present. "They brought their chief champion every day in a carriage, with garlands of flowers hanging about him. They could not, however, defend their religion," writes Mr. Wilson to his father. The debate continued during six successive evenings. Mr. Webb again presided at the request of both parties. The Brahman convert, Rama Chundra, again took part in it, but the chief combatant for Christianity was Mr. Wilson himself. "The Brahmans were the first to solicit a cessation of hostilities." It was left on this occasion to the Hindoos to publish a report of the proceedings, and several wealthy men subscribed for the purpose. But the Bhatta had not taken notes, and he preferred to publish, as his defence, a tract on the *Verification of the Hindoo Religion*, to which he challenged a reply. The debate had, as on the former occasion, referred principally to the character of the Divine Being, the means of salvation, the principles of morals, and the allotment of rewards and punishments. The *Verification* reiterates the arguments of the former apologists for Hindooism, but it is of interest from the attacks it makes on some statements of the Christian Scriptures which it first perverts. This, for instance, is the rendering of the opening verse of the fourth Gospel:—"In the beginning was word. That word was in the heart of God; and the same word was manifested in the world in the form of Christ." The real value of the tract, however, lies in the fact that it called forth Mr. Wilson's first *Exposure of the Hindoo Religion*, to which a translation of it by Mr. Nesbit is prefixed:—"The Bhatta, though he has in some instances disguised the truth, writes generally in support of what has

been called the exoteric system of Hindooism; and a little reflection will show that the attempt to uphold any other can only be made with the sacrifice of the pretensions to inspiration on the part of the Hindoo scriptures, and with admissions which must prove destructive to the popular superstition. The efforts which have hitherto been made to refine on the Brahmanical faith have hitherto proved, and must ever prove, completely abortive. It is essentially distinguished by exaggeration, confusion, contradiction, puerility, and immorality." Such was Mr. Wilson's earlier impression of a system, with even the innermost recesses of which further study and experience were to make him so familiar, that the Government and the Judges frequently appealed to him as the highest trustworthy authority for political and legal ends.

The Brahmans, thus twice met on the later Pooranik or Brahmanical side, determined to return to the charge, this time on the earlier Vedantic, or what was then called the esoteric ground. One Narayan Rao, English teacher in the Raja of Satara's school, accordingly wrote a reply to the first *Exposure of Hindooism*, under the signature of "An Espouser of his Country's Religion." Mora Bhatta edited the work, and took it to Mr. Wilson. Hence his publication, towards the close of 1834, of *A Second Exposure of the Hindoo Religion*. The title-page bears these lines of Sir William Jones :—

> "Oh ! bid the patient Hindoo rise and live.
> His erring mind that wizard lore beguiles,
> Clouded by priestly wiles,
> To senseless nature bows for nature's God."

Like its predecessor, this *Exposure* is a model of kindly controversy and lofty courtesy to antagonists. "I beg of them," he writes to the Hindoos in his preface, "to continue to extend credit to me and to my fellow-labourers for the benevolence of our intentions, and to believe that anything which

is inconsistent with the deepest charity is not what we would for one moment seek to defend." Both works caused a greater demand for copies than was expected, and called forth many letters from natives assuring the writer that they had been thus led to lose all confidence in the religion of their fathers. The books were translated into Bengalee and other Indian vernaculars, and continued to be long useful in letting light into many a native's mind. Mr. Wilson made good use of the admissions of the Bengalee theist Rammohun Roy, who had at that time written his principal works and had been carefully answered by Carey and Marshman. The *Second Exposure*, dedicated to Mr. James Farish who acted as interim Governor, has a further literary interest, as showing Mr. Wilson's steady as well as rapid advance in his Sanscrit studies, and in the consequent use of the Vedic, Pooranic, and Epic literature, for the demolition of error. His preface thus concludes:—"To several friends I am indebted for the loan of several Sanskrit MSS. which were not in my possession, and which I have used for enabling me to judge of the fidelity of existing translations and opinions, and correctly to make some original extracts. It was my intention at one time to have quoted more liberally from the *Upanishads* than I have done. The inspection of a great number of them led me to perceive that, while they abound in metaphysical errors, there is a great accordance in the few principles which they respectively unfold, and to which attention should be particularly directed. —Bombay, October 1834."

At the time of the second of the three discussions with Brahmans on the Christian and Hindoo religions, Mr. Wilson found himself challenged to an encounter on the two very different fields of the Zoroastrianism of the Parsees and the ethics and theology of the Muhammadan Koran. His review of the Armenian *History of the Religious Wars between the Persians and Armenians*, in the *Oriental Christian*

Spectator of July and August 1831, tempted the descendants of the persecuting Magi, now peaceable and loyal enough because themselves persecuted exiles, to defend the *Avasta*, their sacred book. This controversy opens out so wide a field, alike in itself and in Mr. Wilson's career as a scholar and a missionary, that we shall reserve it and its consequences for another chapter. But an expression adverse to Muhammadanism in one of Mr. Wilson's letters to the Parsees, called forth a champion of Muhammad and the Koran, and led to the publication of a *Refutation of Muhammadanism*, in Hindostanee, Goojaratee, and Persian,[1] which may be placed side by side with the two exposures of Hindooism, though no separate English edition of it has appeared, beyond fragments in the *Oriental Christian Spectator* from May to August 1833.

"Hadjee Muhammad Hashim of Ispahan, who, as his name shows, had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was the most learned Moulvie in Bombay, challenged me," writes Mr. Wilson, "to the proof of the licentiousness and imposture of the author of the Koran, and I readily attempted to establish my position. After several letters had appeared in the native newspapers, the Hadjee came forward with a pamphlet of considerable size in Goojaratee and Persian, in which he evinces at once great sophistry and great ability." His *Reply to Hajee Mahomed Hashim's Defence of the Islamic Faith* is, if we except the necessarily imperfect tract of Henry Martyn continued by Dr. Lee, the first controversial treatise of the kind in point of time, as the *Exposures* of Hindooism are.[2] Dr. Pfander had not yet begun that series

[1] *Raddi-i-din Mussulmani* is the Persian title.

[2] We do not reckon the treatise on Christianity, written for the Emperor Akbar by Hieronymo Xavier, the nephew of the great missionary, although it was answered twelve years after it appeared, in 1609, by Ahmed Ibn Zain-al-Abidin, and this called forth a rejoinder, in Latin, from Phillip Gaudagnoli of the Propaganda College, Rome. Pfander's first and ablest treatise, the since well-known *Mizan ul Haqq*, or "A Resolution of the Controversy between Christians and Muhammadans," was published in Persian in 1835, at

of Christian apologies in controversy with Muhammadans, which have done more than any other instrument to shake the apparently immovable confidence of the votaries of Islam in Agra and Delhi, in Allahabad and Lucknow, in Lahore and Peshawur, in Constantinople and Cairo, where more than one learned Moulvie now preaches the faith which once he attacked, or even translates the Christian Scriptures.[1] It was Pfander's representation of the need for a biography of the prophet, suitable for the perusal of his followers, that led Sir William Muir, when a busy settlement officer and revenue secretary at Agra, to prepare his *Life of Mahomet*, which is the greatest in the English language, as Sprenger's is in the German. But no one can peruse Mr. Wilson's *Reply* to Muhammad Hashim without remarking how he has, in brief, anticipated Muir in shrewd insight, criticism, and keen exposure of the moral irregularities and shortcomings of Muhammad's Koran and his private life. In twenty-one necessarily condensed chapters Mr. Wilson covers the whole field of the controversy, save on its historical side—which was not raised. That it went very far down into practical life as well as ethical principles, these preliminary letters on the subject which gave rise to the discussion will show.

"John Wilson, a servant of Jesus the Messiah, presents his salutation to Haji Muhammad Hashim.

"I have perused your letter in the *Bombay Sumachar* respecting

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the Fort of Shushy, Georgia, where he was one of the German Mission, and whence he was driven in 1836 by the Russian Government, with its usual intolerance to all but its own political and autocratic division of the Greek Church. The Hindostanee translation was lithographed at Mirzapore in 1843. See the Article in Vol. IV. of the *Calcutta Review* on the Muhammadan controversy, written, we believe, by Sir William Muir. At a later period Wilson refers to this article in a note to his *Lands of the Bible*.

[1] See Syud Ahmed's *Mahomedan Commentary on the Holy Bible*. Two Parts, quarto, Allygurh, 1862-5; which the Venerable Archdeacon Pratt reviewed in the *Friend of India* of 1862, and the Rev. Dr. Robson treated in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* of July 1867.

the transactions of Muhammad with the female sex, and I am not a little surprised at the manner in which you have expressed yourself on this subject. It is my intention, should you continue to desire me, to enter fully into its consideration. At present I shall confine myself to your remarks on polygamy and divorce.

"You say that for a man to have more than one wife is a good thing. You will find it impossible to prove that this is the case. There are many reasons for differing from you in opinion. I here mention the most important of them. 1. After God had created Adam the first man, he gave him only one wife named Huwa. If it had been good for man to engage in polygamy, God would have given Adam, whom he created in a happy state, more than one wife. 2. There are not more women than men in the world; and when polygamy is indulged in some men must be deprived of wives, which you must allow to be a great evil. It is manifest, then, from this circumstance, that to have more than one wife is contrary to the course of nature. It is because polygamy is practised in the Muhammadan states that it has been found necessary to have *hijre*. 3. Polygamy is detrimental to the increase of population. . . . 4. Polygamy is hurtful to the right education of children. When one man has a great number of sons and daughters, with a variety of mothers, he cannot manage and instruct them so well as he would be able to do if they had only one mother. 5. Polygamy is the frequent cause of a great many quarrels and jealousies among the different wives. This you very well know, and this you allow, when you have to speak of divorce as a 'quick expedient for settling disputes.' 6. It is impossible for a husband with a plurality of wives to treat them all with the love and affection which is due to them. Wherever polygamy has prevailed, the female character has become degraded and debased to an extent which I cannot describe. As a wise man consider these arguments, and never again attempt to vindicate polygamy nor Muhammad, who, to please his disciples, allowed them to take four wives to themselves, who took four times that number to himself, and who even promised wives to his disciples when they should get to heaven. You wished me to state my opinion. I have now expressed it.

"You approve of divorce for the settling of disputes and other objects of a like nature, according to the will of the husband. But on this point, as well as on the preceding, you will find it very difficult to show cause. When divorces, like those of which you speak, take place, the mother is banished from the children to whom she gave birth, on whom her affections are placed, and in whom she undoubtedly has a

property as well as their father. The children are bereft of their mother whom they love, and deprived of her tender care. The women, who fear that they may be driven away for a slight cause, are often tempted to take the common property to themselves, that they may be prepared for the day of evil. The men, who feel that they have the power which you approve, are ready to part, according to their temptations, with their lawful wives, that they may get new ones."

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE GREATEST OF ALL NAMES.

"The least of the slaves of God, Haji Muhammad Hashim, sends his compliments to John Wilson, the servant of Jesus the Messiah. What you wrote in answer to me I have seen. I could object to everything brought forward by you, but it would take up time, be of no use, and cause you much pain. I shall therefore shortly reply.

"1st. As to your proofs against polygamy from the case of Adam and Huwa, and there not being a greater number of women than men in the world, etc., etc., it appears to me that you have considered polygamy to be actually necessary to, and incumbent on, the being a Moosulman! But this, I state, is not the fact—it is not necessary, but allowed. If a man find that one wife is not enough for him, and he is able to support and take care of others, he may, if he sees fit, take another, and so on until he has four, by the 'Nikah Daimee,' and by purchase, 'Muttah,' as many as he likes. I hold, therefore, that your argument falls to the ground. But we will pass from this topic. If what you have said is the fact, it comes to this, that in every instance polygamy must be shameful and base, and from the time of Adam to the present time it must surely have been lawful. But I have seen that in your books it is written that some of the most celebrated ancestors of the Lord Jesus (Huzrut) were polygamists. Abraham, the friend of God, besides his wife Sarah, the mother of Jacob, took, by the advice of Sarah, Hagar; and Jacob married Rachel and Leah, daughters of Laban, his maternal uncle, and by the wish of both these wives took their servants Bilha and Zilfa, and had children by all four. We may therefore say that polygamy is not in its nature sinful, and depends on expediency, and the wish of the just man. Since polygamy was lawful among men before the time of Jesus Christ, why is it not to be thought lawful and allowable among Muhammadans? Regarding Huzrut Muhammad taking twelve wives to himself, and giving only four to his disciples, although he did so he did not prohibit them from taking more by 'Muttah' and purchase, and laid no bounds on them in this way. Nor is it necessary that a prophet and

his followers should equally act or be subject to the same obligations. What matters it that there should be a difference in acts like these? Huzrut Isa told his disciples to marry, but never himself married. He was like them in all things else concerning the law and the duties of life. And thus it was that Muhammad told his people in twenty-four hours to pray seventeen times, but himself prayed fifty-one times.

"Regarding divorce, the propriety of which you declare to be most difficult of proof, and that the separation of mother and children takes place from it, and that wives, if they fear that for a small fault they shall be divorced, will on the day of separation take their husband's property, it is easy to answer this. That it was lawful under the Mosaic law, appears from what Huzrut Isa says in the 19th chapter of Matthew, 'On account of the hardness of your hearts, Moses allowed you to divorce your wife.' If therefore Moses, for the hardness of the hearts of the Jews, allowed the practice of divorce, what harm was there in Muhammad allowing the same to his followers, and for some one reason which he himself was aware of? But the quarrels and dissensions you mention are not necessary, as divorce is also not necessary. And divorce is never used until there is no other resource, and this also is only allowed, not commanded; and no respectable person will ever divorce the mother of his own children. And if a bad wife is divorced, her part of the property is always given her. And if a wife knows that on account of bad conduct she may be divorced, it will prevent her from such a course.

"I am a seeker of the right road, and having discovered that road, I hold it necessary for me to walk in it; and if I prove that my sect is holding an untruth, after all my exertions, I shall only discover the falsity of it without getting to myself any good. The Muhammadan religion, which I have chosen, is the religion of the twelve Imaums, and I have not entered it merely in imitation of my ancestors (because my parents were Muhammadans), nor from prejudice on account of my tribe and family, but because, after much search and examination, and after inquiries into all other kinds of religions, and finding more proofs, and full confirmation of the truth of the Muhammadan doctrines, I became a follower of that sect. Now that you have commenced to teach men the right road, you should fully explain and prove the truths of your own belief, that the seekers of truth, if enfeebled by your arguments, should adopt your views and become obedient to your doctrines.

"But supposing, what is impossible, that you could prove the falsity of the Muhammadan religion, that could never prove the truth

of the Christian religion. Supposing that you should say, from the falsity of the Muhammadan religion the truth of the Christian faith must necessarily follow, because Muhammad himself confessed Christ to be a prophet, and thus there are consenting or concurring evidences of the mission of Jesus Christ, I answer, that Muhammad only confessed *that* Christ to be a prophet, who said to the children of Israel that after him another prophet would arise called Ahmud. If, therefore, this is the very Christ whom the Christians worship, they must confess the Muhammadan faith to be true ; but if they worship another than that Christ who thus prophesied of Muhammad, the Muhammadans acknowledge no other than him, and I affirm that the prophetic mission of Christ has not the concurring evidences that I supposed you assumed."

The reply to this communication was as follows :—"To Haji Muhammad Hashim, John Wilson presents respectful salutations.

"I have carefully perused your second letter in defence of Muhammad, but I must frankly acknowledge that it is my decided opinion that you have completely failed to answer my statement of reasons against polygamy. In reply to that which respected the fact that God gave only one wife to Adam, and that there are not more women than men in the world, you allege that I supposed that it was required by the Muhammadan law that every man should have four wives. Granting that I had made this mistake, you have not in the slightest degree overturned my argument. I assure you that I was not ignorant of the state of your law on the subject, and that I am of opinion that the countenance which it grants is a great evil. You should have showed wherein my six reasons were erroneous. I would have taken no offence at your reasoning, however acute and forcible it might have been. It is much better for a person to reason, than merely to say that he can reason.

"Abraham, and Solomon, and other individuals mentioned in the Old Testament, practised polygamy, but I ask you if God approved of their doing so, and gave them his divine countenance ; and if they consulted their best interests by the course which they pursued. I find no passage in the Bible approving of polygamy. On the contrary, I find Moses in his 5th book, 17th chapter, and 17th verse, laying down a law even for the King of Israel, that 'he should not multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away ;' and I find it said respecting Solomon, in the 11th chapter of the first book of Kings, 'that his wives turned away his heart after other gods : and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God.' You see, then, that the Scriptures of the Jews and Christians differ from the Koran of Muhammad.

"You have not satisfactorily explained why Muhammad took to himself more wives than he allowed to his disciples. It is more suitable to the character of a teacher to exceed his disciples in the actual service of God than to fall short of them; but it is more suitable that he should fall short of them than exceed them in worldly enjoyment. Do not you admit that this is the case? I require an answer.

"I have little to say respecting your remarks on divorce. You seem not to indicate that kind of divorce of which you spoke in your first letter, as 'a quick expedient for settling disputes.' Christ Jesus allows divorce in the case of fornication; and although Moses allowed the Jews, on account of the hardness of their hearts, to practise it in some other cases, Muhammad, who pretended that he was improving upon Moses and upon Christ, was required, by consistency, to confirm or improve what Christ established. Instead of doing this, however, he brings matters back to their old state, when the Jews were unwilling to submit to a right law. In acting thus he clearly showed that his pretensions were without ground. I am most happy to find that you are of opinion that no respectable person will divorce the mother of his children without a sufficient reason: and I shall be happy to learn that all the Persians, and Arabians, and others, are resolved to treat their wives with increased kindness. They will in this way essentially promote their own happiness, the right education of their children, and the welfare of society in general.

"Connected with the subject on which I have made these remarks, there are other three to which I invite your attention. The first respects the laws which Muhammad laid down regarding his own wives. He said that it was the will of God that his followers should treat all their wives with the same respect; but, in the thirty-third chapter of the Koran, he claims the right of treating his wives as he should see fit. He forbids his disciples from marrying their near relatives; but he throws no restraint upon himself, as you will perceive from the chapter to which I have referred. He allowed none of his followers to have that intercourse with his wives which he claimed for himself with regard to those of others. He also allowed all widows to marry a second time except his own. On this subject you do not need information; you only require to reflect.

"The second circumstance which I have in view is the dishonourable and criminal manner in which Muhammad procured some of his wives. I call on you to consider his conduct with regard to Zainab the wife of Zaid. He falls in love with her, prevails on her husband to put her away, and impiously pretends that he had the authority of God

for marrying her. I call on you to examine his conduct with regard to Mary, the Egyptian girl. In both these cases he grievously sinned. Kooskuna Abdoolah, in a letter addressed to me, and published by the editor of the *Hurkaru* and *Wurtuman* says that his conduct was no worse than that of David King of Israel. I say that it was much worse. David sinned, it is true: but he repented bitterly. The Bible condemns the conduct of David; and nothing can be said against its truth on this account. The Koran approves of the evil conduct of Muhammad; and it is therefore evident that this Koran came not from God, who is infinitely holy, and who cannot look upon sin without hatred and detestation.

"The third point to which I refer you is the promise which Muhammad gave to his followers of marriage in heaven. As I know that you are possessed of a good understanding, I shall merely on this subject quote a couplet from a Persian poet. . . . .

"You profess to be a seeker of the right road, and that you have embraced Muhammadanism after much inquiry. You also declare that, if you discover the falsity of it, you will get no good. I do not see what are the reasons which warrant you to come to this conclusion. If you actually discover that the Koran does not contain the religion of God, you will perhaps, by the aid of God, seek more diligently for its discovery in some other quarter. I give you credit for making inquiry in your youth, particularly as the Koran denounces all persons who act as you have done, and I would respectfully, but very earnestly, entreat you to re-examine minutely the claims of Muhammad. The topics to which I have briefly directed your attention will furnish you with some ground of decision; and those which I now bring before your notice may perhaps conduce to the same object.

"It must be admitted by every intelligent person that, if God see fit to make a revelation of his will to men, the book containing that revelation must be true in all its statements, free from contradictions of principle, and holy in its tendency. Let the Koran be examined by this simple test and I am certain that it must be renounced. You are acquainted with its contents, and I ask you to consider if they are all of that kind which can be approved. As examples of the errors in matters of well-known facts, I refer you to what is said respecting the hills and mountains of the earth, the setting of the sun, and the character of Alexander the Great. In the chapter of Lockman, it is thus written: 'And he hath thrown on the earth mountains firmly rooted, lest it should move with you.' In the chapter of the Kav, it is thus written: 'And he followed his way till he came to the place where the

sun setteth, and he found it to set in a spring of black mud ; and he found near the same a certain people.' In the same chapter it is said that Alexander believed in God, while the historians of his own country clearly show that he lived and died a heathen. The contradictions in principle are exceedingly numerous. These cannot be explained, as the Moosulman doctors wish, on the supposition that the prophet chose to repeat at one time what he had declared at another, for in the chapter of women it is thus written :—'Do they not attentively consider the Koran ? If it had been from any besides God, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions.' According to the doctrine of the Koran itself, then, its contradictions are proofs that it did not come from God. Muhammad indirectly, and unwillingly, gives testimony against himself. The Koran is not holy in its tendency, although many of its precepts, borrowed from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, are correct. Instead of striving to restrain sin, and utterly eradicate it, Muhammad says, 'God is minded to make his religion light unto you, for man was created weak.' Instead of supporting the authority, and manifesting the holiness of God, your prophet teaches that men have the power of saving themselves by their own works ; or of procuring pardon by their own repentance. Do not deceive yourself, and ruin yourself, by resting on his scheme of salvation. Good works are at all times required ; and, however good they may be, they cannot be better than God commands. They cannot then stand in the place of the sins which have been already committed. Men, even in their best estate, sin daily in thought, in word, and in action. Their repentance cannot procure pardon, for were God to give to men the assurance that it would prevail, his kingdom would be destroyed. Men would begin to say that we may sin without fear, for we can escape when we please ; we have only to repent. In no earthly government of nations does repentance procure pardon. How will it succeed with God who is the King of all worlds ? That atonement which was made by Jesus Christ is the only sure ground of hope.

"You say that Christ declared that a prophet named Ahmud would come unto the world. I deny that he did ; and I ask you to show me the writing on which you ground your statement. Muhammad, I know, said that he was the great prophet spoken of in the Jewish Scriptures. But his own admission proves that he was not what he represented himself. He uniformly speaks of Christ as the Messiah. Now every Jew will tell you that the Messiah is the great prophet and Redeemer, whom they and their fathers have expected.

"You inform me that I should explain and prove the truths of my

own belief. This is my daily employment. When I have received your answer to this letter, which is as long as can be admitted at once into the *Sumachar*, I shall (D.V.) present you with an explanation and proof of what is required. I am really astonished to see a person of your abilities devoted to error. Wishing you much prosperity, I am your humble Servant,

"J. WILSON."

In the elaborate *Reply* itself, Mr. Wilson does not allude to the almost unmentionable "Mostahil' or temporary husband, so essential a part of the Muhammadan system of divorce, as authoritatively laid down in the "Fatawa-i-Alamgiri."[1] Nor did the attack of the Hadjee lead him to the consideration of a subject which recent treaties have made prominent, the relation of the sexual side of the Koran to the slave-trade and slavery. To the practical efforts in that direction he was soon to be called. But he does not spare the Hadjee in his sixth chapter, "On the mode in which Muhammad procured and treated his wives," a subject on which even Gibbon is severe. The law of polygamous marriage and treble divorce has never been interfered with by the British Government among the forty millions of its Mussulman subjects in India; while not a few Hindoo criminal practices, like widow-burning, child-murder, hook-swinging, and human sacrifice, all in the name of religion, have been ruthlessly stopped. The result is such a horrible state of society among the Mussulmans of eastern Bengal, as was revealed in an official inquiry in 1873, and which still goes on corrupting, under the ægis of the Koran and its expounders. Mr. Wilson was able to write of this controversy, as of those which preceded it, that it had shaken the faith of some Muhammadans in different parts of the country. The Parsee editor of the newspaper in which it was at first conducted, summed it up in the brief de-

[1] See Baillie's translation, and the exposure of the abomination by a Hindoo, Professor Shama Churun Sircar, in the Tagore Law Lectures for 1873 (Calcutta).

claration, "All the world know that Islamism has been either propagated by the sword, or embraced on account of its licentiousness." From far Cochin, and the south, a convert came convinced by the *Reply*, which was reprinted in other parts of India. In October 1833 Mr. Wilson baptized the first Muhammadan of Bombay who had been received into the Christian Church. He was a fakeer, or mendicant devotee, whose secession from Islam infuriated his intolerant brethren. He was followed by an inquirer, a very learned Moolla, young and master of several tongues, who during the controversy was the stoutest opposer of Christ, but humbly solicited baptism as now convinced of the truth of Christianity.

It was with a peculiar interest that Mr. Wilson directed his attention to the Jews of western India from the very beginning of his studies in the Konkan. For it was on that low coast, and in the country stretching upwards to the high road to Poona that, according to their own tradition, their ancestors, seven men and seven women, found an asylum, after shipwreck, sixteen centuries before. The little colony increased under the protection of the Abyssinian Chief who had settled there, and they came to be recognised as another variety of the Muhammadans. Destitute of all historical evidence, even of their own Law, the Beni-Israel, or sons of Israel as they called themselves, clung all the more tenaciously, generation after generation, to their paternal customs. On the mainland they became industrious agriculturists and oil-sellers. In the new settlement of Bombay they found work to do as artizans, and even shopkeepers and writers. Not a few of them are Sepoys in the Bombay army, as many Christians are in the Madras army. They differ from the black Jews of Cochin, further south, who have sprung of the earliest emigrants from Arabia and Indian proselytes. Nor have they any connection with the so-called white Jews of the same place, whose

arrival in India dates no farther back probably than the earliest of those expulsions from Spain, which, in the same way, afterwards sent Lord Beaconsfield's ancestors to Venice. The Beni-Israel, repelling the name of Yehudi as a reproach, were probably older than both, for the Cochin Jews say that they found them on their arrival at Rajapoora, in the Konkan. In two careful and learned papers, written for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. Wilson traced them to Yemen or Arabia Felix, the Jews of which they resemble, and with whom they hold intercourse. One of the Rothschild family, Mr. Samuel, and Mr. Wilson himself afterwards, found the origin of the Aden Jews in the remnant of the captivity who fled into Egypt, where, as Jeremiah had warned them, many were sent captive to Arabia, and where they led the Himyarite King of Yemen, Toba, to embrace their faith. The Yemen colony was reinforced after the dispersion, on the fall of Jerusalem; and again on the defeat of Zenobia; till Sana, the capital of Yemen, became a new bulwark of Judaism against the Christians of Ethiopia on the west and the Zoroastrians of Persia on the east. The Beni-Israel were very near Mr. Wilson's heart. For them he prepared his first grammar of Hebrew and Marathee. Long after he ceased to receive support for them from the home churches he made it his special care to raise funds on the spot. The transfer of the mission to the General Assembly he welcomed, among other reasons, because of the impetus it gave to this department. In 1826 a converted Cochin Jew, Mr. Sargon, had worked among them, and the American Missionaries also had from the first cared for them. Of the 1300 children who attended Mr. Wilson's various schools in 1836, some 250 were Beni-Israel, and of these one third were girls.[1]

At the end of 1833 Bombay was visited by Joseph Wolff, the erratic Jew of Prague, who delighted to proclaim himself

[1] *Appeal for the Christian Education of the Beni-Israel of Bombay.*

the Protestant Xavier, and lamented that he had not altogether followed that missionary in the matter of celibacy, such was the sorrow that their separation by his frequent wanderings had brought on Lady Georgiana and himself. He had the year before sent Mr. Wilson this communication :—

"CABOOL, 10*th May* 1832.—The bearers of these lines are the Armenian Christians of Cabool, whose ancestors were brought to Cabool from Meshed by Ahmed Shah; as they had no longer any means of support at Cabool they were constrained to emigrate from here with their wives and children, and intend now to settle themselves at Jerusalem and round Mount Ararat. As they are very poor indeed I cannot but recommend them to my English friends as worthy objects of their pity and compassion for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will come again in the clouds of heaven in the year 1847 to establish his throne and citadel in the capital of my Jewish ancestors in the city of Jerusalem—and at that time there shall be neither Armenian nor Englishman, but all one in Christ Jesus crucified, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords.—JOSEPH WOLFF, *Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ for Palestine, Persia, Bokhara, and Balkh.*"

After emerging from Central Asia in a condition more nearly resembling that of a nude dervish than an Anglican clergyman, Wolff had attempted to convert Runjeet Singh at Lahore, had himself been civilised for the time at Simla by Lord William Bentinck and his noble wife, and had made his way round and across India by Madras and Goa to the western capital. In the amusing and by no means uninstructive *Travels and Adventures*, which, in 1861, was dedicated "by his friend and admirer" to the Right. Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, we have these glimpses of Bombay society, and of Mr. Wilson, with whom he afterwards frequently corresponded on mission-work for the Jews and the eastern Christians. "Wolff arrived in Bombay on the 29th November, and was received by all classes of denominations of Christians there with true cordiality and love. He was the guest of Mr. James Farish, who was several times Deputy-Governor of Bombay.

Lord Clare, the Governor, called, and heard a lecture which was delivered before a large audience. Wolff also lectured in Farish's house as well as in the Town Hall of Bombay, when English, Parsees, Armenians, Mussulmans, Portuguese, and Hindoos were present. One of the Parsees announced a lecture on the principles of the Parsees, in which he tried to adopt the style and actions of Joseph Wolff, but he was dreadfully cut up in the papers. . . . Wolff had a public discussion with the Muhammadans at Bombay, when the most distinguished members of the British Government were present, both of the military and civil departments, including Farish, Robert Money, and the missionaries Wilson and Nesbit, and also Parsees." Mr. Wilson and Mr. Stevenson introduced him to all departments of their mission-work, but he was especially interested in the Beni-Israel, some of whom he had first seen at Poona. He writes of "those learned, excellent, eloquent, devoted, and zealous missionaries of the Scotch Kirk," and continues,—"Wolff went also with Mr. Wilson to see one of the celebrated Yoghees, who was lying in the sun in the street, the nails of whose hands were grown into his cheek, and a bird's nest upon his head. Wolff asked him, 'How can one obtain the knowledge of God?' He replied, 'Do not ask me questions; you may look at me, for I am God!' Wolff indignantly said to him, 'You will go to hell if you speak in such a way.'" The subtle pantheism of the ascetic absorbed into Vishnoo was beyond the Judæo-Christian dervish.[1] He left soon after for Yemen and Abyssinia, whence we shall hear from him again.

[1] Lady William Bentinck had a hard fight to assure the Governor-General's court that Wolff was not mad. "I have succeeded," she told him, "in convincing all who have seen and heard you that you are not cracked, but I have not convinced them that you are not an enthusiast." Wolff replied, "My dear Lady William, I hope that I am an enthusiast, or, as the Persian Soofees say, that I am drunk with the love of God. Columbus would never have discovered America without enthusiasm." And so Wolff afterwards revealed the true fate of Conolly and Stoddart.

A wandering missionary of like zeal but more intensity of spirit visited Bombay in the same year, Mr. Anthony Groves of Exeter, first and most catholic of those who call themselves "The Brethren." Having parted with all he possessed, according to his rendering of Christ's precept—"Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth," as expounded in a pamphlet on *Christian Devotedness*, he proceeded by St. Petersburg to Bagdad in 1831, and there commenced his mission. He had as his secretary, and the tutor of his children, the deaf lad who afterwards became remarkable as Dr. Kitto. Plague, inundation, and famine, broke up the schools in which he gave a Christian education to eighty children under five masters. His own wife and children fell victims, and in 1833 he visited India to learn lithographic printing, and acquaint himself with the experience of men like Duff and Wilson. But his speculative views were too far advanced for that. He was a dervish of a different type from the buoyant Wolff, but still a dervish. He held that, as the gospel was to be preached for a witness by missionaries supported by the free-will offerings of Christendom, before the end come, no mission should continue in the same place for more than five years. After a visit to England he returned with a considerable reinforcement of coadjutors in 1836. On both occasions Mr. Wilson showed him that hospitality and did him that social service, which were already beginning to be drawn upon by all visitors who could plead any interest of any kind in the East and its peoples.

Another type of missionary policy was supplied by Mr. Francis William Newman, brother of the greater John Henry Newman, and son of a well-known banker. After giving brilliant promise, since well redeemed, as Fellow of Balliol up to 1830, Mr. W. F. Newman drifted away from the Thirty-Nine Articles into the views of Mr. Groves, whose pamphlet attracted him also to Bagdad. There he hoped to draw the

Muhammadans to the Arian form, at least, of Christianity by such purely moral evidence of its superiority as the lives of really disinterested Englishmen might supply. He dreamed of a colony "so animated by faith, primitive love, and disinterestedness, that the collective moral influence of all might interpret and enforce the words of the few who preached." He looked for success "where the natives had gained experience in the characters of the Christian family around them." This was precisely what Wilson, of all missionaries who have ever worked in the East, did in Bombay; but he succeeded where Mr. F. W. Newman soon failed, because he never ceased to show that a disinterested life and the Christian family spring directly out of those "mystical doctrines of Christianity" which the author of that sadly suggestive book the *Phases of Faith*,[1] began by postponing. Wolff, Groves, and F. W. Newman were all on one right track, the superiority of what is called the internal evidences, of arguments addressed to the moral and spiritual faculties of heathen and Muhammadan. So had Wilson begun, and so did he continue all through his career, from the letter quoted at page 72, to his testimony, along with that of Bishop French of Lahore, regarding the importance of witness-bearing, at the Allahabad Conference in 1873. But Wilson did not make the mistake of cutting the stream off below the fountain-head, and hence the permanent and developing fruitfulness of his work to all time and among all creeds and classes. Francis Newman returned to England in two years, himself partly affected by a Muhammadan carpenter of Aleppo, to find the Tractarian movement beginning, and his brother and his whole family alienated from him. He would not return to the East; considering the idea of a Chris-

[1] Compare the "second period" of that book, entitled *Strivings after a more Primitive Christianity*, with the greater *Apologia* of his brother, John Henry Newman.

tian Church propagating Christianity while divided against itself to be ridiculous. So Ecclesiasticism drove him out, he thinks, and we may admit this much, that Protestant Evangelicalism lost not a little in the brothers Newman, abroad and at home, whoever was to blame. The unity which each has to this day sought they would have found, as John Wilson did, in catholic work for the Master, pursued in loving unity with missionaries of all sects in India. The mission in Bagdad and Persia, abandoned by Groves and Newman, he in due time did his best to revive with the only means at his disposal.

In 1835 the society which Mr. Wilson had gradually gathered around him lost its greatest lay ornament in the death of Mr. Robert C. Money, secretary to the Government. The son of Wilberforce's friend, he had ever shown in Bombay all the excellencies of "the Clapham sect," as a devoted member of the Church of England. Under the Charter of 1833 Archdeacon Carr had been made the first Bishop of Bombay, and the Church Missionary Society had received a new impetus there. From the first Mr. Money became the attached friend of Mr. Wilson, and co-operated with him in every good work. Men of all classes, native as well as English, united to raise as his memorial the Church of England Institution, or English College, in Bombay, which bears his name. Mr. Wilson was for some time engaged in the preparation for the press of a memoir, and of the papers of one who, like Mr. Webb and Mr. Law at the same time, and Sir Bartle Frere at a later period, reflected lustre on the Bombay Civil Service.

To the regret of all classes in the Presidency Sir John Malcolm resigned the office of Governor at the close of 1830, and with that ceased those services to India and Asia right up to the Caspian, which justified Sir Walter Scott's eulogies and the great Duke's friendship.

Not the least valued, certainly not the least sincere, of the addresses presented to his Excellency who had come out to India as an infantry cadet at thirteen, was that which Mr. Wilson wrote and signed as Secretary to the Bombay Missionary Union. At a time when the Charter of 1833 had not removed the silly opposition of the East India Company, these men, some of whom had been driven from Calcutta and for a time threatened with expulsion from Bombay, thanked "the Honourable Major-General Malcolm, G.C.B., Governor of Bombay, for the facilities which he has granted for the preaching of the gospel in all parts of the Bombay territories, for his favourable exertions for the abolition of Suttee, and for the kind manner in which he has countenanced Christian education." His reply was that of the purely secular but truly tolerant statesman. He begged Mr. Wilson to assure the missionaries "that it is solely to their real and Christian humility, combined, as I have ever found it, with a spirit of toleration and good sense, that I owe any power I have possessed of aiding them in their good and pious objects, which . . . must merit and receive the support of all who take an interest in the promotion of knowledge, the advancement of civilisation, and the cause of truth." So had Mountstuart Elphinstone spoken before him. So, and even still more warmly, did Lord William Bentinck afterwards reply to a farewell address from the Calcutta missionaries: "The offer of religion in the schools of the missionaries is without objection. It is or is not accepted. If it is not, the other seeds of instruction may take root and yield a rich and abundant harvest of improvement and future benefit. I would give them, as an example in support of this advice, the school founded exactly on these principles, lately superintended by the estimable Mr. Duff. I would say to them, finally, that they could not send to India too many labourers in the vineyard like those whom I now have the gratification of addressing."

Sir John Malcolm met in Egypt his successor, Lord Clare, whose Irish blood he found inflamed because of the delay in the arrival of the steamer at Cosseir. The Earl of Clare was followed in 1835 by Sir Robert Grant, who keenly sympathised with Mr. Wilson and his work on its highest side. Lord Clare had, indeed, specially requested Mr. Stevenson to continue to give religious instruction in the Poona School at first established by that missionary, after it had been transferred to the Government, and he had privately assisted missions. But Sir Robert Grant was a man to whom Wilson could, in the first year of his administration, publicly apply this language when appropriately dedicating to his Excellency a sermon on "The British Sovereignty in India." The dedication was based on "the confidence which I entertain, grounded both on your well-known sentiments and your actings since your arrival in this Presidency, that the cause of Christian and general philanthropy in India, so dear to the heart of your distinguished father, will ever secure your warmest support in the high station in which God in his providence has placed you." Sir Robert Grant, and his elder brother Lord Glenelg, were sons worthy of Charles Grant, who, from his earliest experience as a Bengal civilian in 1776, had devoted himself to the moral and spiritual regeneration of the people of India. Afterwards, as author of those *Observations on the Moral Condition of the Hindoos and the Means of Improving it*, which were written in 1792, and have almost the character of prediction; as chairman of the Court of Directors and member for the county of Inverness, the head of the Grants of Grant proved to be the mainspring of all the reforms which were forced by successive charters on the East India Company, up to that of 1833. While his elder son assisted him in the House of Commons, and afterwards as a Cabinet Minister and a peer, it fell to Sir Robert to carry out in Western India the enlightened provisions of that charter. This he did with a

wisdom and a success which more than justified Mr. Wilson's eulogy; while in his private character he became, when at the head of the Bombay Government, the author of those hymns, four of which Lord Selborne has embalmed for ever in his *Book of Praise*, among the four hundred best sacred lyrics of the language. The name of the author of the strains beginning "Saviour, when in dust I lie," and "When gathering clouds around I view," will be always dear to Christendom; but these hymns were the least of his services to its cause. His last act as Governor of Bombay was to request Mr. Wilson to submit to Government a plan for the practical encouragement of a sound and useful education of the natives, by whomsoever conducted, whether by the State, by missionaries, or by natives themselves.

The sermon on the British Sovereignty in India, which, on the 8th of November 1835, Mr. Wilson preached in St. Andrew's Church for the Scottish Mission, marks the broad imperial view which he had already learned to take of our position in southern Asia as rulers, and of our relation to the feudatory Princes who have been incorporated with our political system by Lord Canning's patent only since the Mutiny of 1857. The preacher's subject was the not dissimilar mission of Cyrus.[1] Mr. Wilson spoke at an "epoch-making" time, when the Charter of 1833 had in India just began to operate in the two directions of opening the trade of the East India Company to the world, and securing the education of the people in the English language, and all that that fact involved. He was too wise and equitable a missionary to exaggerate his success on the one hand, or to argue on the other that the progress of the Christian church in India would have been greater if the State had devoted public funds to it as well as to education. At a later period, in 1849, he thus wrote, "though it be devoutly admitted that the exalted

[1] Isaiah xlv. 1-4, 6-13.

Saviour demands the homage of governments and communities, as well as of individuals, it is obvious that the professed expression of that homage by the exaction of pecuniary contribution in support even of Christian Institutions, from an unwilling people, may be questioned without any want of loyalty to Christianity itself."

All through this period the Bombay Union of Missionaries showed great activity in the number and variety of the questions which it discussed. Mr. Wilson was the secretary and the most energetic member. Now we find him in 1832 submitting a petition, which Lord Bexley presented to the House of Lords, for the amelioration of the Hindoo and Muhammadan laws of property and inheritance as they affected converts to Christianity, which resulted in Lord William Bentinck's first concession on that point, to be completed long after by Lord Dalhousie and Lord Lawrence. Now he reports on the purchasing and receiving donations of Oriental works for the use of the Union. Now he gives information regarding the similar Christian Union in China. Now he seeks light on the delicate questions raised by converts as to marriage and divorce, which he helped Sir Henry Maine and the Legislature to settle for ever half a century after. Now he proposes and discusses such questions as these—"Are there any instances of a remarkable progress of Christianity among a people without the gospel being previously, generally and simultaneously, proclaimed among them?" "How is the statement that Christ is an object of worship in his entire person consistent with the declaration that Christians worship the immaterial God alone?"[1] "What influences tend to

[1] Thus decided: "It was the opinion of the members that when we speak of worshipping the immaterial God alone, we speak of serving that God who, though he is an unchangeable and eternal Spirit, pervading all space, dwells also in the Incarnation which he assumed, with a perfect union of the divine and human natures, and who, in that character and person, as well as in all his other relations, demands the homage of all."

modify and destroy Caste?" The growing extension of intemperance and drunkenness under the excise and opium laws, among communities who are temperate by climate, custom, and creed, gave at that early period a peculiar interest to the question which was thus decided: "The Union are of the opinion that it is the duty of all Christians in India to promote and encourage the cause of temperance societies; that these societies should be formed upon the principles of the Bible, and that they should exhibit the prevalence of Christian principles as the grand means of producing temperance; also that they should be formed upon the principle of entire abstinence from all ardent spirits, opium, tobacco, and other intoxicating drugs, except when used as medicines, or in cases of extreme urgency and necessity; and moderation in the use of fermented and other liquors."

The spirit of union and co-operation which always marks the various missionaries abroad in the face of the common foe, was farther illustrated by a communication from the Presbytery of Kaffraria, which expressed a desire for friendly correspondence. To the somewhat narrow remark that Calvinistic Presbyterian missionaries should be more united than they are, or than the Churches at home, Mr. Wilson appended the characteristic note, "We would add, in the spirit of gospel catholicism and all Christian missionaries." This letter, dated 4th July 1832, and signed "John Bennie, Moderator," describes the work of four missionaries at Chumee and Lovedale, "the two oldest stations, where there is a considerable population," and Pirrie and Burnshill. In the half century since we get this glimpse at South Africa, Lovedale has become the brightest light among its tribes,[1] and the native question seems to be approaching a settlement, in the East Indian sense, after six wars.

[1] See Mr. Anthony Trollope's testimony in his *South Africa*, vol. i. p. 216. (1878).

India itself and China were soon after to lose their two foremost scholar-missionaries, in the death of Dr. Carey at Serampore on the 9th June 1834, at the age of seventy-three; and of Dr. Morrison at Canton on the 1st August, at the comparatively early age of fifty-three. Mr. Wilson, who was still beginning in Western India and Asia the preparatory work that they had done so well for Eastern and Northern India, and for China and Eastern Asia, wrote thus of the two men whose special merits he, of all others, was best fitted to describe:—

"Dr. Carey, the first of living missionaries, the most honoured and the most successful since the time of the Apostles, has closed his long and influential career. Indeed his spirit, his life, and his labours were truly apostolic. Called from the lowest class of the people, he came to this country without money, without friends, without learning. He was exposed to severe persecution, and forced for some time to labour with his own hands for his support; yet then even, in his brief intervals of leisure, he found time to master the Hebrew and Bengalee languages, to make considerable progress in the Sanskrita, and to write with his own hand a complete version of the Scriptures in the language of the country. The Spirit of God, which was in him, led him forward from strength to strength, supported him under privation, enabled him to overcome in a fight that seemed without hope. Like the beloved disciple, whom he resembled in simplicity of mind and in seeking to draw sinners to Christ altogether by the cords of love, he outlived his trials to enjoy a peaceful and honoured old age, to know that his Master's cause was prospering, and that his own name was named with reverence and blessing in every country where a Christian dwelt. Perhaps no man ever exerted a greater influence for good on a great cause. Who that saw him, poor, and in seats of learning uneducated, embark on such an enterprise, could ever dream that, in little more than forty years, Christendom should be animated with the same spirit, thousands forsake all to follow his example, and that the Word of life should be translated into almost every language, and preached in almost every corner of the earth?"

"Dr. Morrison, whose name will be held in everlasting remembrance, died at Canton on the 1st of August last, at the age of fifty-three. He had laboured as a missionary for nearly twenty-seven years

in China, and (with the assistance of Dr. Mylne in some of the books) translated the Scriptures into Chinese, compiled and published a copious Chinese dictionary, and several important philological works, prepared and circulated many Chinese tracts, founded the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, and proved the means of the conversion and scriptural education of Leang Afa, who is now labouring, with some success, as a native preacher. He was also for several years interpreter to the English Factory, and he supported himself, and contributed much to the cause of missions, from the salary which he received in consequence of the situation which he thus held."

More than any other missionary in the East, Mr. Wilson proved to be their successor. It is a subject of regret that he could not become the biographer of Carey, whose life has yet to be worthily written.[1]

[1] The Memoir by Eustace Carey, his nephew, was written avowedly at the request of the Baptist Missionary Society, which had misunderstood Dr. Carey from the first, and is unworthy of the subject. The Lives of the Serampore Missionaries, by the late John Clark Marshman, C.S.I., is the most valuable contribution made to the history of Christian and social progress in India, by one who is emphatically the Historian of British India before the Mutiny; but its theme is too wide to represent William Carey in all the details of his unique career.

CHAPTER V.

1830-1835.

TOURS TO NASIK; TO JALNA AND ELORA; TO GOA, KOLHAPORE, AND MAHABLESHWAR.

Man the Missionary's Business—Tours of Officials and Missionaries—John Wilson a delightful companion—*First Tour* with Mr. Farrar—The Glories of the Ghauts—The Ramoshee Brigands—Brahmanical Opposition at Nasik—The Sacred Godavery—*Second Tour* to Jalna—Battle of Korigaum—Ahmedabad—Worship of the Monkey God—Historical Characters—The Telescope and Hindooism—Discussion with the Jains—A Christian Government quoted against Christianity—Elora—Christ preached in the Cave Temple of Kailas—Dowlutabad—Aurungabad—Opposition of the Military Authorities at Jalna—Mr. Wilson seriously injured by a horse—A New Hindoo sect—Strange Iconoclasm—Ahmednuggur—Strolling Players—Christian Sectarianism out of place in India—*Third Tour* to Goa—Old Scenes in the Konkan—Dr. Claudius Buchanan—The Inquisition at Goa—M. Dellon's Sufferings—New and Old Goa—Forged Romish Vedas—Latin Conversations with Portuguese Priests—A Blushing Prioress—His Excellency the Vice Rey—The Augustinians and Franciscans—The Representatives of Sivajee—The Raja of Kolhapore—Satara—Mahableshwar—A tiger springs up near Mr. Wilson.

" The celebrated coast of India trace,
That runs down southward to Cape Comorin,
Once Kumari: immediately in face
Lies (now Ceylon by name) Taprobane;
Over the sea the Lusitanian race,
Who shall with arms and fleets come after thee,
Shall victories gain, cities and lands possess,
Which shall their lives for many ages bless.

" The provinces round which these rivers flow,
And various tides contain, are infinite:
One kingdom's Mahmoud; one of the Gentoo,
For whom the devil doth laws and customs write.
Behold Narsinga's seignory doth show
Sacred oldest remains to faithful sight,
St. Thomas' body, Hero Sanctified,
Who placed his doubting hand on Jesus' side.

" Here was the city, which was called by name
Meliapor, rich, great, well favourèd:
The ancient idols it adored, the same
As races vile are now to worship led:
Far to it from the shore the people came,
When the great Faith, which o'er the world is spread,
Thomas came preaching, who had travelling sought
A thousand provinces, which he had taught.

* * * * *

" Ganges and Indies, Thomas, thee deplore,
Weeps all the ground on which thou once didst tread!
The souls that thou hast taught yet weep the more,
Who with the Sacred Truth were clothed and fed;
But angels, in a singing, shining choir,
Receive thee in thy glory merited;
We pray thee, ask assistance of the Lord,
And to thy Lusians favour thus afford!"

CAMOENS: Aubertin's Translation of *The Lusiads.*

CHAPTER V.

"THE business of the missionary is with man," was a saying of Dr. Chalmers that Mr. Wilson frequently quoted. To know India, of all countries, is to be familiar with its people; to be acquainted with its princes; and to understand the relation of the British Government and its administrative systems to both. For a missionary to know India, he must add to all that the study, at first hand, of its religions and their learned men, Brahmanical, Muhammadan, and Non-Aryan. He must possess the ability to lay a pure and a historical Christianity alongside both the administrative systems and the religious philosophies or cultures, so as to saturate the former with the positive and direct moral spirit which they necessarily lack from political conditions, and to overthrow the latter by the more purely spiritual and potent force of Christ Himself. The ordinary missionary will do well if he confines his energy to one of the three faiths. As a matter of fact, most Indian missionaries have worked among the Hindoo or the aboriginal communities, who are vast enough. But Mr. Wilson was a pioneer whose deliberate equipment, as well as his evangelic ambition allowed no human or traditional substitute for Christianity to remain unstudied or unattacked. The official, civilian or soldier, however zealous, has to be content with the indirect and frequently unconscious disintegration which has been going on in India ever since Clive obtained the civil government of Benares from the effete emperor, Shah Alum. But, freed from the lower responsibility of political considerations, Mr. Wilson could use all that makes the civilian efficient, and press it home at once with a moral disinterestedness and

a spiritual force, which the natives, high and low, were not slow to appreciate. Like the civilian, and to a far greater extent than the average of the eight or nine hundred members of the covenanted civil service who have always governed the millions of India so well, he held the key to the ears and hearts of the people in a knowledge of their languages and hoary civilisations, Aryan and Semitic. Like the district officer and commissioner, too, but with a freedom and over an extent of territory they rarely know, he made his almost annual tours, east and south and north, to the very centre of India, to Goa, and again to the far Indus and the courts of Rajpootana, till he knew peasant and prince, rude ascetic, sacerdotal Brahman, and scornful Moulvie, as no one hedged round by officialism could do.

Next to mastering the languages it was his object to mix with the people who spoke them. His model was no lower than "Our Lord and His apostles," with whom he had more than once to silence ignorant critics in England. "Wherever," he wrote, "the objects of their ministry most advantageously presented themselves, they were prepared to fulfil it. The temple, the synagogue, and the private apartment; the narrow street and the public highway; the open plain and the lofty mount; the garden and the wilderness; the bank of the river and the margin of the sea; were equally hallowed by these heavenly teachers." And he, like them, was in the East! "But many say, 'Leave this preaching without doors to native agents, who will be best able to bear the exposure connected with it.' . . . Even after we have been blessed, through God's mercy, with native preachers, we must for some time show them in our own persons the lively example of an apostolic ministration. . . . Xenophon remarked that the Asiatics would not fight unless under Greek auxiliaries." The "exposure" Mr. Wilson ridiculed, although his most fruitful tours were made at an early period,

when even roads were not, and a paternal government had not doubled its debt to develop the resources of the country by great public works. Rarely did he find a comfortable post-house or even tolerable resting-place when out of the beaten track of military stations and civilian hospitalities. Studying nature as well as man; preaching, speaking, examining daily; keeping up the correspondence rendered necessary by his supervision of the still infant Mission in Bombay; answering references of all kinds from missionaries, officials, and scholars, he found—because he made—the tour a holiday. On such occasions he carried a few books in an old satchel; manuals, sometimes in manuscript, of the botany, geology, and political relations with the feudatory princes, being as indispensable as the bundles of vernacular and Sanscrit writings which he circulated. Thus he was never alone, and every tour added to his multifarious collection of objects of natural history and archæology, to say nothing of Oriental MSS., on which he lectured to his students and friends. When accompanied by a brother missionary, and frequently by survey and settlement officers, like Colonel Davidson, whom he met in his wanderings, he proved the most genial of companions. His stores of information, old and new, interspersed with humorous anecdotes and a child-like fun, turned the frequent mishaps of jungle journeys into sources of amusement. And then, when the travelling or the preaching of the day was done, and the rough dinner was over at the tent door or in the native "dhurmsala," or enclosed quadrangle, there went up to heaven the family supplication for Gentile and Jew, and dear ones near and far away. To be on tour in the glorious cold season of India, from November to March, is to enjoy life in the purest and most intelligent fashion, whether it be in the Viceroy's camp or in the more modest tent of the district civilian. To be on a missionary tour with one who thus understands the people and loves them, is to know the highest form of enjoyment that travel can give.

Mr. Wilson's first tour commenced in the middle of January 1831, after a year of organising work in Bombay. His companion was the Rev. Mr. Farrar,[1] of the Church Missionary Society, who was just beginning to be able to speak to the Marathas. They rode upwards of 400 miles. Their most distant point was the sacred Brahmanical city of Nasik, on the upper waters of the Godavery. They set out by the Bhore Ghaut, now on the Madras line of railway, by Poona, and Ahmednuggur, and returned by the Thull Ghaut, now ascended by the railway to Calcutta. They sailed from Bombay to Panwel, on the mainland, passing the cave-temple islands of Elephanta, Salsette, and Karanja, which Mr. Wilson had previously visited with the civilian scholars Messrs. Law and Webb. At the next village he met with the first specimens of those aboriginal tribes of the jungle for whom he was to do so much, the Katkarees, who prepare catechu. His first view of the glories of the Ghauts of the Syhadree range he thus describes:—"As we rose from the valley a most majestic scene began to unfold itself. When I beheld hill rising upon hill, and mountain upon mountain—the sun setting in glory behind the towering clouds—the distant ocean, forests, rivers, and villages—and when, looking around me, I observed, amid this scene of grandeur, a single stone usurping the place of Jehovah, the Creator of all, I felt and expressed the utmost horror at idolatry, and the baseness, guilt, and stupidity of man."

Some experience of Poona convinced him of the superior importance of Bombay as a centre. On their way to Ahmednuggur one of the servants was attacked by the Ramoshee tribe of robbers, at that time scouring the country under their famous leader Oomajee Naik, compared with whom, writes

[1] Dr. Wilson used to tell afterwards how he dandled Mr. Farrar's boy, the present Canon Farrar, on his knee. But of his Anglo-Indian childhood Canon Farrar assures us he has only a dim remembrance.

Mr. Wilson, Rob Roy might be reckoned an honest man. But Nasik was the point of interest, a place of which Mr. Wilson used to say that it first stoned him, and, forty years after, would not allow him to leave Western India for a time without presenting him with a eulogistic and grateful address on parchment from its principal inhabitants of every sect. Mrs. Wilson reports the visit in a letter, written home in February 1831 :—

"They visited many places by the way, preaching to immense multitudes, and sleeping all night in temples, or outside of them, with reeds for pillows. He gives me new and important information about the incarnations of the gods, and the worship paid to them. 'Some of the facts,' he says, 'are too horrible to relate. One temple has females of abandoned character connected with it ;[1] but even this is not the worst of its hidden mysteries of wickedness.'

"They began their preaching in the principal bazaar at the Peshwa's palace. Their second place of addressing the natives was the bank of the holy river (the Godavery), where the Brahmans were performing ablutions. Here they had much discussion, but were prevented from finishing their discourse by the hissings and hootings lavished upon them by the Brahmans. On their return home they observed even the Muhammadans doing homage to this river by pulling off their shoes as they approached it. On the following day a great concourse of visitors came to their bungalow, and they had many opportunities of declaring the truths of the blessed Gospel. Even where a belief of the truth has not been produced, a general scepticism regarding the Hindoo religion has been the consequence of their ministrations and discussions ; and in this city, which is 'wholly given to idolatry,' without even one temple erected 'to the unknown God,' there has been an earthquake, and a shaking among the dry bones. John describes the scenery around Nasik as sublime and beautiful in no ordinary degree. The mountains are very majestic ; but everything is so associated with the reigning superstition that one of these is called the bed of Rama. On its summit there is a piece of table-land, with an elevated portion at the extremity, which is supposed to be the couch of the god. The temples form fine specimens of Hindoo architecture. The river is an object of

[1] Most of the temples of any note have them as a regular part of their establishment, and this, too, supported by the British Government!—J. W.

great attraction. Besides the great Rama-Kunda, or pool for bathing, there are eleven other pools sacred to some of the gods. John looks upon Nasik as one of the most important places in the Presidency for missionary exertion. He says, however, that he would not wish to see any one there but a person deeply versed in the Shastres and acquainted with Sanscrit. He mentioned a circumstance which proves the ignorance of the Brahmans, or how much the peculiarities of Hindooism have passed into oblivion. They revere and are engaged in beautifying the representations in some celebrated caves,[1] which are proved to be of Buddhist origin, and once held in the utmost detestation by the Brahmans. Mr. Wilson encountered a band of robbers on his way home, but escaped from them unhurt. In consequence of the fatigue of travelling and of constant preaching, he was taken ill on the road, and fainted from exhaustion. . . . He arrived in Bombay on Saturday night, and you may judge what were our feelings of rapture on again meeting. I think his health has profited by the excursion ; and he has made an immense accession to his knowledge both of the languages and customs of this people."

Nasik was soon after occupied by the Church Missionary Society, who have established there the Christian village of Sharanpoor, an industrial settlement with a congregation of five hundred, of whom some two hundred are communicants, and a training school for freed Africans, who helped Dr. Livingstone. The Godavery river, the scenery on the lower reaches of which Sir Charles Trevelyan, when Governor of Madras, compared to that of the Rhine between Coblentz and Bingen, rises at the village of Trimbuk, only fifty miles from the Indian Ocean at Bombay, and sixteen miles south-west of Nasik. The Maratha Brahmans give out that its source is connected, by a divine underground channel, with that of the Ganges in the snows of the Himalayas. The traditional fountain is a stone platform, approached by a flight of 690 stone steps, on a hill behind Trimbuk village. On to that platform the stream falls from the rock, drop by drop, into the mouth of an idol, out of which the water trickles into a reservoir. Sir Richard Temple, when Chief Commissioner of

[1] At Lená, about six miles from Nasik.

the Central Provinces, sketched the beauties of the river alike with brush and pen. It has been the scene of the greatest successes as well as the most serious and expensive failures of the Madras school of Irrigation.[1]

Of the second tour, eastward to Jalna and the caves of Elora, in the native State of Hyderabad, the country which the British Government had saved for the Nizam all through the chaos of Maratha, Hyder Ali, and Tippoo wars, we have an account from Mr. Wilson's own pen, in letters to his wife. At a time and in a country for the greater portion of which there were no maps, we find the tour duly marked out in a chart showing the road or track, on one side of it every village with the number of its houses, and on the other the day and date on which each was reached. The Rev. James Mitchell was his companion. After Poona they walked or rode short stages of from ten to fourteen miles a day at first. At Alaudi, the first stage onward, they found a great assemblage for the festival of Inanoba, a god of whom Mr. Wilson gives a humorous, but, towards the people, kindly account, published in the *Memoir* of his wife. At the next village, Phulshuhur, he inspected a settlement which was the first of a curious experiment intended to train that most valuable but neglected class, the East Indians, to agricultural pursuits. Sir John Malcolm, in his farewell minute of 1830, had discussed the subject to which the present Governor of Bombay, Sir R. Temple, has given attention.

"The Colossal Pillar at Korigaum.—This monument was erected by the British Government in commemoration of the brave resistance made by Captain Staunton, of which you will see an account in Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*. The pillar is tastefully constructed. It is in charge of a Sepoy, who was engaged in the action which it commemorates. He gave us a plain account of the battle.

[1] Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2d ed. ; and the monograph of Mr. Morris on the *Godavery District*. 1878.

"THE PATEL OR HEADMAN OF SHIKRAPOOR.—After we had preached in the village, and distributed books and tracts, the Patel sent for us. The court of his house was large, but it bore marks of decay. He received us very kindly, and invited us into an inner apartment. As soon as we had sat down, he brought out a box containing about twenty very handsome European engravings. He requested us to translate all their titles into Marathee, and to write them upon the covers. We complied with his request; and he told us that never in his life, advanced now to seventy years, had he met such Sahebs as we. We preached the gospel to him; and he furnished us with *pan supâri* (betel nut and a green leaf), according to the native custom. Mr. Mitchell had a great aversion to chew his offering, and he almost spoilt our discourse by pleading in excuse the force of habit.

"AHMEDABAD is situated to the westward of Seroor. The village is much gone to decay, on account of the road to Poona having been changed by the English. It is remarkable for nothing but the residence of the oldest representative of the once famous house of Pawar, of which an interesting account is given by Sir John Malcolm. We visited the old man, according to his personal invitation, and were received with much kindness. We were surprised to find that he was unable to read. He showed us the different buildings connected with his *wada*, and we endeavoured to engage the interest of his mind by giving him and his few attendants a simple statement of the gospel, and by allowing him to view the neighbourhood through the medium of Mr. Mitchell's telescope.

"WORSHIP OF HANUMAN, THE MONKEY GOD.—In most of the villages of the Dekhan there is a small temple of Hanuman, under the name of Marwate, without the principal gate. The images are exceedingly rude. They are liberally besmeared with red lead: and, alas! they are viewed as the guardians and benefactors of the neighbourhood, and frequently resorted to. One of them fronted the place in which we usually sat at Parner. The votaries generally walked twelve or nineteen times round it, and prostrated themselves before it, and sometimes refrigerated it with cold water and adorned it with garlands. A great majority of them were females demanding the boon of children. The exercise which they take in connection with their worship may not be without effect.

"THE CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES of these agricultural districts is almost daily sinking in my estimation. Falsehood and dishonesty, and, when practicable, incivility, are daily brought before my notice. Dur-

ing the night which we spent in Jamgaum, we required a guard of two Ramoshees, three Bheels, and two Mhars! The latter individuals were always on the watch to give the alarm. The others, who, as you know, are professed robbers, think it beneath their dignity to keep their eyes open, even when they are paid for their guardianship, and represent it as necessary, as I believe it is, to the safety of travellers. When we arrived at Nimba Dera, on the forenoon of Tuesday the 28th November, we were met by a most impertinent Brahman, who first by falsehood, and afterwards by passion, endeavoured to drive us from the only place where we could get shelter from the sun. He was joined by a companion, who without hesitation united with him in wickedness. Nothing but a severe reprimand, and the threat that we would represent the matter to the Collector, effected anything.

"FAILURE OF THE CROPS.—In some of the villages through which we passed on our way to Nimba Dera, we were informed that, on account of the great drought, the crops of the season had almost entirely failed. Though the complaints of the natives were conveyed to us in a tone which clearly intimated to us anything but resignation to the divine will, they were very heartrending. Starvation appeared to be apprehended by not a few, and, from the dread of it, many of the inhabitants had departed with their cattle to the banks of the Godavery and Kandesh. We distributed at several places a few rupees, and they were received with joy. We endeavoured to improve the righteous dispensation of divine providence, and we urged upon all the acknowledgment of the supreme God, who alone can give rain and fruitful seasons.

"THE JAGHEERDARS OF WAMBOOREE are sons to Balwant Rao Nagunath, one of two officers to whose custody, in the fort of Shivaner, Nana Furnavees entrusted Bajee Rao; and his brother, Balwant Rao, was thrown into a hill fort for permitting a correspondence between Bajee Rao and his cousin Mahdoo Rao, the young Peshwa. We informed them of our intention to call upon them; and they expressed their pleasure at the proposal. We went to them immediately after dinner; and we found that the two brothers (for we did not see a third) had invited, in the expectation of seeing us, a great number of the most respectable natives to assemble. We sat down on a mat which they spread out for us, and entered freely into conversation with them, and especially with the elder brother, who is styled Dajee Saheb. We found them very inquisitive and polite, and much more accommodating in their feelings than many other Brahmans of less significance. They asked us to give them a general view of the Christian religion. They

were much interested in the statement given, and tolerant of the objections made against Hindooism. They discoursed with us a short time on the subject of education, and seemed pleased with the notice which we took of their children. When I pressed upon one of the boys the necessity of application to his studies, the father said 'now you must give your whole mind to the subject, and when Mr. Wilson returns to Wambooree you shall have his approbation.' We spoke to them on the subject of female education, and told them that the Governor was greatly pleased with the Raja of Satara for having taught his daughter. I told them about the progress of female education in Bombay; and they were delighted to hear that you could speak Marathee and Hindostanee, and had so many girls under your care. The musical boxes and some other curiosities quite charmed them. On parting with them they expressed their highest satisfaction with us. We presented them with two fine-bound New Testaments, and a copy of the *Exposure of Hindooism*, etc., and distributed among the assembly a considerable number of Gospels and tracts. Dajee Saheb and two of his sons visited us in the evening, and stayed with us upwards of two hours. He looked at the comet, the planets, and the moon, through Mr. Mitchell's telescope, and maintained a very long and very interesting conversation with me about the religion, manners and customs, government, education, climate, public institutions, etc., of Britain, and the merits of Hindooism. I have never found a native more desirous of information than he appeared to be; and if any weight is to be attached to his declarations, it may be concluded that he was never more interested in any European than in the Missionaries. I was quite overcome with fatigue when he left us; and, considering the fulness and frequency with which the Gospel had been preached during the day, the numbers and attention of the auditors, and the precious portions of divine truth put into circulation, I could not but devoutly thank God for his great goodness towards us.

"VISIT TO SONAI AND INTERVIEW WITH THE JAINS.—At Sonai our labours were very comfortable. Great numbers of the natives attended and received from our lips and our hands the doctrines of salvation. A Jain appeared to be particularly impressed; he took down my address and promised to call on me in Bombay. We addressed many individuals of his creed during the day, who were Marwarees, and the principal corn merchants in the town. They allowed the existence of one God in a manner inconsistent with the tenets of their sect; but they violently contended for the *identity* of life as diffused throughout all kinds of existences. It was very difficult,

from the view which they took of this subject, to bring home the charge of guilt to their consciences. We opposed their statements by bringing before their notice the non-intelligence of the brute creation as contrasted with the intelligence and progressive improvement of man, and the ignorance and sin of man as contrasted with the knowledge and goodness of that Intelligence which we affirmed to preside over the universe. In the course of the day a learned Brahman, who was listening to me, burst forth into a great passion. 'It would be well,' he said, on leaving the circle, 'that you sported your sentiments only among the learned. You will infallibly confound the ignorant.' I expressed my hope that his prophecy would prove true, and I took advantage of his exhibition to show to all around the propriety of the word of God being made known to all.

"VISIT TO HIWARA AND THE FAUJDAR.—We arrived at Hiwara on the morning of the 30th November, and we took up our abode in a mosque. We called upon Muhammad Kaim, who is styled the Faujdar, and who resides in a large castle belonging to himself. He is the son of the late Nuwab Kavi Jang, and a very interesting old man. He is the descendant of an adopted son, Turk-Tas-Khan, a native of Bokhara, who came to the Dekhan with Aurungzeb, and who, after a variety of distinguished military adventures, was appointed Faujdar of Ahmednugger. He has been particularly friendly to the English, and he showed us several certificates bearing testimony to the fact which he had received from several gentlemen. He treated us with sherbet from a bottle from which the Duke of Wellington, etc., had drank in former days. His son called upon us in the evening, and we presented him with the New Testament in Persian, Hindostanee, and Marathee, and with copies of the 'Remarks on Muhammadanism.' The family is now very poor, having only a pension of Rs.61 per month. We enjoyed a fine view of the country from the top of the castle. Many fertile spots were visible, but the whole region showed the want of rain.

"PRAWARA SANGAM, AND TOKA, 1*st December*.—The road from Hiwara to Prawara Sangam leads through a part of the country distinguished by an excellent soil, but at this season suffering considerably from the drought. We had no opportunities of preaching on the way; but we had no sooner finished our day's journey than we were surrounded by great crowds of Brahmans and other natives, who evinced the greatest eagerness to hear our discourses and to receive our books, and who had an opportunity of gratifying their desires on four or five occasions. They behaved with the greatest civility, and treated us with much respect. In the evening we took a walk on the banks

of the Godavery. It is at this place, and even at this season, a very considerable stream. Numbers of the Brahmans were performing their evening ablutions at the spot where the river Prawara enters it. They form a numerous class in the neighbourhood. In Prawara Sangam there are a hundred houses of them; in Toka, which is situated on the opposite bank, there is the same number; and in Gaigaam, about half a quarter of a mile farther down the river, there are about ninety houses. Many of them engage in agriculture, but a great source of their support is the *dakshina* (alms) which they receive from the pilgrims who come to bathe in the *holy waters*. This cluster of villages, and Nasik and Paithan, form the only sacred towns on the Godavery which are situated in the Marathee country. I should think that their celebrity is on the decline. The progress of knowledge, and the increasing poverty of the people, contribute principally to the destruction of the pristine zeal. No true philanthropist can regret the circumstance, for nothing can be more melancholy than the delusion under which men labour when they believe that they can wash away their sins in a river, and acquire a stock of merit by all the trouble, fatigue, and expense which they incur in the fulfilment of their wishes. In the course of the day we had laboured much to expose it, and, I trust, with some effect. None of the natives, like Shookaram Shastree, at the first discussions in Bombay, alluded to any *sacramental* use of the waters—a circumstance which is worthy of notice, and particularly as we had intercourse with the most learned Shastree. The benefit of ablution was argued to be *positive*, to be an invaluable and unavoidable blessing to all who use it, according to the many promises and declarations of the Shastres relative to the virtues of the Ganges. The Hindoos and Roman Catholics are wonderfully agreed about the efficacy of rites intrinsically considered. On returning home we saw a very large and splendid meteor proceeding in a direction horizontal to the earth. It was visible for a considerable time. The natives assured us that a few days ago hundreds of a similar nature were seen, and that they were greatly terrified by the unusual occurrence.

"At Toka we went to the house of Baba Shastree, the richest Brahman in the place, and we were rather surprised to find him desirous of conducting us into an inner apartment of the upper story. We were happy to perceive the liberality of his sentiments and feelings, and we had no objections to gratify him. We found a respectable congregation assembled, and we gave a general view of the Gospel, and of the objections which we commonly urge against Hindooism. We

were heard with respect, and nothing was urged in reply to us except the encouragement granted by Europeans to idolatry. Augustus Brookes of Benares, known among the natives as *Gastí Brúk*, it was said, had become a convert to Hindooism. The E. I. Company was liberal in its donations to temples. The great Saheb, Governor Elphinstone, had distributed money among the Brahmans when he visited Toka, and had given a salaam and Rs.100 to the god. The Collectors were in the habit of employing Brahmans to perform *anusthans* for rain, etc. It was exceedingly difficult to deal with the observations which they made on these subjects. I told them, on the information of the late Dr. Turner, Bishop of Calcutta, communicated to me during his visit to Bombay, that Mr. Brookes had expressed his regret for the countenance which he had given to the delusions of the natives; that it was not to be concluded that, because the Company had continued the revenue of temples, it approved of these temples, and that I hoped that it would soon see the impropriety and sin of giving any support to them; that I could not credit the statements given about Mr. Elphinstone, a gentleman who greatly promoted the improvement of the natives, and who subscribed to the propagation of the gospel, and that the Rs.100 were probably placed by the Brahmans without his consent before the idol; and that, while the *anushtans* were performed to please the natives, the payment of them by the Company, and every other species of encouragement granted to idolatry, was decidedly sinful. I also expressed my hope that the time was at hand when right views on these subjects, and other practices sanctioned without consideration, would generally prevail among Europeans. *All the Brahmans admitted the propriety of the Company, as a Christian Government, giving nothing more than toleration to the Hindoo religion.* Their wishes, I doubt not, were nevertheless what we might expect them to be.

"At half-past nine o'clock he invited us to return to his lodgings, with the view of witnessing a display of fireworks, and the performance of native musicians, etc., which he intended as a compliment to us. We explained our views of the sanctity of the Sabbath; and it was with great difficulty that he accepted of our refusal. We gave him credit for his intentions; and I have no doubt that his respect for us was increased by our consistency. I should have mentioned before, that I asked him why he had left the 'holy city' of Kashee (Benares), and come on a journey to Toka in search of merit. He pleaded the respect of his family for the idol at Toka. When I told him that in the Marathee language the term *kāshikare* was equivalent to that of an

arch-villain, and that the circumstance told little in favour of the 'sacredness' of Varanási, he laughed very heartily.

"In the evening we rode on to Shapura. The noise of our proceedings at Toka, etc., had reached the village before us; and, long after the sun had gone down, the inhabitants voluntarily came to us as a body to hear the glad tidings. Though we were much exhausted, we both preached to them. They expressed, like many of their countrymen, great readiness to add the name of Christ to the calendar of their gods; and we urged His exclusive claims to their love and adoration.

"ELORA, *4th December*.—After a very fatiguing ride in the sun we arrived at Roza. At this place there is a bungalow belonging to a Mussulman gentleman; but we found it occupied by two officers. They did not invite us to come in; and, after tying our ponies to a branch of a tree, and engaging in social worship, we stretched ourselves on the stone floor of a large mausoleum, built by the Emperor Aurungzeb. We took our *breakfast* at one o'clock; and proceeded to make our first visit to *Kailas*, the principal Brahmanical excavation of Elora. We remained in it till after sunset, examining its many wonders and curiosities.

"*5th December*.—We set out very early in the morning to the excavations. We commenced with those situated in the northern part of the hill, and went regularly through them all proceeding to the south. We gave them a very minute examination; and I wrote down 50 pages of notes on them, of which the following is a summary:—The caves are situated in a ridge of hills which run north and south, with an inclination in the centre towards the east. They are not far from the base of the hills; and the entrance to them commands a very extensive and interesting view of the Dekhan towards the west. The rock out of which they are cut is of the trap formation, and well suited for their marvellous workmanship. They are undoubtedly of three different kinds, Jain, Buddhist, and Brahmanical. The Jain caves are situated in the northern part of the hills, the Brahmanical in the centre, and the Buddhist in the south. It is difficult to say which of them are the most extensive and interesting. The Brahmanical excel as works of art. The accounts which are given of their wonderful structure do not, on the whole, fall beyond the truth. The Buddhist caves, from the nature of the workmanship, and from the appearance of the rock, appear to me to be the most ancient.

"I preached the gospel in the temple of *Kailas* to thirty natives, and Mr. Mitchell followed me. Little did the formers of this wonderful structure anticipate an event of this kind. We are in all probability

the first messengers of peace who have declared within it the claims of Jehovah, announced his solemn decree to abolish the idols, and entreated his rebellious children to accept of the mercy proposed through His Son. Some of our auditors pointed to the magnificent arches and stupendous figures around us, as the very works of God's own hand; but we pointed them to the marks of the instruments of the mason, to the innumerable proofs of decay everywhere exhibited, and to the unsuitableness, absurdity, and impiety of the representations. We directed their minds to Him 'Who sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers, That stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in;' and we called upon them 'to lift up their eyes on high, and behold Who hath erected these things, That bringeth out their host by number: Who calleth them all by names, by the greatness of His might, for that He is strong in power; not one faileth.' They could not resist our appeal; but in all probability we had not long left them, when they would practically deny their own admissions.

"DOWLUTABAD.—We departed from Roza late in the evening; but before leaving it we inspected the graves of the illustrious Aurungzeb, his son, and several other distinguished personages. The Mussulmans had lights burning near them, and evidently viewed them as possessed of no small degree of sacredness. Our ride to Dowlutabad was down a steep hill. We travelled by moonlight. The gates of the fort were shut when we arrived, and it was in vain that we sought admission. We slept for a few hours in a shed.

"AURUNGABAD, *6th December.*—We rose early in the morning, and after examining the curious fort of Dowlutabad, which is very correctly described by Hamilton, we proceeded to Aurungabad. We took up our residence in an empty bungalow in the cantonments. In the evening we walked into the city, conversed with a few Mussulmans, and distributed among them Hindostanee tracts. They showed us a very splendid mosque.

"JILGAUM, *7th December.*—We rode through Aurungabad. A great part of its site is a mere ruin, and a great part of it within the walls seems to have been used as a burying-ground. From the gate at which we entered to that at which we came out is a distance of nearly three miles. We arrived at Jilgaum, distant from Aurungabad about twenty miles, at noon. We had suffered a great deal from the heat, and we resolved never, without absolute necessity, to expose ourselves in this manner again. Our luggage did not come up till about 4 o'clock P.M., and we were not a little anxious on account of our fatigue and

hunger. We had not the consolation that we were called to endure either in the cause of duty. They were the result of our own imprudent arrangements.

"In the evening I preached in Hindostanee, and Mr. Mitchell preached in Marathee. We gave few books away. Most of the inhabitants are Mussulmans. The hills which we crossed at Ellora appear to be the natural boundary of the Marathee language in this direction, though many of the cultivators, as far as we have yet come, understand and speak it.

"JALNA.—At Jalna, which is twenty-one miles east of Jilgaum, we arrived at ten o'clock. We were received with much warmth and kindly feeling by Captain Wahab. There are several young officers and their wives, who are in very hopeful circumstances; and who may receive much benefit from our visit. I baptized the child of Lieutenant ——. She is an illegitimate of three years old, and a sweet-looking little girl. I have had much satisfaction in conversing with the father, who appears a true penitent. I was asked to-day to baptize another child; but the father did not meet my views. To-morrow I intend to baptize the infant of Captain Tompkins. He is a convert of Henry Martyn, but he dislikes the English form of baptism. He is an excellent person, and useful as an instructor of the heathen.

"On Tuesday we preached to a large and noisy audience in the bazaar, and distributed a considerable number of books, which were received with much eagerness. One of the tracts, the *Remarks on Muhammadanism*, was handed up to the Colonel commanding the station, by, we believe, some European officer; and his fears have been so much excited by the reports from Bangalore that he requested us to circulate no more copies at present in the cantonment. We explained the nature of the tract to him, and we told him that in the circumstances of the case we should not continue to distribute it.

"15*th December*.—Since I last wrote to you the enemy of souls has been busy at this station, and he has succeeded in stirring up two or three of his European votaries to represent to the authorities here that our tracts are calculated to excite to sedition, to recall a great number of them and consign them to the flames, and to advise the total prohibition of any further circulation. The consequence is that we have been forbidden to circulate any more, and that, in our present circumstances, we have seen it expedient to dismiss all further applications. I doubt not that in a few days shame will cover those who have thus opposed the work of God. Indeed, they already begin to feel its burnings. You must not imagine from what I have now said that our

residence here has become unprofitable or unpleasant. The very contrary is the case. Our pious friends have cleaved more closely than ever; and even those who were formerly indifferent have been in some degree interested. We have received and accepted an invitation for dinner from one of the informers.

"I received a severe kick from a horse, which has laid me up for a little. I have suffered a great deal of pain from the blow, which was inflicted on the front bone of my right leg below the knee; but I have reason to be thankful that no serious danger is apprehended. At first I had a few convulsive shocks; but they soon went off. I am entirely free from sickness, and the injury appears inconsiderable.

"22*d December*.—I am now so well that I write to you upon my chair. *D.V.* I preach to-morrow evening sitting. On Monday I propose to set out for my dearest love. I have engaged twelve porters to carry me down for Rs.112.

"On the evening in which I received the injury, and before its infliction, we had an interesting interview with four Hindoo sectaries, who denominate themselves *Mánbhávas*. Their tenets appear to me to be similar to those of the late Naráyán Swámí of Goojarat. They disclaim on their own account, but not on account of the ignorant, the practice of ceremonies, and profess to rest all their hopes of salvation, as their name implies, on their faith. They profess to view the narratives of the Puranas as authentic history; but they hold that their narratives are inapplicable in practice to the circumstances of those who devote themselves to the contemplation of the one God without form and without quality. We pointed out the inadequacy and the errors of their views; and urged them to prosecute inquiry. One of them, who took the lead in the conversation, and who appeared to possess a considerable degree of learning, acknowledged the truth of our observations, but expressed his displeasure that we should have made known our views to the ignorant who surrounded us. He thus acted in the true spirit of Hindooism.

"PAITHAN, 27*th December*.—Immense multitudes of the people came to the mosque to receive books, and to listen to our discourses. In this circumstance I see the goodness of God. Had they not visited us I must have been unable to preach to them on account of my leg. In the evening we went to Shivagaum, which belongs to the Company. The natives showed greater kindness to us on our arrival than their neighbours in the Nizam's country have been accustomed to do. They are more familiar with the English character than the trans-Godaverians, and they are perhaps afraid to practise insolence.

"NANDOOR NIMBHA AND SHINGWA, *28th December.*—We left Shivagaum early in the morning, and proceeded to Nándoor Nimbha. This village is small, and almost all the male inhabitants of it, and a few females, had an opportunity of hearing the Gospel. We offered them Rs.8 for their village gods; but they said that they were afraid to part with them. We proposed that the power of the idols should be put to the test; and to our astonishment they consented. The headman handed a large club to Mr. Mitchell, for the purpose of striking them; and he dealt out three heavy blows upon Hanuman. His lordship received them with great meekness, and without showing the least symptom of displeasure. The villagers stood aghast; but they immediately destroyed their convictions by alleging that our *virtue* gave us a great power over the gods, which they could never exercise. Death, they said, would be the consequence of *their* inflicting a blow. Thus Satan preserves them in their strong delusions.

"JUNAR, *6th January* 1833.—We arrived in the oldest city of the Dekhan in the evening. The country through which we passed appeared to be very fertile. We at first took up our abode in the Chawadí, but Mr. Escombe of the civil service kindly invited us to his house. In the morning I had a long debate with a learned Brahman. He made a keen but very unsuccessful defence of his cause. All the sins of the gods he ascribed to *Maya*, which he represented as the production of Brahma. He thus laid himself open to the charge of blasphemy, which I did not fail to urge upon him. After he left me I had an interview with a Musulman Jagheerdar, to whom I presented a Persian Testament. He appeared to be liberal in his sentiments, and of the Shia sect.

"MARA—INDIAN PLAYERS, *5th January.*—We found the village quite crowded with people, who had come from the neighbourhood to observe the *úrús* of a Muhammadan Peer (saint). We could scarcely get any place in which we could pass the night. At length we got our cot placed in a small thatched temple, in which about twenty-five natives were sitting. We preached in the street in moonlight. After we had lain down to sleep a company of strolling players commenced operations about four or five yards from us, and fully in our view. The actors were about ten in number, and three of them were men dressed in women's clothes. They sang a great number of songs, using various instruments as accompaniments; and they acted a great many characters. Some of their representations were licentious in the extreme, and some of them appeared to afford a great deal of amusement to the spectators; one of them showed the real feeling with which

many of the Brahmans are regarded. A Maratha made his appearance at the gate of a village with all the habiliments of a Bhatta. His head was shaven and shorn, with the exception of the Shendi. In his hand he carried the usual priestly staff and brazen vessel. His *Kamarband* (waistcloth) was wrapt round the upper part of his hand, but one of his arms was free. On his head was the small red nightcap. He strutted about with an air of great importance; and he seemed irritated when he found the gate of the village shut. He demanded admission, and a voice from within was heard, *Who calls.* "*Who* calls," says the priest, "I am Narayana Bhatta on my way to my *Yajamán* (constituents)." "Your constituents have given me no intimation of your arrival," quoth the village watchman. "Strange!" said the Brahman, "but who art thou;" "I am the village Mhar" was quickly responded. The Bhatta hugged up his shoulders, and turned up his nose in the expression of consummate contempt. Some of the Yajaman made their appearance, and forth came shlokas (verses) in abundance. They consisted of nonsensical words with Sanscrit terminations; they were delivered with an air of indescribable conceit; and the most absurd interpretation was made of them. The people listened with apparent gravity; but the Bhatta had no sooner collected the offerings presented to him, and taken his departure, than they began to ridicule him. The sport was concluded at the very genteel hour of twenty minutes past three on the following morning, when the villagers, most of whom were Hindoos, set out for their homes.

"KALYAN, *9th January.*—We passed through Rahata on our way to Kallian. The villagers assembled in considerable numbers to hear the Gospel; but we remarked that the facilities for collecting them are not so great in the Konkan as in the Dekhan. In the former province the villages are all enclosed within walls, and their houses are not so scattered as those in the villages below the Ghát. In the Dekhan, moreover, there is generally an open space near one of the gates where all business is transacted, and where we can always find auditors without much trouble, and to which there is nothing correspondent in the Konkan. The villages on the sea-coast, however, have one advantage. They are on the whole more thriving and populous."

Jalna, where for the hour the military authorities opposed Mr. Wilson's benevolent work even more effectually than the Brahmans had done in the previous year at Nasik, has, like that station, since become the scene of the very successful

mission conducted by the Rev. Narayan Sheshadri, one of the Mission converts. This tour deserves notice on its European side. Chaplains, still too few for the wants of the troops, or so employed that the troops are not cared for first, were fewer still before the Charter of 1833 enlarged the ecclesiastical establishment. A sacerdotal conflict between the Metropolitan of Calcutta and the Government of India first led Lord William Bentinck to decide, as had been done in 1813, that the chaplains are the officials of Government, just as the churches are its property. The English in India were too few, and heathenism was too strong for sectarian bigotry to have then shown itself. In the time of Claudius Buchanan, the author of the ecclesiastical establishment, and till the arrival of Bishop Middleton and Dr. Bryce in Calcutta, such a spirit was unknown. Hence Mr. Wilson preached in the Jalna Church, and in the same service the chaplain from Secunderabad read prayers previous to the sermon. The Presbyterian's comment is—"This was very liberal." But when, soon after, the Bishop, Daniel Wilson, made his first metropolitan tour after his defeat by Lord William Bentinck, he forbade this "irregularity" in a general circular to the chaplains. Long after, his noble successor, Bishop Cotton, arranged with Government that the ecclesiastical buildings of the State should be used, when necessary, for Presbyterian as well as Episcopalian services.

Having thus surveyed the Marathee-speaking country north-west to Nasik and south-west to Poona, and thence into the native State of the Muhammadan Nizam of Hyderabad, Mr. Wilson gave up the cold season of 1833-34 to the southern Maratha country and the adjoining settlement of the Portuguese at Goa. His colleague, the Rev. James Mitchell, was again his companion. A sea passage of fifteen hours took them to the old scenes at Hurnee, and thence to the southern boundary of the former Konkan mission. At

the shrine of the elephant-god Gunesh, endowed with £120 a year, paid at that time through the British Government, an incident occurred which is a parallel to Cicero's remark on the two Augurs. An old Brahman, who had come from Satara to see the god, was reproved because, at the close of a meal and before he had performed ablution, he had happened to touch one of the officiating priests. The old man immediately retorted, "Hullo, my religious friend, you have forgotten to wipe the sandal-wood from your forehead"—in other words, you have either forgotten to-day to purify yourself or to remove the sign of your uncleanness. The priest confessed that he stood corrected, and he gave a hypocritical laugh. He had pretended holiness to gain the respect of the stranger Brahman. At a village farther south, when passing the tombs usually erected over widows who have burned with their dead husbands, Mr. Wilson expressed his feelings to a Brahman, who replied that he approved of Suttee, but did not find fault with the British Government for abolishing it. To him, as to the mass of Hindoos, the order of an absolute Government was sufficient to alter or prohibit even a religious rite, when that was contrary to natural religion or morality; just as the teaching of an absolute priesthood had, by a previous generation, been accepted as an authority for burning widows who, if childless, otherwise enjoyed the life-rent of their husbands' estates. The natural spring at this shrine was believed to come, underground, from the Ganges, hundreds of miles to the north, wherefore Mr. Wilson read to the worshippers notes which he had taken of the lectures on hydrography in the University of Edinburgh. His explanation was confirmed by a young English-speaking Hindoo, whom he had known in Bombay, and who had come from a distance of ten miles to pay his respects to the missionary. Thus already, in four years, the merely scientific truth radiating out from Bombay, through English, into the jungles

of Maharashtra, and the notes of an Edinburgh lecture-room were used to overthrow Gunesh with the aid of an educated Hindoo. Farther on Mr. Wilson saved from the infamy of their lives, in future, a widow and two daughters who asked alms for the temple to which they were attached, by arranging to send them to a destitute girls' school which he had opened in Bombay. They proved in after years to be devoted Christians.

The connection between the Government and idolatry was found at almost every step. At Kampta the town-clerk, a learned Brahman, "told us that the whole village belonged to Bhagwati (an idol), and that the English Government was so kind as to collect and pay over the revenue to the idol. I expressed my deep regret to him that, in making the settlement of the country, the Company's servants had fallen into the error and sin of associating themselves with superstition; and informed him that many of them were aware of the evil, and that it would probably soon be rectified. There is scarcely a temple in this part of the country which has not an allowance from the revenue. The Mahalkaree of Kharipatan showed me a list of the sums granted in his district. I was perfectly thunderstruck on reading it. Even temples that are almost forsaken by the natives are not overlooked. Ten or twelve of this description had allowance of five or six rupees per annum. I asked how these sums were expended. 'In buying light for the god,' was his reply. 'The allowance,' he added, 'is charitable; many Brahmans, also, have grants.' I trust that the time is not far distant when all these sums will be profitably employed in promoting the education of the people."

That is the sort of disestablishment which the British Government, as such, can do little directly to bring about as the crowning result of its subsequent efforts to leave all management of the shrines to the worshippers, and all disputes

about the property to the ordinary civil courts. But the time is not so hopelessly distant as may appear at first, when Mr. Wilson's foresight may be justified, by the educated natives themselves insisting on saving from the fraudulent greed of their priests the enormous endowments intended in many cases to act as a poor-law, and transferring them to the education of their children, for which they are now compelled to pay a cess on the land-tax.

At Vingorla, a port to which the frequent famines have led Government to direct their attention recently as likely to be the best on the Western coast, next to Bombay itself, for the import or export of grain, Mr. Wilson and his companion took boat again for Teracol, the first village belonging to the Portuguese. Just a quarter of a century had passed since, in 1808, Goa, the capital of all that was left of the once promising empire of Vasco de Gama and Albuquerque, which Camoens had sung in his *Lusiad*, had been visited by a Christian ecclesiastic whom, in many respects, John Wilson closely resembled. Claudius Buchanan was the son of an elder of the Kirk, who was the parish schoolmaster of Cambuslang during Whitefield's preaching. He was educated at Glasgow University, was for some time tutor in the old Scottish family of the Campbells of Dunstaffnage, and was about to become a preacher of the Church of Scotland, when, fired by the experience of Goldsmith, he determined first to see the world of Europe. His wanderings ended in the completion of his studies at Cambridge under Isaac Milner, whence the first of the Clapham men, Mr. Henry Thornton, sent him out to Calcutta as a Company's chaplain in 1796. There his studies, his travels, and his researches soon marked him out to Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto as an adviser on all educational, philanthropic, and scholarly questions. His writings so influenced public opinion in England, that Parliament in 1813 created the ecclesiastical establishment which Charles Grant

and Wilberforce, though aided by Pitt and Dundas, had failed to force on the East India Company in the Charter of 1793; that steps were taken to prohibit self-immolation under the car of Jugganath and the pilgrim-tax; and that the Inquisition was for ever abolished in Portuguese India in 1812. The same evangelical charity, the same scholarly research, the same intellectual breadth of view, the same zeal for the propagation of Christian truth in the East, marked the two Scotsmen, the one Episcopalian the other Presbyterian. Mr. Wilson does not fail to note in the Journal of his visit to Goa, that it was "the first since the days of Claudius Buchanan expressly made for the circulation of the Scriptures and other missionary operations." Dr. Buchanan's visit to Goa was memorable from his intercourse with Josephus a Doloribus, one of the Grand Inquisitors, whose admissions are most important as to the fairness of the account of his two years' sufferings under the order of the tribunal by the French adventurer and physician Dellon in 1673-5.[1] In 1808 there were upwards of three thousand priests belonging to Goa, and those whom Dr. Buchanan saw declared they would gladly receive copies of the Latin and Portuguese Vulgate from the hands of the English nation.

Mr. Wilson had one advantage during his visit in 1834. The recent political changes in the mother country, and the absence of the Archbishop, made the authorities and priests more liberal in their intercourse with him.

"TERACOL, 28*th Jan.* 1834.—We took an early opportunity of visiting the fort. It is in charge of an old officer, Captain de Silva. He has been 44 years in India, and never expects to return to Portugal, which he left when he was 14 years old. We conversed with him about the political affairs of Portugal and other subjects. He told us that Donna Maria had been proclaimed in all the Goanese territories about two weeks ago, and gave us some of the orders of the day to read. He

[1] *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa:* a Amsterdam, 1719; also, *Christian Researches in Asia,* by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D.

represented the whole province as in a state of perfect quietness. I offered a Portuguese Bible to him. He said that almost the only book which he read was a short treatise on the sufferings of Christ by D'Almeida ; but he intimated his readiness to accept a Bible, provided his padre would allow him. The padre was sent for. I held a long conversation with him in Latin. He granted permission to the Captain to receive the Bible, and on my offering one to himself, he said, *Habeo tibi gratias.* He gave me an account of the state of the Romish Church in the territories of Goa, and in return I described to him the state and principles of the Churches of Scotland and England. He showed us his chapel, remarking *parva est.* Pointing to the different figures near the altar, he denominated them *imago Salvatoris, imago mirificæ Virginis, imago Sancti Antonii*, etc. The following conversation then took place. J. W. *Usus imaginum in ecclesia est contra Dei secundum mandamentum.* Padre. *In Novo Testamento imaginum usus permittitur.* J. W. *In quo loco permissio invenitur ?* P. *Nescio, sed hoc scio, Ecclesia Romana permittit.* J. W. *Eclesia Romana permittit, et Deus interdixit.* P. *Idolatria non est.* J. W. *Sic aiunt Brachmanes.* We parted on good terms, the Padre promising to call upon us in the evening. He kept his word. In the course of our walk I tried to ascertain his theological sentiments. He said that he believed in the doctrine of predestination *ante merita cognita*, agreeably to the principles of Augustine. I expressed my accordance with his views. During our conversation on the celibacy of the clergy, he said, *In hac civitate Pauci Presbyteri muliebribus furtive utuntur.* I urged his admission as a proof of the inexpediency of the vow to observe celibacy made by all the Romish clergy. Few or none of the priests, he observed, know either Greek or Hebrew. I referred to the Vulgate translation made by St. Jerome as a proof that the Romish Church in the days of old was not averse to the use of the Scriptures in the language best understood by the people. He had not formerly adverted to this circumstance ; and admitted that as the *lingua Latina nunc Romæ non in usu est*, an Italian translation should be made for that place. We compared the proceedings of Romish and Protestant missionaries. I admitted the learning and piety of Francis Xavier. He condemned the use of all violence in the propagation of Christianity, and lamented rash admissions into the visible Church. He expressed his surprise at the audiences with which we are favoured, and remarked, '*Gentiles in hac regione non audiunt.*' I advised him to study their languages, and to preach the pure doctrines of Christianity.

" Late in the evening, when the padre had retired to the fort, about

twenty of the inhabitants of the village came to our lodgings. We examined and addressed them in Marathee, which they speak in rather a corrupted form. We gave a few Portuguese tracts and two Testaments to three or four of them who could read them. One of them brought a large folio volume, which he called a *Purana*, to show to us. It was of Marathee Prakrita, but written in the Roman character. It contained paraphrases of several of the discourses of the apostles, extracts from the Bible, notes on church history, refutations of Hindooism, etc. It is a work of immense labour, and it is creditable to the learning and patience, if not to the piety of some olden missionary. The owner said that he was in the habit of reading it, in the Brahmanical style, to assemblies at his door."

Was this the work of the Jesuit Stephens, the first Englishman whom we know to have landed in India five years after Francis Xavier's death in October 1579, whose letter to his father, a merchant of London, is found in Hakluyt? He published a Konkanee Grammar, a History of Christ, and an Account of Christian Doctrine. The first is in the India Office Library, but Professor Monier Williams states that he has never met with the other two.[1] The Madura Jesuit, Robert de Nobili's "Fifth Veda," which the French called L'Ezour Védam, so far deceived Voltaire that he appealed to it as a proof of the superiority of Hindooism to Christianity! Taking again to the boat, Mr. Wilson spent the time on the way southward to Goa in reading the Latin Bible "for the sake of facility in conversation," and Cotineau's *Historical Sketch of Goa.*

"29*th January* 1834.—We lay at the mouth of the Goa river, or rather firth, for about half-an-hour, till we obtained permission to go up to Pangim, or New Goa. The aspect of the country, from the appearance of the villages, churches, and forts, is unlike anything which I have seen in India. Our landing at Pangim reminded me much of Cape Town. The houses are, generally speaking, very substantial, and painted white. Many have two stories, and united conical and lofty roofs for every apartment in the upper story. There was only a single ship, and a few patimars in the harbour. The Governor, or Vice-rey,

[1] *The Contemporary Review* for April 1878, page 31.

who had been at the Cathedral church of Goa swearing allegiance to Donna Maria, drove past us, on our landing, in a very neat but humble carriage. He does not maintain much style, and his pay is only 18,000 rupees per annum, which are, however, worth more than double that sum in Bombay. A considerable number of the persons standing at the beach were dressed in the European style. We took up our abode in an empty house, pointed out to us by a Hindoo broker, to whom I had a note of introduction from Sir Roger de Faria. We found ourselves very comfortable, and we felt grateful to God for bringing us thus far on our journey in safety.

"We had not been seated for many minutes when a great number of persons came to us to offer their services. Some of the proposals which were made to us were calculated to impress us with very unfavourable ideas of the morality of the place, and with the behaviour of our countrymen who come to visit it. We met them with suitable indignation and reproof.

"There are few Europeans in the colony. Most of those who are here are connected with the army, which is about 4000 strong. The Governor is friendly to the Portuguese constitution. He has not been much interfered with by the home authorities; and he manages matters at Goa in a manner which is satisfactory to the inhabitants. Several public buildings and roads are in the course of being constructed under his auspices. The secretary to government is well reported of, and is particularly attentive to the English who come to Goa. The priests of all descriptions who are to be found in the colony amount to 1000. The total of the Roman Catholic population is estimated at about 200,000.

"31*st January* 1834.—We walked round the greater part of Pangim in the morning. As soon as we had taken breakfast, great numbers of people came to receive copies of the Portuguese Scriptures. The house was crowded with them for a considerable time. Mr. Mitchell and Manuel supplied the applicants, as far as our stock would permit. When they were engaged in this work for several hours, I was employed in conversing in Latin with the priests who called upon us. One of them, a quaternarian of the Cathederal Church of Goa, introduced himself to me by telling me that he was much interested in a book, *Cui Titulus est Historia Religionis Reformatæ in Anglia, auctore Gulielmo Cobbett.* I gave him a brief character of it by declaring, *Cobbettii historia mendaciis plena est*, and stated my opinion of the life of its author. He was neither prepared to admit nor controvert my statements.

"I obtained a good deal of information from this person respecting

the state of the Catholic Church in Goa. In the colleges connected with the convents many young men are educated for the ministry. The principal ecclesiastical seminary, however, is in the small island of Choráo, to the north of Goa. The only language which is taught in them is Latin. All the prelections are given in this language, but they are explained in Portuguese. They are partly original and partly collected from various authors. Logic, metaphysics, mathematics (to a small extent), ecclesiastical history, and dogmatic and didactic theology and canon law, are the branches taught. The writings of some of the Fathers are perused. The Professors are, with few exceptions, natives of the country. There are several elementary schools in which Latin is taught in several parts of the Estado. One of the most respectable of these is conducted by a presbyter in Pangim. He stated that elementary books are with great difficulty procured at present.

"The two parish priests of Pangim held a discussion with me similar to that to which I have now alluded. They, like the other priests, were anxious to procure books. We gave them, as to all the priests with whom we have had intercourse, a Portuguese Bible, a Latin Bible and New Testament. I offered them a copy of *Calvini Institutiones. Non licet nobis libros heretico legere,* was the reply. *Joannes Calvinus vir doctus et pius fuit; ejus opera legere vos decet,* was my answer. The merits of the Reformation were shortly discussed. The work of the Genevese reformer was ultimately carried away by those to whom it was proffered. I had a conversation on personal religion with a young lad of twenty, who is at present studying canonical law. He belongs to the province of Bardes. I was much interested in him. He says that his views of the doctrine of predestination were very confused. I tried to remove his difficulties. He has lately obtained the *quatuor minores ordines* of the Romish Church. . . . .

"When the priests left us, we were visited by several gentlemen from Portugal. They were all exiles on account of their attachment to the Constitution. They were anxious to learn our views about the probable success of the Liberal cause. We expressed the hope to them that they would see better days. We gave them copies of the Bible in Portuguese and French, and a few tracts, which they gladly received. I asked one of them, Senhor Capella, to revise my Portuguese catechism, which he very readily consented to do. He offered to accompany us to Old Goa, and we accepted of his proposal.

"1*st February.*—The first sight of Goa is magnificent, although it is at once evident that nothing remains but the churches and some other public buildings. The walls of the city are now almost entirely

destroyed; but, like Dr. Claudius Buchanan, we entered the city by the palace gate, over which is the statue of Vasco de Gama, the discoverer of the passage by the Cape, and one of the first 'Vice-reys' of India. The hero stands aloft, *in vestibus quæ decent tempora antiqua.*

"The first building which we visited was the Church of the Palace. It is an exact model of St. Peter's at Rome. It is arched in the roof. Its principal altar is decorated in a style surpassing anything which I had formerly seen. Its convent and cloisters are small. It belongs to the Theatins or order of St. Cajetan, who were instituted in Italy by St. Cajetan of Thiena, and by John Caraffa (Pope Paul the Fourth), Bishop of Theato. They were established in Goa in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Italian founders were soon joined by many of the natives. There are at present no Europeans in the convent. No natives but those of Brahmanical descent are admitted. We saw two of the friars seated in confessionals in the church. They were lending ear respectively to a woman, and muttering forgiveness. Several other persons of the female sex were prostrating themselves in the church, and waiting the appointed time of disburdening their consciences. The Cajetans are the most renowned confessors in the colony. They live almost entirely on the offerings of the superstitious. They seldom exceed fifteen in number, and, owing to the unhealthiness of their situation, are short-lived.

"In passing from St. Cajetan's to the cathedral, we saw the ruins, or rather the site, of the Inquisition, which was founded in 1560, and the court of which was ordered to be suppressed in 1812. The representations of the British were the cause of its destruction.

"I cordially assent to the only remark which Dr. Buchanan makes on the metropolitan church—'It is worthy of one of the principal cities of Europe.' There is nothing very remarkable in its exterior unless the plainness of the building, but it is no sooner entered than it strikes the spectator. To the top of the vault it is nearly 40 feet high, and the body of the church is about 200 feet long and 80 broad, exclusive of a row of chapels on each side. The principal altar is adorned with images, and gilt pillars and pilasters. There are fourteen minor altars in rows along the sides of the church. There are few seats in it, as is the case in all the Roman Catholic churches in India. The windows give light through small panes of mother of pearl. Divine service is performed twice a day in the cathedral. We found about twenty-four priests in two rows united in repeating the mass. The clergy of the church consist of an archbishop (there is none at present), a dean, cantor maximus, treasurers, archdeacon, scholastic, ten canons or pre-

bendaries, four semi-prebendaries, two quaternarians, twelve priests' chaplains, and a variety of assistants. The total stipendiary revenue of the cathedral is only Rs.15,582 per annum. Offerings and fees form the other sources of the emoluments of the clergy. From the manner in which they congregate together, they are saved from many expenses which would otherwise devolve upon them. The dean is at present their superior. The total number of communicants at Easter is stated at 110. Can anything be more absurd than the maintenance of this establishment on its present scale, when there are almost none to profit by it?

"We proceeded to the Aljuva, or the bishop's prison, for the purpose of taking breakfast. The building is not in a state of great repair. It is used for the purpose of incarcerating refractory and naughty priests. As its services are not at present much demanded, part of it is appropriated to civil purposes. When, after breakfast, we were engaged in social worship, the quaternarian, whom I have already mentioned, joined us. He listened to the reading of the Scriptures, but he did not kneel with us at prayer. *Exercitatio spiritualis est*, he observed, however, when we had concluded. Our conversation turned upon several theological points, and particularly upon Purgatory and Indulgences. The priests discussed the points at issue with temper and ability.

"We went from the Aljuva to the Monastery of St. Monica. It is the only nunnery in Goa, and was founded by the infamous Dom Fré Alexo de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, about the year 1600, and by him dedicated to the mother of Augustine. The exterior of the building has nothing remarkable about it. To the cloister we could of course have no access. We were directed to the public hall. We found the abbess and prioress seated in a room adjoining us opposite an iron grating, where alone they could have communication with us. They were both Europeans, and very neatly dressed in white, and attended by two or three female servants. They very readily entered into conversation with us. The abbess entered the convent when she was fifteen years' old, and has resided within its walls for forty-four years. The prioress entered it in 1818. She blushed when Sr. Capella jokingly told her that, amidst the political changes which are taking place, she would be permitted to leave it and to marry. The abbess told us that, including novices, there are thirty nuns in the establishment at present. Europeans pay Rs.1000, and natives double that sum, on their entrance. The funds of the institution are much reduced from the loss of its estates. It receives Rs.1000 per annum

from the Government. The nuns engage in making rosaries, in knitting, and the preparation of sweetmeats and preserves. We bought several articles from them. When we offered them a Portuguese New Testament, the abbess said that she could not take upon herself the responsibility of accepting it. The prioress, however, seized it besides several tracts with joy, kissed it, and said that she would always pray for us.

"Precisely at two we saw the doors of the Augustinian Convent thrown open. We immediately repaired to it. The provincial, to whom we had a letter of introduction, was absent, but he had left orders for our reception. The prefect of the Augustinian College, and the prior Fré José, offered to show us all the buildings, which are nearly as extensive as those of the University of Edinburgh. 'Few cities in Europe,' says M. Cotineau, 'can boast of a finer edifice of the kind; the cloisters, pillars, galleries, halls, and cells, are all most beautiful.' What struck me most was the display of portraits of the martyr missionaries of the order. Many of them are well executed, and represent the friars in the attitude of death. I could not but think with admiration of their devotedness, and wish that more of it were exhibited among Protestants. The view from the turrets is magnificent. We stood almost entranced on first coming into contact with it. We examined the library of the college. The books are fast going to decay. They do not amount, I should think, to more than 1500. Many of them are very old and valuable. I noticed most of the Roman Catholic Church historians referred to by Mosheim. I heard the youths of the noviciate of the college read a little Latin, and put a few questions to them. A European monk followed us with a very anxious eye. He evidently wished to make some communication to us. We both felt great compassion for him. The superior of the college was very free in his communications. He was much pleased to find our pronunciation of Latin so much like his own. I endeavoured to improve the time we were with him by making suitable reflections on what passed before us. I gave him a Portuguese Bible, and left some books for the provincial and prior, presented by Mr. J. Wolff and Mr. Farish. Among them was a copy of *Keith on Prophecy*. May the perusal of them be abundantly blessed! It was in the cloisters of an Augustinian convent that the spark of piety was first kindled in Martin Luther.

"The Augustinians (twelve in number) came first to Goa in 1572. They have a yearly income of Rs.15,000, independently of an allowance of Rs.1500 made by the Goa Government. They have several missions

in the East under their care. Their vestments are white. They were originally black, but were changed on account of the defection of the German Reformer, of whom his friends were greatly ashamed. They are the most respectable monks in the Catholic Church. Leaving the Augustinians, we proceeded to the church of Bom Jesus. It is built in the form of a cross. Though it is a noble edifice we scarcely surveyed it at all. I hastened to the shrine of the celebrated Francis Xavier, of which I had heard much. It surpassed all my expectations, and certainly excels anything of the kind which I had before seen. It is of copper, richly gilt and ornamented, and placed within a silver incasement. It rests upon an altar of Italian marble highly wrought. There is a *vera effigies* of the 'Apostle of India' on the south of the tomb, and a statue of solid silver, which is not exposed to view. He died in the island of Santian, in the Chinese Seas, in 1552. His body was brought to Goa in 1554. It was exposed to public view till 1780, when it was locked up in its present receptacle. Alas that it should now be viewed as the 'sacred dust' of a heathen Buddha!

"We reached the Archbishop's palace at Pannelly about half-past five o'clock. The quaternarian kept his appointment and introduced us to the curator of the library, which I was very anxious to examine. It contained about two thousand volumes. Though they are in a better condition than those in the Augustinian convent, they are rapidly going to decay. Few of them are modern. I observed only three Protestant volumes among the whole of them. I found a MS. translation of the Four Gospels in Arabic, of which it would be well to procure a copy.

"3*d February*.—Many demands were made upon us to-day for books, which we could not answer. Senhor Picâo, one of the exiles, offered to translate any publications for the Tract and Book Society. He has commenced with Bayssiere's letter, and Senhor Capella is proceeding with John Knox on Prayer, and another tract.

"4*th February*.—The secretary introduced us to the Vice-rey, Dom Manuel de Portugal è Castro, at the palace, who received us very politely. He then showed us the portraits of all the Vice-reys of India. Most of them came originally from Portugal. There are not many of them which have not been re-touched by native artists. Mr. Nunes seemed to be very familiar with the character and exploits of those whom they represent. The portraits with which I was most interested were those of Alfonso de Albuquerque, Vasco de Gama, John de Castro, and Constantine de Braganza. Constantine refused to accept from the king of Pegu the sum of 300,000 cruzados for a monkey's

tooth which had been adored at Jaffnapatam as a relic of a Buddha. He deserves to be had in remembrance for his firmness and decision, and aversion to countenance idolatry. How different was his conduct from that of the Bengal Governor who sent an ambassador to the Grand Lama to congratulate him on his incarnation! A considerable number of Brahmans called upon us to-day. One of them has been in the service of Colonel Kennedy and Mr. Candy. His name is Narayan Shastree. I discoursed with him and others for a considerable time, and gave him a copy of Mr. Candy's tracts, and of my *Exposure*. The Hindoos of Goa have been well supplied with books during our visit, and many of them have heard the Gospel in its simplicity. We guarded them against being misled by Romish ceremonies. Many of them told us that they well knew that the Goakars do not walk according to the Christian Shastre. In the evening we sailed up to Old Goa. We took a short walk, and conversed a little with several priests and friars about the public buildings, etc. One of them spoke with exultation of the destruction of the Inquisition. To my question, *An sit in ejus loco altera curia?* he replied in the negative.

"*5th February.*—During the course of the day we heard a good deal of scolding in the Aljuva, and we saw the quaternarian sign a warrant for the arrest of an individual. From these circumstances, as well as from what was expressly stated to us, I have little doubt that the Aljuva is a kind of substitute for the Inquisition. It is not merely used for the purpose of imprisoning priests, but it is used as the place of the archbishop's court. This court has the power of inflicting punishment by fine and imprisonment, as well as by suspension, excommunication, and penance. Its decisions are not at present characterised by any great degree of severity, but it must be evident that its powers are incompatible with civil and religious liberty. Dr. Buchanan quotes Dellon as intimating that its proceedings were frequently highly improper.

"When we had ordered all our baggage to be put on board the boat to be conveyed to Sankali, we went to see the Church and Convent of the Franciscans. They are worthy of inspection. They belong to the most ancient order of monks in Goa. The Franciscans were the chaplains of the first Portuguese ships which visited India. Those of their order at present in India live entirely as paupers. Education, however, is not neglected by them. The monk who showed us the buildings conversed in Latin with ease. The professor of philosophy, to whom he introduced us, appeared a very respectable scholar. We

inspected a considerable number of the books in his cell, and to him, as well as to almost all the priests whom we have met in Goa, we gave a few small volumes."

Returning through the jungle of the coast and the forest of the Ghats, where they slept with only a slight covering from the dew, but soundly after the fatigue of their intercourse in Goa, Mr. Wilson and his companion reached the pure Marathee-speaking district of Dharwar, and the London mission station of Belgaum. Here he came on the border line of the Tamul-speaking and the Canarese districts of Madras. In preaching to the English residents he did not, amid all the claims of India, forget to urge those of the Gaelic School Society. He passed through Shankeswar, the residence of the great *Swami* of Western India, where the annual fair of the deified reformer Shankar Acharya was being held by ten thousand people, and the god was being dragged in a car forty-five feet high. After a day's incessant preaching there, and at other towns and villages, Mr. Wilson thus writes in his journal:—

"I have often wondered how Whitefield could preach so frequently in England; but it is now a considerable time since I discovered that practice in public speaking makes it comparatively easy. Some advocates speak four or five hours daily at the bar during the press of business; and we, who are called to act as ambassadors of Christ to our perishing fellow men, may well continue our ministrations during a longer time. The interest with which we are heard has a reflex influence in strengthening us for the discharge of our duties. The impressions which we produce, though in general they may not lead to any very striking visible effect, have, I am persuaded, a powerful influence in weakening the hold of superstition, and in enlightening and directing the conscience. When the Gospel is generally preached, as I hope it soon will be, through the length and breadth of the country, individual

conversions will become more frequent. It is the *general* apathy of the unenlightened, which destroys the ardour of individuals, on whose mind favourable impressions are produced. I fervently wish that evangelical *agitation* were the order of the day in India. Into this agitation I would of course wish no unholy element to enter. I would wish it to be like that of the Apostles and the Reformers."

The town is further remarkable for the first of those interviews with one of the princes of India, to which Mr. Wilson was afterwards frequently invited. The house of Sivajee, the founder of the Maratha power, is now represented only by the Raja of Kolhapore, the representative of its younger, and the Raja of Satara, the head of its elder branch. Bawo Sahib, who received Mr. Wilson, was "an oppressive and profligate ruler," who had not many years before been compelled by a British force to abstain from attacking his brother chiefs. He died in 1838, four years after the visit, leaving a son, the misrule of whose minority again compelled our interference. But he was faithful in the Mutiny of 1857. On his death, in 1866, we at once recognised his nephew and adopted son Rajaram. To him a melancholy interest attaches. Well educated he visited England in 1870, a gentle youth who wrote a journal of his experience, presenting a significant contrast to that of his grandfather, to whom Mr. Wilson "opened the Scriptures" in vain, and told the story of the conversion of Britain which these Scriptures had made great. Raja Rajaram died at Florence, and his body was burned with Hindoo rites on the banks of the Arno, the last of that branch of Sivajee's house. To perpetuate it, Lord Mayo's government waived all the usual provisions in a case of adoption, and another Bhonsla boy was searched out in 1871. He is now fifteen years of age, and is being educated to govern some 800,000 tenantry, who pay him annually a revenue of the third of a million sterling.

On reaching the confines of Kolhapore, the Scottish missionaries were met by troopers, who attended them. On nearing the town the Captain-General and a few of the troopers and thirty sepoys formed an escort to the banks of the Pandi-Gunga, where their tents had been pitched. There they had presented to them, in the name of the descendant of the mighty Sivajee, "great loads of fruit, sweetmeats, eggs, and chickens," and they found a retinue of liveried servants at their call. After examining the black marble tomb-temples of Shankar, the reformer, and his first disciple, and preaching for a day, the Sahebs were thus received at an audience :—

"25*th February* 1834.—At four in the afternoon, two of the Sirdars, attended by forty sepoys, came to conduct us to the palace. The streets, as we passed along, were as much lined with people as if the King of England had come to see them. We were vastly ashamed of the honours which they tried to heap upon us. On our arrival at the palace we were received by Haibat Rao Gwaikawar, one of the most respectable of the Sirdars. He conducted us to the great room. We entered it, according to custom, without our shoes. Several hundreds of people, including all the Sirdars, were seated in two rows fronting one another. We were squatted near the *Gàdi* (royal cushion.) On the entrance of the Raja all the people stood up. He saluted us very kindly and asked us to sit down. After a little commonplace conversation, we directed his attention to the Christian Scriptures, and gave him a brief summary of their contents. I then presented him with an elegantly bound copy of the New Testament, and of the *Exposure of Hinduism*, and with copies of Matthew bound in silk, and *Exposures* and other tracts for his Sirdars. He expressed his pleasure at receiving them. I told him about the conversion of Britain, and ascribed all its greatness to the book of which I had given him a copy. Mr. Mitchell recommended him to encourage education in his territories. He made several inquiries at us about the Governor and gentlemen whom we had seen. We gave him all the information in our power. The Raja is rather of a small stature, but a good specimen of a Maratha. He has more show about his household than I expected. It is to be regretted that he practises polygamy. He has five wives, but only two sons and one daughter.

"10*th March* 1834.—We rose at gun-fire, and, along with Dr. Young, we ascended to the celebrated hill-fort of Satara. It is about 3000 feet above the level of the sea, and its height from the base is about 900 feet. It is strong by nature, as the rocks near the summit are perpendicular. We took about twenty minutes to walk round it. It commands a very fine view of the country. In descending from it, we found the agreeableness of 'the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.' In the afternoon we visited Satara. It is much better laid out than any native town which I have seen. The streets are broad and straight, and the houses are, on the whole, neat and substantial. The English have the credit of forming the plan of some of them. The population is variously estimated. It may be stated at from between fifteen to twenty thousand, and it is reported to be on the increase. The weekly bazaar, which we observed, is well attended. Native cloths are plentiful and cheap. The palace is a plain quadrangular building. We should have been introduced to the Raja had he been at home. His high school is also a quadrangular building.

"13*th March*.—We set out for Malcolm-Peth on the Mahableshwar Hills about two hours before sunset; and we arrived at the sanitarium, where we were kindly received by Captain Jameson about nine o'clock. On the top of the ghat, about 4500 feet above the level of the sea, we saw the fern and the willow, and heard the voice of the lark, the thrush, and the blackbird. They called vividly to remembrance our native hills and groves, and made our very souls thrill. We made several calls on European gentlemen throughout the day, and we preached to large congregations of natives. I recognised two of my Bombay native friends among our audience. They were very happy to see me.

"15*th March*.—We proceeded early in the morning to Mahableshwar, which is about three and a half miles distant from the sanitarium in Malcolm-Peth, or Nehar, as it is called by the natives. Our ride was remarkably pleasant. The tops of the hills and mountains below us were rising above the thick white clouds like islands in the ocean. The appearance of the cottages, roads, and plants reminded us of the scenes in another land. The atmosphere was comparatively cool and bracing. The sun was rising with glory in the east. The birds were offering up their early orisons to him who formed them. Mahableshwar is a religious establishment, almost on the highest pinnacle of the hills, sacred to Shiva. It has no connection with Wai in the plains below, as has been alleged by some. It is under the direction of Deshast Brahmans, while Wai, as I have said, is

under the direction of Konkanasts. There is a considerable spring at the most sacred spot, which is said to be the source of the *Krishnabai*, *Savitri*, etc., and which is denominated the *Panchaganga*. There is a small tank at the place where it issues from the ground, and which forms the *Tirtha*, to which pilgrims repair. It is surrounded by a small court and shed, in which there are a few idols. When we were slowly walking round it, the Brahmans rushed upon us like dogs, and declared that we had defiled the place, and threatened to inform the Government, whose orders, they said, we had disobeyed. Mr. Mitchell began to reason with them; but the storm of their passions increased. Seeing this, I adopted a different course. 'You saw us enter the court,' I said, and 'you did not give us the least hint that we had done wrong, or the slightest intimation to depart, till we had proceeded to its extremity. All at once you spring upon us, as ready to devour us, and use the most insulting epithets. You have no authority to act in this manner. If you are not quiet, *I* shall complain of *you* to the authorities.' They were instantly apparently as meek as lambs. I then told them that, foolish and sinful as we considered idolatry and all its forms, we had no wish to use the slightest violence with them, or to intrude into places which we had no right to enter. They expressed themselves satisfied. The fact of the matter is, that, even according to the principles of Hinduism, we were not the cause of any defilement; and that gentlemen, from whom money is expected, are permitted to perambulate the court *ad libitum*. It is only since the place became a convalescent station for the English that the Brahmans here have lifted their heads on high. They get many donations from native servants, and sometimes from their inconsiderate masters! They received nothing from us but sound instruction. We preached to about thirty of them, and to about the same number of agriculturists, under a *mandapa* (tabernacle) which had been erected during a late festival. When speaking of the vanity of the *muntras* (incantations) I repeated the *gayatri* (the most sacred verse in the Hindu Vedas), and commented on the vanity of the trust which is reposed in it. Some astonishment was expressed at my acquisition of it, but no offence was taken. I have uniformly found that when the most sacred writings of the Hindus are appealed to, without any taunting on my own part, my quotations are listened to with respect. On one occasion I quoted the *gayatri* to silence a man who had spoken very impudently to me. He and all my Brahmanical auditors put their fingers in their ears, and fled from me in all directions! I have very seldom witnessed a similar occurrence. 'We must just let matters take their course,' said

a Brahman once to me, 'all our efforts to conceal are fruitless. The end of the world draweth nigh. The very *Yawans* (Greeks or foreigners) converse like Pundits!'"

This is our first introduction to the great hill sanitarium of Bombay, which was ceded in 1829 by the Raja of Satara in exchange for other lands. The State lapsed in 1848, but the British Government has continued a pension of £250 a month to the adopted child of the last widow of the Raja, who died in 1874. The concluding extract from Mr. Wilson's journal of this third tour tells of that encounter with a tiger which some of his Hindoo controversialists declared that he magnified into a miracle!

"18*th March* 1834.—We set out for Nagotana a little before sunset. On the road I experienced a remarkable deliverance, which should excite my most fervent gratitude to the Father of all mercies. I had got the start of Mr. Mitchell in passing through the jungle, and in order to allow him opportunity of coming to me I was just about to pull up my horse, when I observed an enormously large tiger about six yards from me. Instead of running from me, he sprang up near my horse; I then cried out as loud as I could, with the view of frightening him. I had the happiness of seeing him retreat for a little; and I galloped from him, as fast as my horse could carry me, to Mr. Mitchell, whom I found walking with four or five natives. We passed together the spot where I had the encounter, without seeing our enemy. He was heard, however, among the trees by our horse-keepers. He has been seen by the natives for some days past a short time after sunset, exactly at the place (about six miles from Nagotana) where he appeared to me. The men whom I found with Mr. Mitchell told me that they regularly present offerings for protection from tigers to an image on Wardhan hill. I showed them the vanity of their confidence; but in their misdirected devotion I saw the call to remember 'the Lord who is my refuge, even the Most High.'"

Some time after this the able civilian, Sir J. P. Willoughby, presented Mr. Wilson with a cottage on Mahableshwar, and there, when more advanced in years, he and his missionary brethren used to recruit their wasted energies during the

college vacation in the great heat of May and June in the plains. He became closely identified with the place up to the year of his death, and evangelised among its tribes right down to Poona. When a part of the hill called Sydney Point, after Sir Sydney Beckwith, the Commander-in-Chief, had its name changed to Lodwick Point, he used humorously to resent such tampering with historical and landscape associations. His "bungalow" was another mission centre, like Ambrolie in the native quarter of Bombay. Not a day passed even there without vernacular preaching and examination of schools, while the ever increasing arrears of his extensive correspondence were cleared off. The climate and the scenery alike tempted to literary labours. To the comparatively small and select society of European officials, civil and military, and to the educated native gentlemen who began to frequent the spot, Mr. Wilson often delivered those lectures which afterwards attracted crowds in the Town Hall of the capital. In close and constant intercourse with the Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, and the members of Council, he brought his wide information and high principles to bear on political questions, especially when these concerned the native princes and people. Thus Mahableshwar became to him the scene not merely of well-deserved rest but of more varied work and wider social influence.

CHAPTER VI.

1835.

TOUR TO DAMAN, SURAT, BARODA, KATHIAWAR, KUTCH, DWARKA, AND SOMNATH.

First Exploration of the Goojaratee Country and its Native States—The Portuguese in Daman—A Catch of Zand MSS.—Surat Fruitful in Facts—British Government and Idolatry—Hindoos and Muhammadans denouncing each other—An Eclectic Rationalist—Mr. Wilson's Journal, a Love-Offering to his Wife—Baroda Church Consecrated by Heber—Audience of the Gaikwar described—Correspondence between the Gaikwar and Mr. Wilson—The Mad Gaikwars—Cambay to Bhownuggur—A Hill of Shrines—Satan's Celestial City—Mr. Wilson's Letter to the Jain Priests—Rajkote—A King Punished for Murdering his Infant Daughter—Kutch—Work of the Rev. James Gray—A Good Raja—Schwartz and Raja Serfojee—The Land of Krishna—Beyt and Dwarka, their Pirates and Priests—Mr. Wilson anticipates James Prins Girnar—The Historical Temple of Somnath—Lord Ellenborough—Deat Separation in the Mission Family of Ambrolie—Mrs. Margaret Wilson's Hours—Memoir by her Husband.

"Such was the talk they held upon their way
Of him to whose old city they were bound;
And now, upon their journey, many a day
Had risen and closed, and many a week gone round,
And many a realm and region had they passed,
When now the ancient towers appeared at last.

"Their golden summits in the noonday light
Shone o'er the dark green deep that roll'd betwee.,
For domes, and pinnacles, and spires were seen
Peering above the sea—a mournful sight!
Well might the sad beholder ween from thence
What works of wonder the devouring wave
Had swallowed there, when monuments so brave
Bore record of their old magnificence.
And on the sandy shore, beside the verge
Of ocean, here and there, a rock-hewn fane
Resisted in its strength the surf and surge
That on their deep foundations beat in vain.
In solitude the ancient temples stood,
Once resonant with instrument and song,
And solemn dance of festive multitude;
Now, as the weary ages pass along,
Hearing no voice save of the ocean's flood
Which roars for ever on the restless shores;
Or visiting their solitary caves,
The lonely sound of winds that moan around
Accordant to the melancholy waves.

"Wondering, he stood awhile to gaze
Upon the works of elder days.

"High over-head sublime
The mighty gateway's storied roof was spread,
Dwarfing the puny piles of younger time
With the deeds of days of yore
That ample roof was sculptured o'er,
And many a godlike form there met his eye,
And many an emblem dark of mystery."

SOUTHEY: *The Curse of Kehama.*

CHAPTER VI.

HAVING now completed such a detailed survey of the central, eastern, and southern districts of the province, including Portuguese Goa, as was possible in three cold weather seasons, Mr. Wilson prepared for the longest and most fruitful of all his early tours, that through the northern half of Bombay. Familiar first of all with the varied elements of the population of a quarter of a million in the capital city itself, he had now carried his elevating message to Hindoo, Muhammadan, and jungle or robber tribe, over the whole Maratha country from sacred Nasik to only less holy Shankeswar, and from the Jews and Parsees of the Konkan to the Muhammadans of Jalna. All he had studied with a keen interest and a never-failing memory. There remained the Goojaratee country, with its great native states of Baroda, Kathiawar, and Kutch, stretching up to the Indus-washed delta of Sindh and the deserts of Rajpootana. In the rich cotton-fields of Goojarat the Parsees found an asylum before the English attracted them to the island of Bombay, and Mr. Wilson had fairly given himself to that study of their literature and religion with which, more than with any other, his name is identified. Not only there, but in the native States are the half-Buddhist, half-Hindoo communities of the Jains to be found, and it was his task to understand in order that he might influence them. So the closing weeks of the year 1834 saw him, his wife (as far as Surat), and his attached friend Dr. Smyttan of the Government service, set out in that modest "shigram," or one-horse vehicle, which for half a century was familiar to all natives

and Europeans in Bombay as the great missionary's. Past Mahim and Bassein, and along the shore washed by the Arabian Sea to still Portuguese Daman, the travellers crept, taking a week to accomplish the distance now achieved by railway in a few hours. Of Daman, conquered in 1831, we read in the Journal—"A Parsee gave us no favourable idea of the Portuguese Government. The soldiers were represented as helping themselves to whatever articles they need. Justice, it was said, is an article which requires to be purchased at a dear rate. The sun of Daman, which Juliao, the late Miguelite Governor, denominates on a triumphal arch, *celeberrima urbs in oriente*, appears to have reached its meridian. There is something very instructive in the decline of the Portuguese power in India and the rise of that of the British. Camoens represents Vasco de Gama as describing the whole of Europe to the lord of Melinda. The hero makes no mention of England! But observe the ways of Divine Providence. The country which was too contemptible to be noticed three hundred years ago, is now the most powerful in the world, and it is under its favour that the Portuguese exercise sovereignty over their remaining small territories in India." Here Mr. Wilson purchased, for Rs.300, a copy of the Vendidad Sade and of all the sacred books of the Parsees in the original Zand, Pahlavi and Pazand tongues, but in the Goojaratee character, and with a Goojaratee commentary and translation. Of this work, in five folio volumes, he remarks—"Of its use to a missionary there can be no doubt. I procured along with it copies of all the narratives calculated to throw any light upon the history of the Zoroastrians in India, and some other curious pamphlets connected with their religion."

Continuing their journey northwards, the party passed the most ancient fire temple in India, at Umarasaree, and inspected the extensive fire temple of Nausaree, the streets of which were, at that early time, regularly lighted at night by lamps

with oiled paper shades. Surat, 177 miles north of the capital,[1] first of English settlements in India, was found to be declining as Bombay supplanted it, and the decay has gone on till the present time, if we may judge from the visit of the Governor, Sir Richard Temple, to its deserted buildings, and half-obliterated tombs of Oxenden and others this year. Mr. Fyvie was the only (London) missionary there, and he afterwards joined Mr. Wilson on his tour. But Surat has ever been marked by the intelligence of its native inhabitants, whose spirit has shown itself more than once in rioting against taxes imposed in an unpopular form. Here Mr. Wilson collected much information regarding the eighty-four castes of Goojaratee Brahmans, the early settlements of the Parsee refugees from Muhammadan intolerance, and the three Bohora sects of Muhammadans. He learned that half the great fire temples of India had been erected only within the previous twelve years. The relation of the British Government to those cults he thus describes:—

"The English government has still the responsibility, and a fearful one it is both for rulers and their agents, of directly and publicly countenancing idolatry and superstition. The new moon, except during two months of the year, is regularly saluted by five guns to please the Mussulmans! Two thousand rupees, I was told, are annually contributed to the same people to assist them in the celebration of their *eeds!* The chief of Surat, and the British administrator of justice in its province, commits the cocoa-nut to the river on the day of the great heathenish procession at the break of the monsoon! How all this folly originated amidst the ungodliness of many of the olden servants of the Company I can easily understand; but how it has been so long continued I am puzzled to know. The day was when, I suppose, one would have got a free passage to Europe, *via* China, for *noticing* it. I certainly

[1] Pronounced Soorŭt, the Sun city of the Ramayun epic.

thought, without making a reference to higher and more solemn considerations, that after the order came from the Court of Directors, 'That in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, and their ceremonial observances, our native subjects be left entirely to themselves,' our late excellent Governor would have put an extinguisher upon it. Surely the son of CHARLES GRANT will perform the right honourable act."

After nine days in the old city, Mr. Wilson was received at the next stage northwards by Mr. Kirkland, the civilian in charge, to whom Dr. Chalmers had given him an introductory note. The march from the Taptee, which almost encircles Surat, to the Nerbudda, was spent in discussing a census of the "Pergunna" or "Hundred" of the district, from which the fact of the murder of female children became evident. A visit to Broach, the ancient Barygaza, the commercial glory of which has given place to a great agricultural prosperity under British rule, resulted in further work among the Parsees and Jains, and on the 17th January 1835 Baroda was reached. The bruit of the discussions with Hindoos and Muhammadans in Bombay seemed to have everywhere preceded Mr. Wilson. At one village belonging to one of the Gaikwar's feudatories, Mussulmans and Hindoos "commenced denouncing the faith of each other in no very measured language," after the statement which they had invited from the missionary. Before he could rest on the Saturday of his arrival at Baroda he had to grapple long with a really earnest Brahman, who, having become the secretary of a neighbouring Muhammadan Nawab, was an eclectic rationalist, seeking truth in accordance with reason only, and rejecting his own scriptures as inspired. The following very human extract from one of the letters which generally covered the instalments of his journal, may serve as an introduction to its more formal narrative. He preached twice in the English

Church to the European residents, who were rarely visited by chaplain or missionary. Bishop Heber had consecrated it ten years before, when he was "both amused and interested," though a little fatigued, by his purely ceremonial visit to the Gaikwar, whose invitation to witness the cruel sport of elephant-baiting he declined. The good Bishop's narrative of his visit to Baroda, in 1826, presents a striking contrast to Mr. Wilson's Journal in 1835, but the difference is due chiefly to the knowledge which the Presbyterian "Bishop" had acquired of the language and religion of the Gaikwar.

"BARODA, 19*th January* 1835.

"MY DEAREST LOVE—Surely you do not wish me to detain my Journal for the mere purpose of having it accompanied with a letter which I may not always find time to write. You must view the Journal as a communication. I should get on very poorly with it if I had not you in my eye. *It* is *inter alia* a love-offering. I question if Mrs. Webb had it that she would think of rejecting it. She was very proud about the journal which her excellent brother Richard Townshend sent to her, and very justly so. Tell *you* her this.

"I write to you from Radical Hall. Captain S—— is over head and ears in an Irish bog; and how he will get out I know not. He has drawn in several young men to him. Irish bogs move, it is said. Do you think that they will ever move to the land of liberty? *I* trow not. I am quite tired of their bawlings. Perhaps I may have done something to stop the spread of the mania.

"Tell Mr. Webb that Bishop Heber consecrated the Baroda Church; and that Bishops Fyvie and Wilson have reconsecrated it. Mr. Fyvie read the prayers of the Church of England in it. Colonel Burford gave the church to us. We had the sacrament *privately* in the evening yesterday, *twelve* communicants including two natives. I thought much of you and the dear children. Surely I may commit you all to the care of Him who died on the cross for my sins."

"23*d January*.—I spent the morning with Mr. Williams, the Political Commissioner. About eleven o'clock I proceeded with him and Colonel Burford, Dr. Smyttan, Mr. Malet, and Major Morris, to the palace of the Gaikwar. We were all mounted on an elephant, and attended by the guard of honour which accompanies the Political Commissioner on his visit to the king. We were introduced to the Gaikwar at the door

of the Durbar; and we walked up with him through the ranks of his courtiers, to the Gadi. Mr. Williams sat next to the great man, and I next to Mr. Williams. After conversing with his Highness for a little on the late frosts, I asked whether or not I should be permitted, as a minister of the Gospel, to give a statement of the principles and evidences of Christianity, the religion professed by the inhabitants of Britain and many other countries, and which demands the acceptance of mankind throughout the world. His Highness informed me that he would be very happy indeed; and I proceeded. I gave a view of the Scripture account of the character of God, of the natural state of man, and of the means of salvation; and contrasted this account with those given in the Hindu Shastres. When I had concluded, his Highness called upon Venirama, his minister, to come forward, and assist him to form a judgment of what had been said, which was entirely new to him. Venirama obeyed, and declared that Jesus was an incarnation similar to Rama and Krishna, who has received from God as a *war* (boon) the power of saving all those who believe in him. 'Rama and Krishna,' I observed, 'were no incarnations of God at all. They might have been great warriors, like the forefathers of the Gaikwar, who were deified by the poets; but most assuredly their characters forbid the entertainment of the idea that they were incarnations of the divinity. It is evident that they were sinners. Krishna is spoken of in the tenth section of the Bhagavat as having been guilty of murder, adultery, theft, and falsehood; and Rama is described by Valmiki as a person who perjured himself to Mandedari, the wife of Ravana,—who banished his wife, though innocent of the charges brought against her, at a time when she was pregnant, and thus proved himself a bad husband and a bad father; and troubled his poor brother Lukshmun so much that he destroyed himself, and thus proved a bad brother. Christ Jesus, however, committed no sin, and acted in every way suitable to his claims as God manifested in the flesh.'

"Our conversation then proceeded as follows:—*Venirama.* Don't allege that the seeming evil acts of our Gods were sinful. God can do what he pleases, and who is to call him to account? *J. W.* God is not responsible to any, but He will act always according to His nature, which is perfectly holy. Even Krishna is represented in the Geeta as admitting the propriety of his regarding moral observances. 'If I were not vigorously to attend to these (the moral duties), all men would presently follow my example, etc.' Judging Krishna by what is here said, I am bound to condemn him. The legend, moreover, says that he felt the effects of his sin. When Jugannath was asked

why he had no hands and no feet, he declared that he lost them through his mischief at Gokula. *Venirama.* God *can* sin. He is the author of all sin. *J. W.* Do not blaspheme the Self-existent. *Venirama.* This is no blasphemy. If God is not the author of sin, pray who is the author of it? *J. W.* The creatures of God are the authors of it. You must admit that God has given a law to men. *Venirama.* I do admit this, and say that this law is good. *J. W.* Now, I make an appeal to his Highness. Will the great king first make laws for his subjects, then give them a disposition to break these laws, and last of all punish them for breaking them? *Gaikwar* (laughing heartily). Verily I will do nothing of the kind. I am always angry when my subjects break my laws. *J. W.* And is not the King of Kings and Lord of Lords angry when his laws are broken? Why does He send disease and death into the world, and why has He prepared hell unless for the punishment of the wicked? *Venirama.* I know not; but who is there to sin but God? He is the only entity. *J. W.* So, I suppose, you have no objections to say *Aham Brahmasmi*.[1] (I am Brahma). *V.* It is not lawful for me to repeat these sacred words. *J. W.* Not lawful for God to declare his own existence! You were saying a little while ago that it was lawful for God to do anything, even to sin. *I* think it presumption for any man to declare that he is God in any form of words. Never let the weakness, ignorance, sin, suffering, and change of men, be attributed to God. *V.* God in the form of men is apparently weak, and so forth. Suppose the Divine nature to be a tree. Men are the leaves of that tree. Now, the leaves differ from the branches and the stalk and the root; and men, growing out from the Godhead, differ in some respects from the Godhead from which they grow. *J. W.* But my position is that men are in no sense part of the Godhead. Their weakness, ignorance, sin, suffering, and so forth, to which I have alluded, prove this. They are the workmanship of God. *V.* But what is the creation but the expansion of God. *J. W.* It is the product of the Divine word and power. I cannot admit for a moment the theory of God's swelling and contracting, and contracting and swelling. *V.* There are differences in religion you observe. Your religion, I admit, is good for you. *J. W.* My religion professes to be the only one which is given by God, and to be good for all men. God never would give such contradictory accounts of Himself and His will as are to be found in the Christian and Hindoo religions. Both of them cannot be true; for, in a thousand points which I can enumerate, they are directly

[1] One of the four great sentences of the Veda.

opposed to one another. Pray, on what grounds do you believe in Hindooism? You say that evidence is of four kinds *pratyash* (sensation), *shabda* (testimony), *anumána* (inference), and *upamána* (analogy). What kind and degree of these species of evidence have you for Hindooism? *V.* We have our religion as we got it from our forefathers. It was their business to inquire into its evidence. *J. W.* What a strange evasion! If you be in the wrong, will the errors of your forefathers excuse you for neglecting to seek the truth? Don't the Bheels plead the custom of their fathers as an excuse for their thefts and robberies? *Gaikwar* (laughing). Most certainly they do. *J. W.* Surely your minister will not listen to their plea! *Venirama.* But what have *you* got to say for Christianity? *J. W.* Your question is very proper. I have got much to say for it. Suppose the Christian Shastra to be a letter. I peruse it. I find nothing inconsistent with its claims to Divine inspiration. It is, in every respect, worthy of the holiness and wisdom of God. It bears the impress of the Divinity. I can no more believe it to be the unassisted work of man, than I can believe the sun to be the fabrication of a blacksmith. I behold it producing the most marvellous results, particularly in communicating sanctification and happiness to those who believe in it. I find from authentic history that it was published to the world at the time which it alleges; and that it testifies as to miraculous transactions, which, if unreal, could not have been believed at the time when it was published, etc. I shall be delighted to give you a copy of it, that you may judge for yourselves. The more you peruse it the more will you discover its excellence. The more that you inquire into its history the more will you discover its credibility.

"When we had proceeded thus far, his Highness began to compliment me on my *Dakhani boli* (accent), and to declare that he and his ministers, though possessed of a spice of the *rerum terrestrialium prudentia*, knew little about the affairs of the other world. He then turned to Mr. Williams, and told him that he ought to have given him warning, that he might have the Brahmans in readiness. 'There is no lack of Brahmans here,' said Mr. Williams. 'I never dreamt, when you requested leave for the Padre to visit me,' he said, 'that he would act otherwise than the Lord Padre Saheb, who, after looking at every object in the Durbar, went out to see the artillery yard. This is a *guru vishesha*.'

"After declaring myself unworthy of the compliments which his Highness paid me, I offered him a finely-bound copy of the New Testament in Marathee. This, however, he declined to receive, as he

had not yet seen reason to wish to abandon Hindooism. I recommended him to take the earliest opportunity of reflecting on what had been advanced, and stated to him that his acceptance of the Testament was not tantamount to abjuring Hindooism. Mr. Williams sported a joke or two as to his fears, but I thought it proper not to be too importunate, particularly as he would probably not refuse the gift if offered to him privately. The Gaikwar cautioned me against misunderstanding him, and, after again complimenting me, he insisted on my accepting from him, as a token of his good-will, a couple of shawls and a gold ornament. I decidedly refused the offering for some time; but, on being informed by Mr. Williams that my refusal would probably give offence, I yielded. I then received a letter from the Gaikwar to the authorities at Dwarka; and, after a little miscellaneous conversation, we took our leave. The Raja, as on our entrance, walked with us through the Durbar. He is rather a good-looking Maratha, and superior in point of talent to most of the great men with whom I have come into contact. His dress was plain, but his ornaments were splendid. His son, a young lad of about sixteen years, who was present during the interview, seemed modest and placid. The Muhammadan Sirdars made rather a good appearance. The Marathas were scarcely to be distinguished from the *plebs* of their tribe.

"Leaving the Durbar, we examined the artillery-yard and other curiosities, and then proceeded homewards. After dining with Mr. Williams, Dr. Smyttan and I proceeded on our journey in the direction of the Gulf of Cambay."

"24*th January*.—We rode from Padrea to Gwasad early in the morning. I distributed, as usual, some tracts to the natives whom we met on the roads, and preached in the village. We rode to Jambusar in the evening. After our arrival, I received the following letter from Mr. Williams relative to the visit to the Gaikwar:—

'*Camp Baroda, January* 24, 1835.

'My Dear Sir—His Highness sent for my head clerk this day, and desired him to explain to me that his reason for not accepting the Testament from you yesterday was, that his ministers, relations, and the whole Durbar, would have considered it as a kind of avowal of his inclination to desert his own creed; that he was very much pleased with what he heard yesterday, and requested that I would send the Testament, and other books, to him by my men. I shall do so, either through the Nawab, or ——, whichever channel his Highness prefers. His Highness further wishes to receive a letter from

yourself to his address, stating that you are not offended at his apparent incivility in not receiving the book from your hands when offered to him in the Durbar yesterday; and desires me to offer you his best wishes, and to say that he has directed all the authorities under him to afford you every aid.'"

"25*th January*.—To-day I despatched a Marathee letter, of which the following is a translation, to the Gaikwar:—

'Shri Raja Chhatrapati Akela Praudha Pratap Sayaji Rao Gaikwad Sena Khas Khel Shamsher Bahadur. To his Highness Sayaji Rao Gaikawad, etc., John Wilson, the Servant of Jesus Christ, with all respect writeth as follows:—

'The illustrious Mr. Williams having communicated to me your Highness's wish to receive a few lines from me, I have the greatest pleasure in addressing you.

'I was much gratified with the interview which I had with your Highness in the Durbar on Friday last, and I am duly sensible of the kindness and condescension which you evinced in granting it to me. I shall always remember it with much satisfaction.

'As the Christian religion appears to me to be possessed of supreme importance, I embraced the opportunity afforded me while in the presence of your Highness, and by your Highness's inquiries, of giving a summary of its principles, and of the evidence on which it rests its claims to universal reception; and it was with a view to afford your Highness an opportunity of judging of the merits of that religion that I proffered to your Highness a copy of the Christian Shastra. For the patience and interest with which your Highness and your ministers listened, I am truly grateful. Your declining to receive the Christian Shastra in the Durbar, proceeding, as it did, from an apprehension that the public reception of it might be viewed as giving a public testimony in its favour without examination, has given me, I assure you, not the least offence. Nothing is farther from my wish, and that of other Christians, than that Christianity should receive any countenance which does not proceed from the perception of its own merits. We wish it, in every case, to receive the fullest inquiry.

'I return my best thanks to your Highness for the favours given to me in the Durbar, and I shall preserve them as memorials of your kindness.

'Why should I enlarge? That your Highness may long hold the *chhatra* (umbrella) of protection and shelter over a happy people, and enjoy every blessing in this world and that which is to come, shall ever be my most fervent prayer to Almighty God. JOHN WILSON.'"

Baroda is one of the three great principalities—Sindia's, Holkar's, and the Gaikwar's—which Maratha soldiers carved out of the debris of the Moghul empire under the flag, first of Sivajee's house, and then of his Mayor of the Palace, the Peshwa. The first Gaikwar, or "cowherd," held the position of the Peshwa's commander-in-chief till 1721. In the subsequent century the Gaikwars achieved such independence as was possible under the gradually growing suzerainty of the East India Company. In 1819 Sayajee Rao, whom Mr. Wilson describes, had succeeded his brother, and was from the first, unhappily, left to his own devices under certain vague guarantees. Misrule, financial insolvency, and disloyalty were the inevitable consequences, till in 1839 he was threatened with deposition by the paramount power, which could no longer share the guilt of maintaining his oppression over a population of two millions, who paid him above a million sterling a year. Sayajee managed to keep his power till his death in 1847, after which the boy whom Mr. Wilson saw, Gumpert Rao, reigned till his death in 1856. He was succeeded by his brother, Khundee Rao, in 1856, and he by the youngest brother, Mulhar Rao, in 1870. The maladministration, which had steadily increased, then became so intolerable and even criminal, that his deportation to Madras in 1875 was the result, and the succession of a boy adopted by Khundee Rao's widow. In his Journal, published in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, "specially for the benefit of the natives," Mr. Wilson gives no indication of the facts that he learned on the spot regarding the Gaikwar's family and misrule. But his intimate acquaintance with the whole history and with the successive Gaikwars, led Lord Northbrook's Government to consult him during the events of 1874-5. This slight sketch of the house of Peelajee Gaikwar must be borne in mind when we come to these later times.

From Daman to Cambay the Gulf of Cambay runs up

into the heart of Goojarat, dividing from Surat and Baroda the cluster of native states in wild Kathiawar and marshy Kutch. Mr. Wilson crossed the Gulf to Gogo, the port of the principality of Bhownuggur, in which State is the famous Jain hill of temples at Palitana. Mr. Burgess, now Archæological Surveyor to the Bombay Government, who in 1868 first adequately measured and described the temples and caused photographs of them to be published, remarks that the great orientalist Colebrooke knew so little of Shatrunjaya as to write of it as "said to be situated in the west of India." Colonel Tod, of Rajasthan fame, was the only visitor of note previous to Mr. Wilson, and that in 1822. The Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century, Hiuen Thsang, seems to have passed it by, although he was so near it as Girnar. "The sovereign of places of pilgrimage," as the old annals call it, was transferred from the Buddhists to their Hindoo friends, the Jains, in 421 A.D. After Mr. Wilson's visit the wealth of the Jain merchants of the cotton capital covered the hill with fanes which even Mr. Fergusson allows to rival the old temples not only in splendour, but in the beauty and delicacy of their details; so that a local writer remarks—"one almost feels the place a satanic mockery of that fair celestial city into which naught may enter that defileth!"

"*4th February.*—I arrived in Palitana about 9 o'clock, and after examining a Mussulman's tomb and mosque of superior workmanship ascribed to Muhammad Ghori, and situated in the suburbs, I proceeded to read to and address the people till Mr. Fyvie came up. We took up our abode in a kind of dharmshala, to which we were directed by the agent of Hemabhai, a rich Jain merchant of Ahmedabad, in whose favour the village is sequestrated till such time as the Raja discharges the debts which he owes to him. We had as usual large audiences throughout the day. Many of those who came to hear the Gospel were *Shravaks* (laymen of the Jain order). They strongly remonstrated with us on the intention of our servants to kill a lamb for a supply of animal food. After vindicating our rights and refuting the errors of the Jaina system as to the life of brutes, we set the

animal at liberty, lest we should give unnecessary offence. Observation has since made me doubt the propriety of a concession of this character, which can easily be misunderstood and misrepresented.

"About 3 o'clock P.M. we commenced the ascent of the Shatrunji hill, which is about a mile and a half distant from the village, with the view of inspecting the far-famed Jain temples. On arriving at the summit I thought it right to look at the works of God before examining the works of men, which they have impiously placed in his stead. The view of the adjoining country is very extensive, stretching over the Thalaja hills, with the Shatrunji river winding between them to the sea on the south-east; to the mountain of Girnar on the west, which is distant at least seventy miles; and to the Sihor hills on the north. Exclusive of the elevations now mentioned, it is principally of a level character, but sufficiently fertile. The voice of nature unequivocally proclaims 'God that made the world, and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed anything; seeing he giveth to all, life, and breath, and all things.' The ear of man, however, has, for many centuries at least, been deaf to this voice in this place. The very place where the view of the Divine workmanship is the most glorious is that which has been chosen for the sanctuary of those who are no Gods, who are even allowed by their votaries to be nothing else but mortals who have obtained *nirwana*, absorption into the Great Spirit, or a freedom from all the incidents common to mortality and change.[1]

"The temples are the most splendid, and, with the exception of the cave temples of Elora, the most costly which I have seen connected with heathenism in India. They are principally built of a coarse-grained sandstone from Gopinath, or of the basalt rock of the hill, and in many places are neatly chunamed. The floors and doorposts are of variegated marble, a good deal of the workmanship being mosaic. The departments and shrines are numerous; but the two most worthy of notice are devoted to Rishabha Deva and Parasanatha, the first and twenty-third of the emancipated Jains or Adinath. That which includes the image of the former lord is sometimes ascribed to Kumara Pala, the great sovereign of Goojarat, who was converted to

[1] I have found it very difficult to arrive at the precise notion which the Jains attach to this term. Most generally they speak of it as equivalent to the *Sayujyata* (absorption) of the Brahmans. Sometimes they speak of the twenty-four emancipated Jainas as having a separate existence in the state in which they now are.

the Jaina faith in the year 1174, but an inscription upon it gives it no date. The images are colossal, and, with the exception of that of Niminatha which is black, they are of white or yellow marble, and of the kind denominated Swetambar, decorated with ear-rings, necklaces, armlets, and footlets (nepur), of gold or precious stones. They lately invited the attention of some thieves, who robbed them, according to the native account, to the amount of ten thousand rupees. The wonder is that in such a country as this, where honesty is not much regarded, and where the inhabitants are distinguished among Hindoos for their daring, such a quantity of treasure has been suffered to remain so long unmolested. The gods, it must be remembered, however, are under the protection of a small military or police establishment. Several cannons stand along the outer walls with open mouths, ready to speak terror to all enemies who are disposed to give due warning of their approach. It is rather a curious circumstance that the guards of the temples are Muhammadans from Arabia, Mekran, etc., who are thus quite ready to compromise their principles for a piece of bread. They often regale visitors with music as they go round the temples. A corner of the hill is consecrated to the memory of a Mussulman, Pir Hengar. This is analogous to the Mussulman Masjid in the convent of Mount Sinai.

"Extensive as are the temples on the Palitana hill, they must be considered insufficient for the purpose for which they have been erected; for a most extensive work, to cost five lakhs of rupees (£50,000), is going on under the auspices of Motichand Amichand of Bombay. About five hundred persons are engaged in forwarding it. All the stones are brought from a distance, and carried up the hill with great difficulty.

"The natives who showed us the temples informed us that we might enter the *sanctum sanctorum* provided we would take off our leather shoes. This, however, we declined to do, fearing that compliance might be mistaken for an admission of the divinity of the place. All the Jaina priests whom we saw had cloth shoes. They carried an *ugha*, or besom, to sweep the road as they advanced into the interior, and thus put all insects out of the way of harm; and a *mohomati*, or mouth cloth, to prevent insects from entering their mouths when praying. Tenderness to life is what they much attend to. They believe that all life, however diffused, is uncreated; and that the matter in which it is wrapped up is uncreated. They make no distinction between the life of vegetables, brutes, men, and God essentially considered, and thus fall into the grossest religious errors. An active

Providence they do not admit, and their religious services, consequently, have no reference to the adoration of the Supreme. They are gone through merely because they are believed to have certain beneficial effects on those who practise them. The following letter I prepared to the Yatis of Palitana, in reference to the errors in which they are involved.

'To ALL THE YATIS OF PALITANA, TWO SERVANTS OF JESUS CHRIST, THE ONLY SAVIOUR OF MEN, WRITE AS FOLLOWS:—

'Though we have no acquaintance with you we wish your welfare. It is the desire of our hearts, in the presence of God, that you may be happy in this world and that which is to come. We have surveyed the splendid temples which are on the Shatrunji hill; and however much we admire them as buildings, we do regret the object for which they have been erected. They are not, as they ought to have been, places in which *God* is worshipped. They are filled with images of *men* whom you suppose to have obtained *Nirwana*. These images, or those whom they represent, are the objects of your supplications! We do mourn over the errors into which your fathers fell respecting the divine nature, and from which you have not yet been delivered. It is lamentable to think that you do not admit a creating and superintending Providence. You cannot but see in the world on which you move, and in the worlds above you, decided marks of design and wisdom; and, if you reason correctly, you cannot but attribute this design and wisdom to a being who exercises it. When you look to your own temples, you say that they have been built. Why do you not admit, when you look to the temple of the Universe, that *it* must have an Architect, whose wisdom and power and goodness are infinite? It is the height of folly to attribute what you see to a necessitous fate.

'You are wiser than the Brahmans when you say that there is an essential distinction between matter and spirit. Of neither matter nor spirit, however, have you correct ideas. All spirit is not, as you imagine, uncreated. God, whose existence and attributes are proved by his works, is uncreated, but all other spirit has been created by him, not from his own spirit as the Brahmans imagine, but from nothing, by his powerful word. In that spirit which has been created there are essential differences. The spirit of man differs from that of all the spirits with which we are acquainted on earth. It alone is capable of knowing, loving, and serving God, and it alone has a moral responsibility in the sight of God. It will continue either in a state of suffering or of happiness after death, while the spirit of the beasts, etc.,

shall have perished. Matter is not, as you imagine, uncreated. God made the whole of it, not from his own substance, by the word of his power; and, whenever he pleases, he can destroy it. To suppose it to exist independently of the creation of God is to make of it a God.'"

The letter proceeds to show that the worship of the twenty-four Tirthankars, and the performance of good works, cannot remove that sin the existence of which the Jains admit, and it then expounds the salvation offered by Christ. It was largely circulated in the Goojaratee form. Mr. Wilson reasoned with the Raja of the place, and with the Jains of the puritan Dhoondra sect, one of whose religious duties is to keep out of the way of the wind lest it should blow insects into the mouth. Their confidence in their tenderness towards life makes them very conceited. "How many lives are there in a pound of water?" asked Mr. Wilson of a Dhoondra. *D.* "An infinite number." *W.* "How many are there in a bullock?" *D.* "One." *W.* "You kill thousands of lives, then, while the Mussulman butcher kills one." The Hindoos laughed, and the Dhoondras joined them.

At Rajkote, in the heart of the Kathiawar peninsula, Mr. Wilson came fairly face to face with female infanticide. The young Rajpoot chief of the Jhadeja tribe he found under sequestration, because of having been accessory to the murder of his infant daughter. The long-neglected precautions and regulations of the benevolent General Walker had been revived by Sir. J. P. Willoughby, a civilian who afterwards adorned the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Mr. Wilson expounded to the Raja and his court the Ten Commandments, "not overlooking the sixth, which he has so daringly violated," while regarding him "with deep compassion." This agreement,[1] signed by every Jhadeja chief in General Walker's time, presents a curious contrast to recent legislation on the same subject.

[1] Aitchison's *Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds*, vol. iv. p. 129, and also p. 109, second edition, 1876.

"Whereas the Honourable English Company, and Anund Row Guikwar, Sena Khas Kheyl Shamsher Bahadoor, having set forth to us the dictates of the Shastres and the true faith of the Hindoos, as well as that the 'Brumhu Vywurtuk Pooran' declares the killing of children to be a heinous sin, it being written that it is as great an offence to kill an embryo as a Brahman; that to kill one woman is as great a sin as killing a hundred Brahmans; that to put one child to death is as great a transgression against the divine laws as to kill a hundred women; and that the perpetrators of this sin shall be damned to the hell Kule Sootheeta, where he shall be infested with as many maggots as he may have hairs on his body, be born again a leper, and debilitated in all his members; we, Jahdeja Dewajee and Kooer Nuthoo, Zemindars of Gondul (the custom of female infanticide having long prevailed in our caste), do hereby agree for ourselves, and for our offspring, for ever, for the sake of our own prosperity, and for the credit of the Hindoo faith, that we shall from this day renounce this practice; and, in default of this, that we acknowledge ourselves offenders against the Sircars. Moreover, should any one in future commit this offence, we shall expel him from our caste, and he shall be punished according to the pleasure of the two Governments, and the rule of the Shastres."

"22*d February—Sabbath.*—I have never travelled on this day since I came to India, but in order that we might have an opportunity of preaching to our countrymen in a camp where the face of a minister has not been seen since the death of Mr. Gray, we rode into Bhooj early in the morning. We found that arrangements for public worship had been made by Colonel Pottinger, the Resident, with whom we took up our abode."

The Rev. James Gray—a chaplain worthy as man and orientalist of Henry Lord, the first of the Company's ecclesiastical establishment at Surat—had died five years before, and there were 140 Europeans at this remote station. His story is another added to those romances of an Indian career with which our history in the East is so plentifully and heroically strewed. A shoemaker of Dunse, not far from Mr. Wilson's birthplace, he educated himself to be the second best teacher of Greek in Scotland, as the senior master of the High School of Edinburgh. He was the friend of Burns, the tutor of his boys, the correspondent of Wordsworth, and himself a poet

and classical critic in *Blackwood's Magazine*. His elegy appears in Hogg's *Queen's Wake* as that of one—

> "Bred on southern shore,
> Beneath the mists of Lammermore."

Intenser views of Christian truth led him to accept an East India chaplaincy, and in the solitude of Bhooj he gave the close of his life to service to the natives, from the young Raja whom he taught, to the simple folk whose dialect of Kutchee, a transition from Goojaratee, he reduced to writing. These were days when our native feudatories were left to themselves, and the millions whom they ruled had no such guarantees against oppression as Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning established when the empire became consolidated. Mr. Gray's good work has often been repeated since, but after Schwartz he was the first, from 1826 to 1830, to aim at such an object as this—"I shall be able to make him one of the most learned kings that ever were in India, as he promises to be one of the most humane. Oh! that I may be enabled to impart to his mind a portion of that wisdom that cometh down from above." A few months after that Mr. Gray passed away, his death officially declared by Sir John Malcolm to be "a public loss," and his name associated in the journals with those of Carey, Leyden, and Morrison. Like Schwartz's royal pupil, Maharaja Serfojee of Tanjore, the grateful Rao Daisul of Kutch erected a monument to Mr. Gray. From 1833 to 1860 Rao Daisul ruled his half million of people with loyalty to the British Crown, fidelity to the teaching of his Christian tutor, and the best results to the people. Slavery he abolished the year after Mr. Wilson's visit. Infanticide he suppressed by new regulations, so that the proportion of females to males in the Jhadeja tribe in Kutch rose from 1 to 8 in 1842 to 1 to 1·04 in 1868. His son more recently helped Sir Bartle Frere to stop the slave trade from Zanzibar to Muscat, which

Kutch capitalists had encouraged, and his grandson is now a boy of eleven under training for power at the usual age of Indian majority, eighteen. This was Mr. Wilson's experience of the Rao Daisul.

"23*d February*.—Colonel Pottinger kindly introduced Mr. Fyvie and me to the Rao Daisuljee. He received us at the palace with much cordiality, and proved very affable. In 1819, when only three years of age, he was elected to the throne by the brotherhood of the Jhadeja Rajpoots, in room of his father, whose oppressive conduct, and his infidelity in the engagements which he had made with the British, had led to his deposition. His Highness's acquaintance with the English language is considerable. Of its vocables he has a creditable store, and a tolerably ready, though not a very correct, use. While of the English literature and science, properly so called, he has little knowledge, he has a general acquaintance with English manners and customs. As an oriental linguist he is deserving of much praise. With the Kutchee, Goojaratee, Hindostanee, and Persian he is familiar; and he is able to speak and read them with fluency. He is distinguished for his good sense; and manifests a vast deal more of correct and amiable feeling than I have seen among any of the grandees in India. There are few, indeed, of the natives in Bombay whom I could prefer before him in this respect. There is a modesty on the one hand, and a self-respect on the other, which I have seldom seen united in a native of Asia. He is represented by those who know him as free from the prominent vices for which many of his predecessors were so lamentably distinguished, and which led to the misery of their subjects and their own ruin. He is much respected and beloved by his people, as well he may; and, under God, he may prove to them the source of the greatest blessings. He has commenced his reign by declaring his determination to suppress infanticide; to prevent an increase of the Pawayas (Eunuchs and Sodomites), who have formerly not only been tolerated in the country, but received from it state-endowments, and been recognised as entitled to receive *per annum* a loaf of bread and four pice (1½d.) from every inhabitant of the land, and to discourage other evil practices. In reference to infanticide he has brought all the Jhadejas under new and strict engagements, and an offender he has signally punished by depriving him of his property. We took an opportunity of commending him for what he has done, and encouraged him to persevere. He expressed himself in a very satisfactory manner

on the subject; and clearly showed that the common feelings of humanity had full play in his breast. I cannot say so much for any other Jhadeja whom we have seen, either in Kathiawar or Kutch.

"The Rao is certainly superior in *some* respects to the superstitions of the country. He seemed to ridicule the deference which is paid to the Brahmans; and he laughed heartily when, in reply to an observation of one of his ministers, we related some of the evil deeds alleged to have been committed by Rama and Krishna. His suspicions, however, of the vanity of idolatry are not sufficiently strong to lead him directly to discourage its practice. He lives in an atmosphere of contagion; and he has not escaped infection. He observes heathen rites; and he lately yielded to the solicitations of his mother, and repaired a temple which had been long neglected. The horrid practice of Suttee he has not yet opposed. A poor deluded woman of the town burnt herself with the body of her husband about two months ago.

"His Highness seemed aware that Christians profess to worship only the great Creator, and that the English have no images in their temples. We regretted to find, however, that of the *principles* of Christianity he had no knowledge. His curiosity on the subject it was not difficult to awaken. He readily received the books and tracts which we gave to him, questioned us as to their contents, and promised to read them. I have little doubt that he will act according to his declaration. He observed that he was convinced that the English could not have attained to their present greatness without a good religion. The books with which I presented him were Mr. Gray's translation of the Gospel in Kutchee, and my two Exposures of Hindooism, and Refutation of Muhammadanism. The Gospel is not only the first book printed but the first book written in Kutchee. It was viewed as a great curiosity. The Rao declared that while the language in which it is written is generally understood, and spoken by the lower orders of the people, it is never used even for a single note, and, of course, never taught in schools.

"When we were about to leave the room in which His Highness received us, he begged of us to wait to see a gigantic Zanzibarian slave whom he had lately obtained as a present. We sat till the African Hercules came to make his *salâm*, and in the interval conversed with the king on the subject of slavery. We were delighted to hear him announce, that he not only treated his few slaves with kindness, but that he had given them to wit, on the occasion of the desertion of two of them, that they might all take their departure whenever they might feel inclined. The Rao, on our rising to return home, after a long

interview, proposed to show us all the curiosities of his palace and palace-yard. He personally pointed out to us every object of interest. What struck us most was the Durbar room of Rao Rakha. It is constructed with a taste highly creditable to the workmen of Bhooj ; and it contains many ornaments brought from Holland by a Kutchee who had visited that country. The Rao has an excellent collection of horses ; and he evidently takes great delight in inspecting them. Those of the breed peculiar to the country are very superior as Indian steeds. We saw for the first time specimens of the lions found in Kathiawar and Parkur, etc. They are as large and fierce-looking as any which I have seen elsewhere.

"The Pawayas form, probably, the most abominable class of people on the face of the globe. Colonel Pottinger gave me an account of them to peruse. They seize upon destitute boys, constitute them eunuchs, and train them up as professional Sodomites. They have a considerable piece of land held in *inâm* (free) at Kotara near the coast ! They are to be found in most of the large towns, and particularly in Bhooj, alluring to the practice of the sin spoken of by the Apostle Paul in Romans i. 27. They are believed by many of the people to be natural hermaphrodites, and to have something divine about them, and to be entitled to their regard and support ! There is surely no limit to human wickedness. Emphatically, said the Prophet, 'The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it' ?"

Turning back from Bhooj, the most northerly part of the tour, Mr. Wilson took boat at its large port of Mandvee for the famous shrines of Krishna on the south coast of the Gulf of Kutch. Here, at the island of Beyt and the fortress-temple of Dwarka, a mixed race of Muhammadans and Hindoos have long added to the plunder of deluded pilgrims the profits of organised piracy. Sanguinary wars and sieges, before 1835 and since, have given a horrible notoriety to the Waghurs, whom their lord and employer, the Gaikwar, failed to control. The more direct administration of political officers so vigorous as Colonel Keatinge, has in recent days given peace to the land of jungle and of idol shrines which forms the most westerly point of Goojarat. Such merit as temporary absorption into "the prince, the intoxicator"—as Krishna, the lasci-

vious, is called—can give, is now to be obtained without the risks of 1835 and previously. But the island and the castle of Krishna, the Lord of Dwarka, are not so attractive as they were save for the conch shells which Beyt, "the door of the shell," exports to supply the uses of every Krishna temple, and also for purposes of art. Dwarka is to the west what Pooree, the shrine of Jugganath, the Lord of the World, is to the east of India.

"2*d March*.—In the evening we essayed to see the great temple of Dwarakanatha, of Ranchod. We were conducted round the walls of the fort in which it was situated, and which are, with some of the holy buildings, fast falling to decay. When we arrived at the gate of the 'sacred court,' we asked admittance; but it was refused to us in no very respectful terms. I then produced the order of the Gaikwar, but it was unavailing. 'You have seen all that any European can see; no European has been within the gate,' was the reply. As we saw nothing very attractive about the place, and much in its dirt and filth which was disgusting, we prepared to leave it. We were told, however, that the god dwelt originally at Dwaraka; that he fled for bare life from that place at the approach of the Mussulmans; that the discerning spirits of the Brahmans discovered him in this village, originally denominated Ramandi; that he condescended to enter the idol when brought hither: and that, defended by powder and cast-metal worked by foreign Makaranees, he had maintained his existence to this hour, and captured many a richly laden vessel on its voyage round the point of Dwaraka. In an unhappy moment he forsook his followers so far as to allow them to yield to the force of the English, when they captured his abode a few years ago. These Mlechas had sold him to the Gaikwar, who, from the poor returns obtained from the pilgrims, is beginning to find that he had been led to strike a bad bargain. The god, however, though now comparatively forsaken by men, is not left solitary. A host of sacred beings dwell beside him, to wit, Baldeva, Kalyanji, Madhavaji, Keshavaji, Devakiji—of old his mother, Garuji, on whom his father was accustomed to take his aerial flights, Satya Bhamaji, Jambauvati, Lakshmi, Radhaji—one of his beloved spouses, Gopalji and Gowardhanji—his own precious self in the days of his infancy. Whether they have occasionally music and dancing among themselves, or have even simple conversation, we did not hear. Though

they are less than nothing and vanity, thousands make them the occasion of their eternal ruin.

"The temple has a lofty steeple, but there is nothing otherwise remarkable about such parts of its exterior as we were permitted to see. It cannot, I should think, be more than four or five hundred years old at the most. The Brahmans would fain claim for it a higher antiquity. It stands upon an elevated piece of ground, and a flight of steps leads from it to the creek of the sea denominated Gomati from its many windings. At the foot of this flight there is a small dharmottar, where each of the mendicant pilgrims receives from the Gaikwar a 'gowpin' of dried rice, and a benediction instead of water, on which to subsist for a day. The creek is a place of sacred ablution, and the poor deluded natives imagine that they can really wash away their sins in it. Its celebrity is, I rejoice to say, greatly on the decline. Neither its attractions, nor that of the idol, are successful in inviting the visits of one-fourth of the pilgrims who used to come to it a few years ago. The proceeds do not cover a sixth part of the expense to which the Gaikwar is subjected in supporting this idolatrous establishment. All this speaks favourably as to the decline of superstition among the natives. The Brahmans seemed disposed to admit the fact.

"*5th March.*—After having seen all that is to be seen in Dwaraka, and made many inquiries respecting its history, we find nothing connected with it which can at all support the fables of the Puranas. It is not even alleged on its behalf that it is the town said to have been built by Krishna. This place is declared to have stood to the south of Mangrol, and to have perished shortly after the death of its founder by a bursting forth of the ocean, whose waves, very conveniently for the Brahmans who ever hate the light, now cover it. The present Dwaraka is not even alleged to have been the Mul-Gomati. The place seems not only to float like an Irish bog, but its honours also seem to be very evanescent. About six centuries ago, as mentioned by Captain M'Murdo and admitted by all here with whom we have conversed, the valued image of the god Ranchod, by a manœuvre of the priests, was conveyed to Dhakur in Goojarat, where it still remains. After much trouble the Brahmans at Dwaraka substituted another, the *pran* (life) of which, as I have already noticed, fled to Bet on the approach of the Mussulmans. Surely nothing is too absurd for the faith of a Hindoo.

"Being on the spot most sacred to Krishna, we took an opportunity to-day of exposing to our many visitors the absurdity and sinfulness of the legends respecting him which are found in different Puranas, and particularly in the tenth section of the Bhagavata.

"*7th March*, PORBUNDER.—We preached, apart from one another, both morning and evening in the bazaars; and we had many visitors throughout the day, whom we addressed and supplied with books. The report of our proceedings in other parts of the province had reached the town, and contributed not a little to the interest with which our ministrations were viewed. I am more and more persuaded that long missionary tours are by far the most beneficial. Had we confined ourselves on this occasion to a small district, there would have been little or none of this ardour, which procures us numerous and interested auditors. 'I must hear,' say many, 'what every person in every place hears.' There has been too much overlooking of human sympathy in the conduct of many Missions. If the Hindoos are to be wrought upon, they must be roused. The ministry of excitement, both of John the Baptist and our blessed Lord, preceded the ministry of conversion through the Apostles in the land of Judæa. Something similar may be the case in India."

Sailing down the coast, Mr. Wilson reached Joonagurh, a Muhammadan principality, in the court of which he had long discussions till past midnight, first with Hindoo and then with Mussulman scholars. He found the Hindoo prime minister well acquainted with Arabic. But his visit has a peculiar interest because of his—the first—attempt, in 1835, to decipher the famous Asoka inscriptions on the granite rock of Girnar, discussed in a subsequent chapter. The classical hill, ten miles from the town, Mr. Wilson reached through the surrounding jungle at daybreak.

"*13th March.*—The ascent is very difficult, and in some places, from the precipitousness of the mountain, rather trying to the nerves. The rock is of granite, containing, particularly near the summit, a large quantity of mica. There is scarcely any vegetation upon it, and indeed, from its steepness, no possibility of the formation of a soil. The greatest temples are at an elevation, I should think, of about 3000 feet, estimating the greatest height at 3500. They are built of the granite, though some of the steps and staircases are formed of sandstone from the plain below. They are works of prodigious labour, and are executed in excellent taste. They are at present appropriated by the Jains, but the most ancient and remarkable of them appear to me from the Dhagob, and other arrangements, to be undoubtedly

Buddhist. The most remarkable Jain images in them are those of Neminatha, not much exceeding the size of a man, black and ornamented with gold, and at present worshipped; and Rishabhdeva, of a colossal size, of granite covered with white chunam: and Parasnatha. In the inferior parts there are the images of all the twenty-four Tirthankars. There are numerous cells in the courts of the temples, and places adjoining, which were probably formerly used by the priests. At present the only persons who live on the hill are the sepoys who guard the temples, a few *pujaris* (beadles), and pilgrims who come to worship and who may sojourn for a night or two. I was allowed to go through all the temples, and even to enter the shrines and measure the idols.

"There are two other peaks on the hill, from one of which the Hindoos who get tired of life throw themselves down in the hope of making a speedy journey of it to heaven. I did not think of visiting them on account of the difficulty of reaching them. There was, however, a staircase leading to them, as to the peak on which I stood. The view from the top of Girnar is one which is not dearly purchased at the expense of ascending it. It embraces the adjoining hills, one of which—the Dhatar—vies with it in height, and an immense range of low country extending in all directions, and, toward the west, reaching to the sea. There is much jungle on the lower hills: and cultivation, from the want of water, is not very extensive in the low country. Villages appear scattered only here and there.

"I made as quick a descent of the mountain as possible, that I might reach, before the darkness of night settled upon me, the block of granite near Joonagurh, which contains the ancient inscriptions which, though never deciphered, have attracted much attention. I was able to accomplish the object which I had in view. After examining the block for a little, and comparing the letters with several ancient Sanskrita alphabets in my possession, I found myself able, to my great joy, and that of the Brahmans who were with me, to make out several words, and to decide as to the probable possibility of making out the whole. The taking a copy of the inscriptions, I found, from their extent, to be a hopeless task; but, as Captain Lang had kindly promised to procure a transcript of the whole for me, I did not regret the circumstance."

But one spot of historical and idolatrous interest remained to be visited—that Somnath which the iconoclast Muhammad of Ghuznee stripped of its treasures, and the so-called gates

of which Lord Ellenborough dreamed that he would restore as an act of political and religious justice which the Hindoos must appreciate. Lord Ellenborough, lashed by Macaulay's satire in the House of Commons, has made Somnath more famous than did even the first Muhammadan conqueror of India. Having sailed from the port of Joonagurh, Verawul, Mr. Wilson rode two miles to the Phallic shrine of the old temple.

"18*th March*.—I proceeded to both the new and old temples of Somnath. The former was built by the famous Alya Bai about fifty years ago, and it is now under the care of the Sompada Brahmans, with one of whom I conversed. The latter is that of which the image (a linga) was destroyed by Muhammad of Ghuzni, and of which the most extravagant accounts have been published. The greater part of the building (of sandstone) is still standing, and the remains of its external ornaments, though much defaced by the violence of the Mussulmans, show that, as pieces of art, they had been well executed. Some are not very decent, and it is not to be wondered at that the attempt was made to destroy them. The Mussulman conqueror might find treasure about the premises, but most certainly it was not within the god, who had neither head nor belly."

Thus, unconsciously, was Mr. Wilson qualifying himself for those political references to him on the subject of Lord Ellenborough's Somnath Gates' Proclamation, which in 1843 caused the laughter of Europe, the indignation of all Christian men, and its author's recall. Bombay was safely reached, by sea, on the 20th March, after an absence of above three months. The survey of the whole Province of Bombay proper was now complete.

The one, the only one, intolerable trial of European life in India had already begun to cast its shadow over the otherwise unbroken happiness of the mission family at Ambrolie. Four children had been born to Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, and of these one had died in infancy, while another

was soon to follow him. During Mr. Wilson's absence on his tour to Goa in 1834, it had been necessary to send home their eldest boy, Andrew, who has since distinguished himself as a traveller and author in India, China, and Great Britain. Very pathetic are the references, in the correspondence of husband and wife, to these deaths and that separation. But now the close of the tour of 1835 was to be marked by the greatest blow of all. Dr. Smyttan had urged Mrs. Wilson to return to Scotland, after her visit to Surat, as the only means of saving her life. "It seems worse than death to part from my husband; but if I must indeed go the Lord will give me strength for the hour of trial. Dr. Smyttan has not yet mentioned it to Mr. Wilson; he is afraid of distressing him, and he wished me first to give my consent. This I can never do." That was written on 31st March, just after Mr. Wilson's return, to a lady friend the baptism of whose child she had attended the day before. On the 8th April she wrote to her boy at home "the last letter that your dearest mamma will ever write to you;" and as she laid down the pen exclaimed, "Now I am ready to die." But not till the struggling spirit had cared for the Marathee girls also, for she ever spoke in the agony of dissolution to them, *Anandie, Yeshu Christiavar phar priti theva,* "O Anandie, I beseech you, greatly love Jesus Christ!" "The prospect of death is sweet," she could say in her last words. After that, and on the 19th April, the Sabbath morning saw her freed from the body.

It is all such a tragedy, and on its human side so common a tragedy, in the land of which Great Britain has taken possession, by the dust of its noblest women as well as bravest men. But to her it was a triumph. Margaret Wilson was the first, as she was with Ann Judson the greatest, of that band of woman-missionaries whom Great Britain and America have ever since given to India, till now they number

some two hundred who are living and dying for its people. Her sisters soon after took up her work, and her husband published a very popular Memoir of her life,[1] which the perusal of her papers enables us to pronounce within the truth in the representations it gives of her intellectual ability and her gracious force of character. To her, more than to any other, is due the rapid progress of female education in Bombay, not only in Christian schools but in Parsee, Hindoo, and even Muhammadan families.

[1] *A Memoir of Mrs. Margaret Wilson*, of the Scottish Mission, Bombay. Third edition, enlarged. Edinburgh, 1840.

CHAPTER VII.

1836-1842.

ZAND SCHOLARSHIP AND THE PARSEE CONTROVERSY.

Degree of D.D. from University of Edinburgh—First Marriage in Native Church of Bombay—Dr. Wilson first English Scholar to master Zand Texts—Fall of the Persian Empire—Migrations of the Parsee Fugitives—Sanjan and Nowsaree, "a City of Priests"—First Parsee Settlers in Bombay—Frater Paulinus on the Lingua Zendica—Anquetil du Perron's Adventures—Professor Rask's visit to India—Dr. Wilson's first Zand Studies in 1831—Burnouf's and Westergaard's Researches—Origin of the Parsee Controversy—An Unhappy Editor—"Goosequill" and "Swanquill"—The Parsee Sects—Dr. Wilson's Lectures on the "Vandidad"—The Parsee Sanhedrim enter the Lists—E. B. Eastwick's Translation of the "Zartusht-Namah"—Dr. Wilson's Work on "The Parsi Religion"—First Zand and Pahlavi types—Wilkins and Ward—Conversion of Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee—Hormasdjee Pestonjee follows—Persecution of Framjee—Writ of Habeas Corpus—First Vindication in India of Civil and Religious Rights of the Natives—The Bombay Secular Press on the Trial—League of the Parsee Priests against the Missionaries—Appeal to the Court of Directors and Decision in Dr. Wilson's favour—Anti-Conversion Memorial to Governments of Bombay and India—Answered by Dr. Wilson—Hormasdjee receives his Wife and Daughter at last.

"I saw a book in Khúsrau's royal hall,
Writ in the Pahlaví, for so they call
That ancient tongue; the great arch-priest of fire
Had placed it there—chief of the learned choir.
Within the book in varied tale were told
The deeds of ancient kings and heroes old.
There too the Zandavasta's sacred line,
Was traced, holy Zartusht's book divine;
And there the story of his wondrous birth,
And all that marked the sage's stay on earth.
Time-worn the volume, and the mystic page
Was veiled in doubt, and dim with mists of age.
Said, then, the priest, 'This sacred volume see!
By this in heaven's pure faith instructed be.'
Then to my listening ear a part he read,
And strong emotion through his bosom spread.
'Learning,' he cried, 'herein would much avail,
For mark this long-forgotten lore—this tale
Of whom none knows the source—this ancient creed
May perish, since but few this page can read.
'Tis best that you this tale in verse should dress,
And in fair Persia's tongue its words express.

. . . .

The infant Zartusht, rescued from the tomb,
Again is sheltered in his mother's womb.
Her wound is healed, by mercy from above,
And Hell's fierce rage is foiled by heavenly love.
To Daghdú, then, the heavenly stripling said;—
'Arise, nor let thy heart grow faint with dread,
Comfort thee, for from thee a child shall spring,
On whom shall rest the favour of heaven's king.
The world beholds the glad event with joy,
And future ages hail the promised boy."

E. B. EASTWICK's Translation of *Zartusht-Namah.*

"Behold! Magi from the East came to Jerusalem, saying, 'Where is He that is born King of the Jews? for we saw His star in the East, and are come to worship Him.'"—ST. MATTHEW's *Gospel.*

CHAPTER VII.

WHEN, on the 7th July 1836, Mr. Wilson wrote that pleasant letter to his old friend and benefactor, Mr. J. Jordan Wilson, in which he expressed satisfaction at "Mr. Duff's elevation to a Doctorship" by the vigorous University of Aberdeen, and hinted that his own policy of vernacular preaching would probably lead the Modern Athens to pronounce him a "babbler," like Paul, he was about to be surprised by the receipt of the parchment diploma from his own University of Edinburgh, of D.D., or "Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ Doctor." The learning and the piety of his native country were as ready to mark with academic approval the six years' career of the young scholar who preached and wrote, in season and out of season, to wise and simple, in the vernacular and classical tongues of Western India, as to honour the briefer and more brilliant work of his fellow-missionary who, in Eastern India, had begun an intellectual as well as spiritual revolution which was already affecting even Bombay itself. Dr. Duff, driven home by an almost fatal disease, was restored to feed the flame of apostolic Evangelism in the churches of Great Britain and America, so that soon Bombay and Goojarat, as well as Madras, Nagpore, and Calcutta, were to see the result in new missions and fresh missionaries worthy of such pioneers. Dr. Wilson, in spite of the comparative solitude of bereavement, and not unfrequent sickness from overwork and exposure, was to be enabled to carry on his loved work among the people of India *without* interruption till the close of 1842. Thus, at every successive

period the gifts and the labours of each supplemented those of the other, while specially adapted to the local peculiarities of the provinces and the communities to whom they gave their lives; and both combined to form an almost perfect ideal of Christian evangelisation among the races of the East.

Certainly the diploma of the University of Edinburgh, as it was given to Wilson after the old fashion, long before the modern and most desirable custom of bestowing such academic degrees personally and in public had originated, well described his previous function as a teacher of divine Theology, and could hardly confer on him any new power or virtue in that capacity. The interest of the already yellow parchment lies rather in the names of some of the men who signed it, among whom we find, besides Principal Baird, such medical professors as Alison and Traill, Ballingall and Syme, and Sir Robert Christison still spared to the city; Thomas Chalmers and David Welsh; Sir William Hamilton and James D. Forbes; Macvey Napier, and that other John Wilson who taught poetry, criticism, and all the humanities, under the name of Moral Philosophy. Such men declared:— "Testatum volumus Reverendum virum, Joannem Wilson, apud Bombay, hujus Academiæ olim Alumnum, Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ Doctoris titulum consecutum esse; eique amplissimam potestatem Sacrosanctam Theologiam ubique gentium Legendi, Docendi, Profitendi concessam, aliaque omnia Privilegia, Immunitates, Jura," etc., etc. Never before, and probably never since, has the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, even when conferred by the University of Edinburgh, had so honest a significance as this, which was signed on the 4th of May 1836. He thus acknowledged it, in a letter to Professor Brunton, which also gives us some glimpses of the progress of female education and society :—

"Bombay, *16th September* 1836.—I received your letter of the 28th May, on the *fiftieth* day after its date! I am quite overwhelmed

with your kindness; and I shall not attempt to express my sense of the obligations under which it has placed me. The diploma was unexpected by me; and I fear that it will prove only a generous payment in advance for work which may never be performed. I desire to view it, however, as a new call to cultivate personal humility, to abound in the proclamation of the Gospel, both by writing and speech to the perishing multitudes around me, and to unfold for the compassion of the benevolent, as opportunities offer, the systems of transcendental speculation and gross superstition, which exercise such a destructive sway in the regions of Asia. I have already used my new title in a Persian pamphlet which I have just published, entitled *Radd-i-Dín Musalmání*, or Refutation of Muhammadanism. My grateful acknowledgments are due to the University of Edinburgh.

"The School for Destitute Poor Native Girls now contains fifty-five scholars, who are all making satisfactory progress. The eldest of the two girls connected with it, whom I lately baptised, has been married by me to one of the Brahman converts, and this, the first virtuous union of natives formed in the bosom of the Protestant Church in Bombay, promises to promote the happiness of both the parties. The marriage was honoured by the attendance of several friends of the mission, and by many natives. I embraced the opportunity which it afforded me of entering into a contrast between the injunctions of the Christian Scriptures and the Hindoo Shástres relative to the treatment of females. The Parsee inhabitants of a street in the neighbourhood of the mission-house, have placed under me the whole disposal of the juvenile population, including sixteen girls, for instruction through the medium of Goojaratee, a circumstance which has afforded me the highest delight. Altogether, there are upwards of 180 girls educating in connection with the mission."

To his discussions with Brahmans and Moulvies, Jains and Jews, in the central seat of Bombay, and in many of its districts and feudatory principalities, Dr. Wilson had added that which proved to be the most important of all. Alike as a scholar and a missionary, his writings on the Zand language and literature, and his spiritual and social influence among the Parsees, take the highest place. He was the first English scholar to master the original Zand texts, according to the admission of the "irritabile genus" of

pure Orientalists, as represented by the late Dr. Haug,[1] who would in no wise give due credit to his German rival, Spiegel, the present able representative of Zand scholarship in Europe. And Dr. Wilson was the first missionary to educate and admit to the Christian Church two converts from the faith of Zoroaster, who still adorn the Free Church of Scotland and the Baptist Church respectively, as ordained ministers.

The Parsees, the people of Pars or Fars which the Greeks called Persis, after having ruled Western Asia from the Black Sea to the Indus from before Kai Khoshru, or Cyrus the Great, fell victims to the same intolerance which they had shown against every other faith, whether idolatrous or Christian as in the case of the long-suffering Armenians. In A.D. 658, Yezdijird III., the last of the Sassanian kings, saw his army spoiled of its sacred banner, the jewelled apron of Kawa, on the fatal field of Kadseah. That palladium gone, a few years more left the empire of Cyrus extinguished at Nahavand, not far from that capital of Hamadan, to which the Jewess Esther has given an immortality greater than that of Cyrus or of Artaxerxes her husband. The mound is still seen at Toorkman Merv where Yezdijird found a grave after miserable wanderings, while all of his surviving host who did not apostatise bore with them the sacred fire to the hills of Khorassan. Thence the Kaliph Omar and his successors drove them south to the sea, to the caves of Ormuz of which Milton sings, though its wealth and splendour were of later date and Portuguese origin, on to Diu off Kathiawar, and so to Sanjan in Goojarat. There, in 717, they found an asylum for three centuries, and became partially Hindooised. For, explain it away as their Anglicised descendants may, "the fair, the fearless, the valiant, and the athletic Parsees," obtained pro-

[1] *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees*, by Martin Haug, Dr. Phil.: Bombay, 1862, page 28.

tection from the Rana Jadao by a denial of that very monotheism from which, in its Muhammadan form, they had fled, and which in controversy they now claim to hold. In sixteen distichs of corrupt Sanscrit, drawn up after some days of deliberation, they professed to worship the sun, the five elements, Hormuzd, chief of the Suras or angels, and the cow; and described their ritual and customs. Regarding them, evidently, as only another sect of Hindoos, the Rana assisted them to build their fire-temple, and there they continued to flourish, sending forth settlements to the neighbouring districts. As the Muhammadan power grew in Western India their old enemy found them out, and they fled with their sacred fire to the jungle of Wasanda from the assault of Sultan Mahmood Begoda of Ahmedabad, in 1507, though not without showing a courage in defence of their Hindoo protectors worthy of their fathers. When the danger passed by they sought a resting-place in that Goojaratee town of Nowsaree, where Dr. Wilson found their earliest temples and MSS. during his northern tour. Surat was not far off, and thither not a few Parsees carried their intelligence and enterprise to the service of the European traders. Sir Nicholas Waite's Parsee broker, for instance, still lives in the early annals as a clever but by no means honest fellow. The family of Ardeshir Dhunjeesha of Surat was founded by a Parsee whose ability made him the favourite of the Great Moghul at Agra, and enabled him to obtain commercial privileges for his English friends. Muncherjee Seth did similar service to the Dutch. As Surat rose into importance Nowsaree became, what it still is, the city of the Parsee priests.[1] At an early period the community attracted the attention of Kerridge, the English Governor of Surat; and in 1616 he urged Henry Lord, the first English chaplain there,

[1] See *The Parsees: Their History, Manners, Customs, and Religion.* By Dosabhoy Framjee, who is a valued official of the Government of Bombay.

to study thoroughly the religions of both Hindoos and Parsees. Lord's materials were used by Sir Thomas Herbert in his valuable work; and by the French traveller Bernier, in his letter to M. Chapelain, on "Lord's Discovery of Two Foreign Sects."

When Bombay became English, and was opened as a free city to all the native communities of Western India, Asia, and Eastern Africa, as we have seen, the Parsees were the first to take advantage of English rule there. Three years after its settlement, Dr. Fryer found, on the top of Malabar Hill, "a Parsee tomb (or tower of silence) lately raised." Indeed, one Dorabjee Nanabhoy had held office there during the Portuguese occupation, and his services were found invaluable when the English took possession. His son drove off the Seedee pirates, and received the hereditary distinction of Patel or lord of the fishermen whom he led on that occasion, an honour still valued by the family, who have become great merchants from China to London. The English shipwright who built the East India Company's vessels at Bombay tempted one Lowjee to leave Surat, and his descendants have, ever since the foundation of the dockyard in 1735, held the position of master builder. The great and wealthy clans of Shet Khandans, Dadyshets, and Banajees, still trace their prosperity to the happy day when their ancestors settled under the Company's flag in the Fort of Bombay. It was in 1780 that a Dadyshet built the first of the three fire-temples in the island. The latest census shows that the whole Parsee community under British rule number 70,000, of whom a third are in the city of Bombay. There are some in Persia.

For a community with such a history, language, and sacred literature, whose influence, in spite of their comparatively small number, was half a century ago far beyond that of the leading men of all the other races and sects in India, nothing had been done in a high educational sense before Dr.

Wilson's arrival in Bombay. Save a few of their priests they themselves were ignorant of their sacred books. The little that Lord had been able to communicate to Europe regarding them in the beginning of the seventeenth century had been independently followed up by a Jesuit missionary, whose undoubtedly rich contributions to early Zand and Sanscrit scholarship Dr. Haug overlooks in his history of the researches into the sacred writings and religion of the Parsees. John Philip Werdin, born of peasant parents in 1748 in South Austria, went out in 1774 to the Malabar coast as Frater Paulinus, devoted himself for fourteen years to the study of Sanscrit and Zand, as well as the languages of South India, and returned to Rome, from which, when secretary to the congregation of the Propaganda, he issued at least twenty great works, mostly quarto volumes, on the classical languages, literatures and customs of the peoples of India. Of these the smallest was his *De Antiquitate et Affinitate Linguae Zendicae et Samscradamicae Germanicae Dissertatio.*[1] The examples of Paulinus, and many previous Jesuit missionaries like Hanxleden, go far to justify Cardinal Wiseman's assertion that the Hindoo languages and literature were first systematically studied in Rome. But in Rome, also, the researches, or the manuscripts on which they were based, were as carefully buried as the documents in the case of Gallileo Gallilei, till the first Napoleon carried these off from the Vatican, and restored them only on the promise that they should be published.

Not less a polemic than Paulinus was Anquetil du Perron, the young theological student of Paris, who first brought the Zand texts to Europe, and translated them, after a fashion, into French. Stumbling on a manuscript of the Vandidad in

[1] See my sketch "India and Comparative Philology," in the *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxix. (1857). His Italian work, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, was translated into German, and thence into English, in 1800, and deserves perusal still.

the king's library, one of the few probably brought to Europe by Bourchier or Dr. Fraser, he abandoned the church for the life of a private soldier, that he might find his way out to India. He sailed in the French expedition of 1745. Knowing Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian, he set himself to Sanscrit, and such a study of the people as could best be made during long journeys on foot from Chandernagore to Pondichery on the east coast, and from Mahé to Surat on the west coast. At Surat the support of the French government enabled him to fee Dustoor Darab, one of the most learned high priests of the Parsees, to instruct him in both Zand and Pahlavi, and to sell him manuscripts. Suspecting that he was being deceived, as later scholars like Wilford were, by the Brahmans, he bribed other priests also, till he was satisfied as to the honesty of Darab. For six years, during which he collected a hundred and eighty MSS. in all the sacred languages of the country, he pursued his researches, and then he determined to settle at Benares for the composition of a work on the whole history, literature, and antiquities of India. The fall of Pondichery to the English arms forced him to return to France. He visited Oxford on the way, where he laid the foundation of a quarrel with Sir William Jones, and so led the learned of Europe into the error, which Dr. Wilson was the first completely to dissipate, that Zand, instead of being the elder sister of the Sanscrit, was that monstrous impossibility—an invented or forged language.[1] France honoured the scholar, as, since Colbert, she had always persecuted the soldiers and statesmen who would have given her

[1] At so late a period as the year 1855 Mr. Romer, an experienced Bombay civilian, who ought to have known better, wrote a monograph with the title *Zend: Is it an Original Language?* Strictly *Zand* is the commentary on the Avasta or "Word" of the Parsee scriptures, and hence the language of the commentary. *Pahlavi*, probably at first the language of the province of Pahlav, is the language of the Sassanian inscriptions. *Pazand* is applied to the purely Iranian versions of Pahlavi texts in Avasta or Persian characters. See Haug's *Essays*, second edition.

an eastern empire, and in 1771 he published his *Zend-Avesta*. The Revolution drove him into that obscurity which alone was safety, and when he died in 1805 he was occupied on a new French edition of the *Viaggio* of his old rival Paulinus. A century before, Hyde had published his learned apology for Zoroastrianism, in his *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum Eorumque Magorum*, but he could not read the MSS. of which he professed to give a criticism. Du Perron's manuscripts, the dictations of Darab and the other priests, as still to be found in the National Library of Paris, and, above all, the two quartos of his *Zend-Avesta*, became the stream from which all subsequent scholars drank, till the Danish Rask and the Scottish Wilson went to the fountain-head.

In the course of a philological tour of Europe, Africa, and Asia, the Scandinavian scholar Rask visited Bombay to study Zand. In 1826 he used the collection which he had purchased for the Copenhagen Library in the production of his small work on the age and genuineness of the Zand language. In that he justified by new proofs the conclusions of Paulinus and Du Perron as to its relation to the Sanscrit, but refused to follow the latter in his conclusions as to the antiquity of Zoroaster. For Rask was the first to make out the law of the transposition of sounds with which Bopp's name is connected. Five years afterwards Dr. Wilson, prompted by the scholar's enthusiasm, but, along with that, by the more consuming fire which inflamed all his life, thus wrote to the secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society, the first of his draft letters which we can find specially referring to the Parsees:—

"BOMBAY, 24*th July* 1831. . . . I have now regularly delivered a lecture on Systematic Theology on Wednesday evenings during the last sixteen weeks. My audience, which consists partly of Europeans and partly of Natives, has been respectable. Ten of my lectures were devoted to the consideration of the testimony which is afforded by the

light of Nature to the existence, attributes, and moral government of God; and to the duty and destiny of man. Two of them were occupied in forming an estimate of the discoveries of the light of Nature, and in evincing the possibility and desirableness of a direct Revelation. I am at present engaged in the consideration of the inquiry, Where is a direct Revelation to be found; and I have spent four evenings in the discussion of the claims of the Parsee religion. I have been requested to publish my observations upon it; but I have agreed only to the present printing of such of them as refer to the "Vendidad Sade," which is the most authoritative work acknowledged by the followers of Zoroaster. I intend, God willing, to comply with the wishes of my friends by preparing a work embracing an analysis of all the sacred books of the Parsis, a particular view of their religious history so far as it can be ascertained, and a description of their manners and customs. I have for a long time been prosecuting inquiries connected with these subjects; and I have lately procured some documents which throw great light upon them. When I last wrote to you I had not the intention which I now avow; but many circumstances have conspired, and especially the encouragement which I have received from some of my friends to whose judgment I bow with deference, the readiness of the natives to make communications to me—the probable usefulness of the work in leading them to inquiry and in assisting future missionaries—which they have hitherto withheld from other Europeans, have led me to come to a determination on the subject. I have access to most of the books published in Europe which treat of the Parsees. There is one little work which I cannot find here which I should like to see. It is *The Sacred Oracles of Zoroaster*, published in Greek, at Amsterdam, in 1689. It is not considered genuine; but some of the passages which I have seen objected to as inconsistent with the opinions of Zoroaster appear to me to be consonant with them. If you should see a copy advertised in any of the catalogues I shall feel much obliged to you if you will purchase it for me."

It was not till 1833 that there appeared the *Commentary on the Yasna*, or Parsee prayer-book, based on Neriosingh's Sanscrit translation, by Eugène Burnouf, whom we shall meet again as one of Dr. Wilson's correspondents. Nor was it till 1841 that the other Danish scholar, Westergaard, arrived in Bombay, where he was long Dr. Wilson's guest, and received that self-sacrificing assistance which enabled him to

give to the world the first complete edition of the still extant text of the Avasta, "translated with a dictionary grammar, etc.," in 1852-54. There were two men in Bombay on Dr. Wilson's arrival who further stimulated him to vindicate the reputation of the capital in which most of the Parsees were to be found. Sir John Malcolm, in one of his earliest addresses to the Asiatic Society there, had declared that, in the first instance, Bombay must be specially looked to for an elucidation of the ancient Zoroastrian faith. Mr. William Erskine, son-in-law of Sir James Mackintosh, and historian of Baber and Hoomayoon, had frequently contributed to its "transactions" papers on the ancient religion of Persia, which, indeed, had led the king of Denmark to send Professor Rask to India.

The occasion of Dr. Wilson's first encounter with the Parsees was his publication in 1831 of a review of the work of Elisæus on the *History of Vartan and the Battle of the Armenians, containing an Account of the Religious War between the Persians and Armenians*, translated by that accomplished Christian Jew, Karl Friedrich Neumann, who had just visited China, and who died at Berlin a few years ago. It was necessary for the critic to give a very brief and general account of the religious works of the Parsees, and not without the hope that the statement would rouse some apologist on the other side. Two weeks after a Parsee appealed to the editor of the *Samachar*, a respectable Goojaratee newspaper, to say whether, as the writer believed, the account of the Parsee religion was incorrect. "Do the Shets," he asked, the respectable native gentlemen, "and those skilled in the knowledge of our belief, intend to say nothing in refutation?" The cautious editor declined the challenge for himself, but added, "if it be thought advisable by the intelligent of our tribe, we shall give it a reconsideration." This led Dr. Wilson to acknowledge that he was the author of the review,

and to declare his willingness to publish whatever might be written in reply to it. "Tell me your whole mind. . . . You say that we reproach the Hindoo and Parsee religions, but we declare only what is true respecting them. We reason, but we use no violence. We enter into discussion that truth may appear, and we say to all, 'Inquire.'" The unhappy editor did not like the trouble of such rationalism. "Permit us, permit us to follow the road on which we have been travelling, for at last all roads meet in one point; there is no Redeemer of any," he said. "If our friend the writer, John Wilson (may the grace of God be upon him!), is desirous of drawing us into a discussion of this character, we plainly say to him that it is not suitable to us." But "if any pundit, religious officer, or intelligent person of one of the castes to which he has referred should fulfil his wish, we are perfectly indifferent in the matter, and feel neither joy nor sorrow." In the next number Dr. Wilson slew the slain delusion with the same kindly but uncompromising sympathy that marked all his relations with the natives, and not in vain. All native Bombay was talking of this new challenge, when a bold printer, who had issued the prospectus of another journal, promised to publish and circulate gratuitously all that should be sent to him on either side till he could establish his paper. So Nowrozjee Mobed Darabjee—a *mobed* being the middle priest, as a *dustoor* is above him and a *herbad* below him—printed on excellent paper a series of pamphlets in royal quarto form. The champion of Zoroaster signed himself, "Nauroz Goosequill," which he changed to "Swanquill," when he realised that he exposed himself to the jocular charge of being a goose. It was sometimes to Dr. Wilson a matter of doubt whether his opponent was in real earnest as regards much which fell from his pen. Goosequill's denial that the Bundeshne or Cosmogony, which Dr. Wilson had exposed, was one of the Parsee scriptures, brought down

upon him his co-religionists, and the most sacred of all, the Dustoor Eduljee Darabjee, who had translated it into the vernacular Goojaratee. Believing the would-be defender of Parseeism to be a Sadducee of the opposite sect of the Kadmees, the high priest became a challenger in his turn. Goosequill was equal to the work of destruction, and exposed the puerile book in a style which astonished the community who had accepted it as a popular digest of their faith. It was not difficult for Dr. Wilson to intervene at this stage and show that all his objections to the Bundeshne applied to the Vandidad. His reply covered sixteen chapters, which appeared in as many numbers of the Goojaratee paper, and these he afterwards condensed into a lecture on the Vandidad, which he delivered to both natives and Europeans, and published at their request.

We find this account of his progress in Zand research in his great work on *The Parsi Religion*, in which that lecture is incorporated, and the whole writings and system of the Parsees are submitted to a critical analysis :—

"My remarks on the Vandidad were founded principally on the French translation of Anquetil du Perron, published in 1771. 'From his version,' I observed, 'and with an occasional reference to the Goojaratee translation and original [Zand], which I was enabled to inspect through the assistance of a learned Parsee, I have made an English version, to which I shall appeal. I have a considerable degree of confidence that, in all essential points, my quotations will be found correct.' Since the publication of my lecture I have been enabled to devote considerable attention to the Zand language, the key to which I obtained in the interlineary Goojaratee Translation and Paraphrase of the late Frámjee Aspandiárjee, in the *Commentaire sur le Yaçna* of M. Burnouf, and Bopp's *Comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zand, and Other Languages*, and by following out the philological inquiries which the language itself suggests. Though I have found that it is not difficult to improve upon Anquetil's version, I have also seen that, for the purpose of ordinary theological discussion, it is, generally speaking, sufficiently accurate. The principal object of my lecture is to prove that the Vandidad has no claim to be considered a divine revelation.

The position which I lay down respecting it I endeavour to support by the following remarks:—There are no proofs of its authenticity, genuineness, or credibility. The Vandidad Sade is very defective as a rule of faith. The Vandidad robs God of all his glory, inasmuch as it represents the supreme God as inactive, as disregardful of the concerns of the universe, and as having surrendered the administration of affairs to Hormazd. The Vandidad gives a highly irrational account of the origin and operations of natural good and evil; teaches and recognises the deification of the elements, and other inanimate objects; gives an erroneous view of the natural state of man; contains gross scientific blunders; prescribes an immense number of absurd ceremonies; ascribes an absurd power or influence to the ceremonies which it recommends; represents ceremonial observances as more important than moral observances; contains some passages directly opposed to morality: does not propose a reasonable scheme of salvation; does not give a becoming account of the future state. The doctrines of the Vandidad on the matters here adverted to are contrasted throughout with those of the sacred Scriptures."

Had not Gibbon, with all his desire to exalt Zoroastrianism at a time when his knowledge was necessarily imperfect and not derived from the texts themselves, confessed that "in that motley composition, dictated by reason and passion, by enthusiasm and by selfish motives, some useful and sublime truths were disgraced by a mixture of the most abject and dangerous superstition?"

The discussion was now anxiously taken up by the Parsee Sanhedrim, known as the Punchayat—etymologically, council of five—a body of from fifteen to twenty members, empowered by Governor Hornby in 1778 to deal with purely tribal offenders to the extent of beating them with shoes. The Dustoors attacked Dr. Wilson's lecture in the *Jam-i-Jamshid*, the reformers and Dr. Wilson replied in the *Harkarah* and *Vartaman*. The former adopted the position that the names of the dual principles of good and evil in the Zoroastrian system, Hormuzd and Ahriman, are purely parabolical: that they have an esoteric meaning not intended for the ignorant, and that the childish and worse than Talmudic-

miracles ascribed to Zoroaster are as well authenticated as those of Christ. One of Dr. Wilson's brief rejoinders contains this passage, of striking significance in the light of the conversion of the two Parsee young men soon after:—

"'It appears *wonderful* to the Zoroastrian that God should have so loved the world as to give his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. If he will inquire into the evidences of Christianity, which are neither few nor small, he will find that what is wonderful in this instance is also true. If the Zoroastrian will reflect on the nature of sin he will perceive that it is an infinite evil; that no efforts of his own can of themselves remove that sin which has been already committed; and that, if salvation be obtained at all, it must be through the merit of a divine substitute. Christ, he will find on inquiry, delivers from the punishment of sin, and saves from the power of sin, all those who put their trust in his name. Men's works are imperfect in every case, and in many instances positively sinful; and if the Zoroastrian looks to *his* works for his acquittance, he will find himself miserably disappointed. The danger of trusting in our self-righteousness I have exposed at length in my lecture.' The Zoroastrian boastingly said, 'With regard to the conversion of a Parsee you cannot even dream of the event, because even a Parsee babe, crying in the cradle, is firmly confident in the venerable Zartusht.' 'The conversion of a Parsee,' I allow, 'is a work too difficult for *me* to accomplish. The conversion of any man is a work too difficult for me to accomplish. It is not too difficult, however, for the Spirit of God. It is my part to state the truth of God; and it is God's part to give it his blessing.'"

One of the Parsee apologists had appealed to the *Zartusht Namah*, or the *History of Zoroaster* by Zartusht Behram, as an authority for the alleged miracle that when the emperor heard of Zoroaster's birth, and unsheathed his sword to behead the child, his hand became benumbed and he was seized with convulsions. As Zartusht Behram, according to the date given by himself, wrote about the year A.D. 1277, his testimony to the reputed miracle is pronounced "not worth a cowrie." Zartusht Behram, moreover, represents himself as "intoxicated" on the day between that on which he commenced and

finished his history. The word is *mast*, and the occasion is given as the feast of Aban, so that he must have referred not to inspiration but to a real debauch. Mr. E. B. Eastwick made the partly verse and partly prose translation, published in *The Parsi Religion*, from Dr. Wilson's Persian copy of the *Zartusht Namah*, upwards of two centuries old. For some five years after these early attacks on Dr. Wilson's Vandidad Lecture the controversy almost ceased.

But in 1840 a quarto of 268 pages appeared, bearing this title, "*Talim-i-Zurtoosht*, or *The Doctrine of Zoroaster*, in the Goojaratee Language, for the Instruction of Parsee Youths, together with an Answer to Dr. Wilson's Lecture on (the) Vandidad, compiled by a Parsee Priest." The avowed author was Dosabhoy Sohrabjee, a respectable Moonshee, well known to the native and European communities of Bombay. He confessed himself the hireling of the Parsee sanhedrim. He adopted the old line of representing Ahriman, the evil principle, as a mere personification of the evil qualities inherent in man, and the sacred fire adored in the Yasna ritual as only a centre of worship. His advocacy was soon disowned by the high priest of the large Rasamee sect, Dustoor Edal Daroo. Agreeably to the "orders," and at the expense of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, he published the *Maujazat-i-Zartoshti*,[1] or, *The Undoubted Miracles of Zoroaster*, in 127 quarto pages. The author, who had lived for many years in a state of seclusion at the principal fire-temple, expounded the Zoroastrian faith to aid its followers in their discussions with the Jud-din or Gentiles. Dr. Wilson describes him as having to a considerable extent escaped the untoward march of intellect in his seclusion, but as most creditably preserving his temper.

A third assailant of the Vandidad Lecture, in the same year, 1840, was one who signed himself Kalam Kas, and pro-

[1] As Dr. Wilson pointed out to the Dustoors, the correct form is either Maujazat-i-Zartusht, or Maujazat Zartushti.

posed a series of questions under the title of *Nirang-ha*. So stupid was he that some of the respectable Parsees begged Dr. Wilson not to hold them responsible for the writer's ignorance. The fourth attack, in English as well as Goojaratee, was the *Hadie-Gum-Rahan*, a guide to those who have lost their way, written by Aspandiarjee Framjee in 1841, at the special request of a rich Shet, Jeejeebhoy Dadabhoy, Esq. Of this last Dr. Wilson remarks—

"Its appeals to the Zand writings are pretty numerous, but the translations and interpretations made of them are much more inaccurate than those of Anquetil du Perron, on which, nine years ago, when I published the pamphlet on which its animadversions are made and before I devoted myself seriously to the study of the Zand, I was almost wholly dependent for my knowledge of the sacred books of the Parsees. The author, when he finds my arguments insuperable, generally retreats, like Dosabhoy, into a parabolical sanctuary, which his imagination has called into being as a dernier place of resort for Zoroaster and his foiled followers. In the ruins of this sanctuary, if I mistake not, he has found a place of sepulture."

This is a fair illustration at once of the stage in Zand scholarship reached in 1841 by Dr. Wilson, of the keen yet well-tempered strokes which he dealt at error which debased man and sought to dishonour God, and of the tactics of his priestly assailants. It was not as a scholar however, but as a Christian apostle, that, as we have before seen, he rejoiced to raise and to engage in the controversies which should let in the true light. Hence, believing it "manifestly desirable that the Parsee system should be exhibited in the light of Christianity, and" as he modestly expresses it, "with a view to aid in this attempt," he left as a legacy to India when illness drove him home at the close of 1842, and he presented to his native country and to Europe, his greatest work "THE PARSI RELIGION: as contained in the Zand-avasta, and propounded and defended by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, Unfolded, Refuted, and Contrasted with Christianity." The

volume, long since out of print, was published by the American Mission Press of Bombay from the first Zand and Pahlavi metallic types cast in the East. The Rev. Dr. Allen sent forth from the foundry of that Press for Western India, as Carey, Marshman, and Ward had produced at the Serampore Press long before for all India and China, the first metal types for the regeneration of the East. But it was in 1778 that the earliest critical student of Sanscrit, the Bengal civilian Charles Wilkins, cut with his own hand the types from which the elder Halhed's Grammar was printed, and then a set of Persian types. "He gave to Asia typographic art," may well be written on the tomb of Wilkins, the friend of Sir William Jones.

The Parsi Religion soon brought down on its author, as we shall see, the highest honours of most of the learned societies of Europe, while the lofty honesty, unalterable kindliness and even warm affection of its author for the Parsees as individuals, established his position more firmly than ever in Bombay. Dr. Hyde's Latin work, on the other hand, published more than a century before, though very much an apology for Zoroastrianism, was so ill received that he is said to have boiled his tea-kettle with nearly the whole impression.

In 1833 the "Zoroastrian" controversialist had taunted Dr. Wilson that the conversion of a Parsee was not to be even dreamed of. In 1835 the central college of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was opened by Dr. Wilson, then the only Scottish Missionary in Bombay, and in 1839 three Parsee students made there spontaneous and very solemn statements previous to receiving Christian baptism. This was the result of Dr. Wilson's work, and especially of the Vandidad Lecture; and this accounts for the sudden outburst of controversy against it.

Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee was sixteen years and a half old, or six months beyond what was supposed to be the legal age of

discretion. His mother was living, and his nearest male relative was an uncle. Hormasdjee Pestonjee and Framjee Bahmanjee were above nineteen; the former was married and the father of one child. The case occurred in the island of Bombay, within the jurisdiction of the purely English law as administered by the Supreme Court and English barrister judges. The most suspicious or hostile could allege no such motives as worldly gain or advancement, for the youths belonged to the best families and were the most intelligent in the college. Altogether, whether we look at the position of the converts, at the character of their teachers, or at the conceited intolerance of the community who believed that a change of religious belief from the doctrines of Zoroaster was as impossible as it would be impious, it was well that the question of religious toleration and civil liberty should thus be tried for the first time in the history of British India and of Asia.

Very slowly had the Court of Directors been compelled by the public voice of England through Parliament to concede, first in 1783, English tribunals with jurisdiction over all within the Presidency cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and then in 1813 completed by the Charter of 1833, to withdraw the restrictions which prevented the ministers of the Christian faith alone from peaceably preaching and teaching. Now, six years after that charter, and four years after Lord William Bentinck had taken the first step to protect Christian converts from the loss of all their property as well as their families, and the Court of Directors had issued orders that its Government should no longer support Hindoo temples and Muhammadan mosques,—which were not obeyed—it fell to Dr. Wilson to vindicate the civil and religious rights of the natives of India above sixteen years of age. The similar cases that have occurred since, in the Supreme or High Courts, as well as in the ordinary territory subject to Indian law, have raised issues of greater moment, and have been on

the whole attended with less scandal than are involved in the occasional suits between Roman Catholics and Protestants in this country, as to the rights of conscience of minors. In spite of urgent appeals from both Christians and non-Christians to the Government of India for a declaratory law on the subject, jurists like Sir Henry Maine have not found it possible to go beyond the English precedents, which leave it to the judges in each case, after examination of the minor, to decide what is the age or stage of discretion short of sixteen. Unhappily, in states like Mysore, where English precedents are not recognised, oppression of the most atrocious kind may take place without a remedy, as in the case of the well educated woman, Huchi. And, even before the Queen's tribunals there may be a failure of justice from an ignorance of procedure in the lower courts, as in a more recent Lucknow instance, that of the widow Keroda. (But in the Dhunjeebhoy trial the age of sixteen was passed, and it only remained for the judge to satisfy himself of the fact. Then too, as in so many other instances, the defeated bigots, for so they must be called while all allowance is made for parental caste and superstitious feeling, carried off and vilely treated Framjee, so as effectually to prevent his baptism, though not to alter his convictions.

Dhunjeebhoy was not the first Parsee who had sought baptism. Like all the Scottish missionaries Dr. Wilson kept inquirers longer under observation and instruction than those of a more ritualistic custom think it right to do, thus presenting an extreme contrast to the wholesale baptism of crowds by Xavier as described by himself in his letters. Dr. Wilson's official communications to Dr. Brunton thus tell the story:—

"Bombay, *6th October* 1838.—On the 9th of last month, after I had administered the ordinance of baptism to two children of the converts, I had the satisfaction of enrolling in the list of catechumens the names of five new candidates for admission into the Church—two

Mussulmans, one of whom is a *Sayad*, or reputed descendant of Muhammad; two young Catholic Armenians, and one young Hindoo. A Parsee, the first who has intimated his wish to be baptized in Bombay, appeared along with them, but I declined to allow him to come forward at present on account of his very partial knowledge of Christianity, and my ignorance of his character. I have been obliged, for reasons which will immediately occur to you, to give him shelter in my own house; but respecting his case in a spiritual point of view, I am not yet able to express a favourable opinion. A short time will probably cast some light on his feelings and motives. I have reason to believe that he is a fair specimen of a considerable class, whose connection for some time past with the Zoroastrians has been maintained more by the strength of their social arrangements than by regard to their religious tenets and practices."

"1*st November* 1838.—You will be deeply interested to learn, what I rejoice with trembling to state to you, that there are several hopeful symptoms of the true conversion to God of one of the most advanced and promising Parsee pupils of our institution. He morning and evening reads the Scriptures and prays with Johannes Essai, our Armenian monitor; and he has expressed to me his wish to be baptized. He gives a very simple and satisfactory account of the origin and progress of his impressions and convictions. (Were we now to receive him into the Church he would immediately be removed from our care and protection. By remaining in his present position he is exposed to many temptations, and (he will be in danger when his views and feelings become known to his relatives.) A gracious Providence may soon enable us to come to a decision respecting his case. When an open step is taken there will be a great commotion among the Zoroastrians, of whose pride and power you can scarcely form an idea. They are mightily incensed at present on account of the man whose case I mentioned to you last month; and they have, alas! succeeded in frightening him into heathen compliances.

"You will see, I doubt not, in the English papers, the declaration of war against Afghanistan and Persia. It is not my province to make on it any comment. I only express the hope that the covenant of offence and defence entered into with Runjeet Singh will ere long prove favourable to the introduction of the Gospel among the independent Sikhs."

"7*th May* 1839.—Intelligence of these defections from the faith of Zarthust having spread among the native community, the clouds began to gather. Our first concern, of course, was the personal safety

of our dear children in the faith; and we lifted up our hearts in prayer that they might be preserved from all danger. On the evening of the 28th of April they were all with me in the mission-house, Ambrolie, engaged in devotional exercises; and Hormasdjee and Framjee on parting with me said that they had great apprehensions as to their treatment by their connexions. I offered them an asylum should they see reason at any time to place themselves under my protection. Dhunjeebhoy remained with me to assist me in examining some Goojaratee manuscripts, and as it was too late for us when we had concluded our business to proceed to my bungalow on Malabar Hill, where we have generally slept since the commencement of the warm season, and where Dhunjeebhoy had been staying for some days with the view of assisting one of our friends in her studies, we mercifully resolved to rest in the mission-house. All was quiet during the night, but the morning showed too plainly that the elements had been put in motion by the fears and alarms of the families more immediately connected with the youth. One messenger came after another calling on Dhunjeebhoy to return to his friends; and one attempt after another was made to decoy him from my roof. Different bands began to collect near my premises, and different persons were seen to be on the watch. We were informed that there was great consternation among the Parsees in the Fort; and we had the most serious apprehensions about Hormasdjee and Framjee, who lived in that locality. When they were at their height the former made his appearance with a man carrying his clothes, and declared that he had heard that Framjee had been put under restraint by his friends, and that he himself had made a narrow escape. I had scarcely given him the promise of protection when two Parsees rushed into the room in which he was sitting, laid violent hands upon him and me, and attempted to carry him off by force. My domestics had some difficulty in overpowering them, but we ultimately succeeded in freeing my house from their unlawful intrusion.

"The baptism of Dhunjeebhoy took place under the protection of the European and native police,[1] on the evening of the 1st of May. . . Hormasdjee was baptized by me in the mission-house on Sabbath last. . . . On the preceding Saturday I was served with a writ of habeas corpus with reference to Dhunjeebhoy, and a rule *nisi* with reference to Hormasdjee. The affidavits which I lodged apparently

[1] Mr. Forjett, the Police Commissioner, states the circumstances of this and subsequent cases fairly, in his recent book, *Our Real Danger in India*

completely upset the design of our adversaries, but as they solicited time to answer them my counsel consented. The case will again be heard in about eight days. Thousands of pounds have been subscribed to distress us, and if possible to destroy our glorious cause; but our righteousness will speedily shine forth clear as the noon-day.

"Of our appearance in Court, the following is a correct notice from the *Bombay Times*:—'Since our last the case of the Parsee youths who have abandoned the religion of Zoroaster and embraced Christianity has continued to grow in importance and serious interest. A second youth, Hormasdjee Pestonjee, aged nineteen, was baptized on Sunday (5th May) in the Scotch Mission-house. There were few Parsees present; but this was not the consequence of apathy, for on Friday last we understand a meeting of the members of the Punchayat and some of the leaders of the Hindoo community was held at the house of Framjee Cowasjee for the purpose of deliberating upon the extraordinary crisis which they consider as impending on their respective creeds, and concerting measures to avert it. We understand the following to be the result of this and previous meetings. *In the first place*, all the Parsee boys have been withdrawn from the General Assembly's and all other missionary schools, and a decree has been passed by the Punchayat forbidding any parent or guardian, under pain of utter outlawry from the Parsee religion and society, ever to send a child to any educational establishment with which missionaries are connected, or where the Bible is read. *Secondly*, a fund is to be raised to establish in the Fort an opposition school, where religion is to be excluded. *Thirdly*, a petition is in course of preparation to the British Parliament, praying that no more missionaries may be permitted to come out to India, or, if permitted, that they be strictly prohibited from any attempts at proselytism, and a sum has been appropriated for the purpose of sending one or two European gentlemen to England to advocate this petition. *Lastly*, the leading Hindoos of the place have been prevailed on to join this league against the missions, and negotiations have been opened with the Muhammadans for the same purpose. A writ of habeas corpus, issued last week to Dr. Wilson to produce the person of Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee, one of the youths recently baptized, alleged to be a minor, was returnable on Monday morning at eleven o'clock, and the court-house was crowded by Europeans and Parsees to hear the result. The Chief-Justice sat in chambers. The Advocate-General and Mr. Montriou appeared on behalf of the youth's uncle, to claim custody of his person, and at their side were arranged the members of the Punchayat, and all the principal Parsees and Hindoos of the island,

most anxious for the success of his application. Mr. Campbell appeared for Dr. Wilson, who brought into Court the two youths, Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee and Hormasdjee Pestonjee, and stated in his return to the writ that he exercised no restraint over them, but that they of their own accord sought protection in his house, not deeming their persons or lives safe among their own relatives and countrymen. The Advocate-General requested time to prepare counter affidavits to disprove the assertions regarding the danger which Dhunjeebhoy would be exposed to if restored to his uncle's custody, and other matters contained in those now read. The Chief-Justice granted till Friday, or, in case that were not sufficient, till Monday next; and ordered that, in the meantime, Dhunjeebhoy should be at liberty to go where he chose; any attempt to interfere with his liberty would be punishable, not only by the ordinary process before a jury, but, if circumstances render it necessary, summarily as a contempt of Court. Dhunjeebhoy on this came forward, and, in the face of all that was powerful, wealthy, venerable, or dangerous among his own countrymen arrayed against him; the dignitaries of the Punchayat expressing a calm condemnation of his conduct, and a thousand other Parsees betraying scorn or hostility in their looks, he modestly and firmly declared his determination to remain with Dr. Wilson. The appearance of this youth is singularly interesting; a more ingenuous or happy countenance we have never seen; and while we fully appreciate and allow for the natural feelings of anger which his countrymen must feel at his renunciation of their ancient faith, and the still bitterer regrets which his relations must suffer from a step which in their view estranges for ever a once beloved youth from their society, we could not behold his conduct in this trying crisis without being strongly impressed with the moral elevation which distinguished his position. (As soon as the Court rose Dr. Wilson walked down with the two Parsee youths to his carriage. The crowd made a rush upon them, but as several European gentlemen were present they were allowed to enter the carriage. As soon as the door was closed a Parsee put his head in and said, 'Dhunjeebhoy! your mother will come and dash out her brains at your feet, and then you and these missionaries will be liable for her murder.' As soon as the carriage attempted to drive off several of the Parsees caught hold of the wheels and endeavoured to stop it; on its moving on the whole Parsee mob followed, shouting out, '*seize, kill;*' a few called out to the others 'stop, don't pursue the carriage, don't act fools;' but many declared loudly they would willingly sacrifice their own lives in order to take Dhunjeebhoy's.) In these violent proceedings, however, none of the

respectable Parsees joined. In noticing this fact, so creditable to these latter gentlemen, we take the opportunity to express a hope that they will use their influence to calm the excitement of their poorer countrymen, and impress them with the dangerous consequence of breaking the law or attempting anything against the persons of the converts. They have a perfect right to withdraw their children from the mission schools —to establish other schools—to petition Parliament if they choose. These are perfectly legitimate means, and, while they confine themselves to such, no one can blame them,—but any attempt at violence to the persons of the converts or the missionaries, without producing the slightest good, will only lead to a violation of the law and a collision with the authorities, whose duty it is to punish such violation. For our own part we would respectfully suggest that the wisest and best plan in regard to these youths is to let them follow their own wishes, and consider them as no longer belonging to their community. What are three youths among 40,000 Zoroastrians, that for their sake the peace of the whole should be endangered?'

"The number of our pupils on our roll the day before the disturbance was 285. The attendance yesterday was 75. The Parsees withdrawn amount to 104. Not one is left; but to-day a youth asked admission. A very interesting young Persian pupil from Shiraz has been led to take the decided step of asking baptism in consequence of what has occurred. Two very promising Armenian youths, to whose case I shall afterwards allude, were admitted into the church along with Hormasdjee."

"20*th May* 1839.—Notwithstanding all the wrath, persecution, bribery, and perjury practised by our opponents—of which the enclosed affidavits will give you too sure evidence—a decision has been pronounced in our favour on the writ of habeas corpus commanding me to bring up the body of Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee; the rule *nisi*, in the case of Hormasdjee Pestonjee, has been abandoned by the parties in whose behalf it was granted, without a hearing; and both the interesting converts are now living under my protection, in the undisturbed enjoyment of all the means of grace which are fitted to enlighten, comfort, strengthen, and purify their souls.

"The judgment of Sir John Awdry, you will perceive, decidedly acquits me of 'the imputation of clandestine proceedings;' and less than this it could not possibly have done. In common with the whole Christian community of Bombay, you will be grieved to observe that in the conclusion of his verdict he has expressed himself so indefinitely regarding the effects of intrusting the education of youth to our charge.

What, I doubt not, he intended as a mere statement of his opinion, *supposing* himself, for the moment, to hold the *principles of a Parsee*, has been construed and held up by many of them as an expression of his own view of the right and wrong of the change of religious principle; and the most injurious effects, which I am sure no man will more regret than Sir John himself, will, I fear, be the consequence.

"We now clearly understand that all questions connected with the personal liberty of the Parsees will be determined, within the bounds of the island of Bombay, by English law and not by Hindoo law or their own variable customs; and we are far from being sorry to find that this will be the case. The writ of habeas corpus, as in the prosecution now closed, will secure the liberty even of minors when in danger; the only circumstance which would lead *us* to interfere with the parental control, is actually proved. Another form of prosecution, at the instance of the minors themselves, will secure for them the right of choosing guardians after the age of fourteen years. No very great difficulties will, we trust, be experienced connected with other transactions in which we may be afterwards engaged. Our dispensation of the ordinance of baptism, in any case, must of course stand on moral, and not on legal, grounds, which we see vary in the case of Hindoos, Mussulmans, and Parsees. When we see that the Holy Spirit has performed *His* work in any soul, we must not refuse to acknowledge it by declining to baptize in *His* name, and that of the Father and the Son.

"We have had some tidings, on which we think we may depend, of Framjee Bomanjee, the other dear convert whom the Parsees succeeded in apprehending. On the morning of the 29th of April he was carried before some of the members of the Parsee Punchayat, who used all their influence to induce him to renounce Christianity. That he yielded neither to the threats nor promises which were addressed to him, is proved by the fact that when he returned to his father's residence all the female members of the household were heard beating their breasts and making lamentations as if he had died. It is said that a few days ago he was removed from Bombay, and sent under a convoy along the road to Nowsaree, in the south of Goojarat; and that at Banganga he was tied to a date tree and cruelly beaten. I am just about to dismiss a trusty messenger in search of him; and it is not improbable that, if necessary, I myself may go in disguise to the place where he is said to be. He has completed his nineteenth year, and appeared to be much under the influence of divine truth."

The Hon. Mr. Farish was interim Governor, and because

of his Christian character and work as a private citizen, he also became an object of suspicion and attack. In a letter to Mr. Poynder, Dr. Wilson thus defended him from misrepresentation:—"Although the Hon. Mr. Farish would not shrink from the responsibility of any of his acts as a private Christian, it so happens that he took no share whatever in the instruction of the Parsee converts; that his class in the Sunday School, which met in the Town Hall before he was Governor, has consisted entirely of professing Christians; and that the troops were called out by the Government on the requisition of the superintendent of the police, who very properly considered his civil establishment inadequate to the preservation of the peace." Sir Charles Forbes laid all the papers in the case before the Court of Directors, which transmitted them to Sir James Rivett Carnac, the new Governor. He was rash enough to declare, on landing at Bombay, that he would give neither official nor private countenance to educational or ministerial labours calculated to interfere with the native religions. Dr. Wilson personally experienced from him, as from all the Governors, "much politeness and attention," and hoped that a knowledge of the country and its needs would make him a successor worthy of Sir Robert Grant, whose sudden death had added private as well as public sorrow to Dr. Wilson's many cares in the year 1839. Anticipating an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council against Sir John Awdry's judgment, and desirous that the question should be debated on its merits in both Houses of Parliament. Dr. Wilson submitted the papers to Lord Glenelg, the worthy son of Charles Grant, and Lord Bexley, and to Sir George Sinclair and Mr. J. C. Colquhoun, members of the House of Commons. Meanwhile poor Framjee, after being kept for weeks under restraint by the Mobeds of Nowsaree, was allowed to return to Bombay, with the confession that they could not break his attachment to Chris-

tianity. There he was strictly watched, so that he could not even write. At last, seven months afterwards, writes Dr. Wilson to Dr. Brunton—

"I had an interview with Framjee Bomanjee. He had secreted himself in a cellar below our Institution, and took means to call my attention to him. Our conversation lasted about an hour; and I received from him a particular account of all the treatment which he has received, and of his present feelings and purposes connected with Christianity. His perils are imminent; but he says that, through God's grace, he will yet enter the Church. He conveyed to me some special warnings, and I fear that there is too good ground for them. One of the sons-in-law and a nephew of Framjee Cowasjee, one of our principal persecutors, occasionally visits me as a professed inquirer. His case I do not yet understand. There are several very influential Parsees here, in whose friendship I have every confidence; and they will give our Institution their aid as soon as they can do so with safety."

(The Parsee panic spread to Poona, whither Dr. Wilson went for rest, and Mr. J. Mitchell's mission-school there was also emptied for a time.) The course which the Punchayat finally resolved on was the most foolish they could have selected. An appeal to the Privy Council would have raised and settled many still undecided questions of importance as to minors, discretion, and the age of majority under English law and for non-European British subjects, which must have led to wise legislation, and have prevented subsequent and still existing cases of persecution and hardship. But, as is usual in such cases, they sought and found an English officer to take payment as their agent in London, and they caused to be drawn up a document which soon proved so notorious as the Anti-Conversion Memorial, that it was scouted by every newspaper in India save their own.

"BOMBAY, *7th October* 1839.—Before I left Poona I received a confidential letter from Bombay, informing me that some of the Parsees were busily employed in the preparation of a memorial addressed to the authorities in India, praying them to 'take measures to put a stop to the rapid innovation of the religious rites and ceremonies of the natives now attempted to be made by the missionaries,' and complain-

ing in the most unmeasured language of all gentlemen in the Company's service, who, either in their public or private capacity, have aided in the conversion of the people. On my return to Bombay I have found the intelligence to be correct; and having observed various illegal efforts in the course of being made to impede our operations, I have remonstrated against them through some influential organs, in the kindest and at the same time the firmest terms which I could employ. Amongst other observations which I have made, I have said of the persons to whom I refer, 'They ought to remember that the right to propagate religion, by doctrine and moral suasion, is an essential part of religious liberty, as well as the right to practise religion. They ought to see that it is philanthropy and not selfishness, which leads Christians to desire their conversion, and to spend so much of their worldly substance, and mental energy, and spiritual anxiety for the accomplishment of the object. While they see no violence or deceit resorted to to effect a change of faith, they should avoid the practice, or threat, or appearance of it, to secure a maintenance of present belief.' My appeal, in the different forms in which it has appeared, will, I doubt not, accomplish good. Other measures we have been required to adopt.

"The last overland mail has brought most important communications from the Court of Directors on the subject of the conversions, the proceedings in the Supreme Court, and the part taken by Mr. Farish's government for the preservation of the peace. These, by a particular favour, which of course must not be publicly alluded to, I have been permitted to see, and I am most happy to inform you that, though decided efforts for explanation and defence are incumbent upon us, the probable issue will not be even temporarily hostile to our progress. The foundation of the Despatch of the Court is a letter from Sir Charles Forbes to the Chairman, inclosing the disgraceful and outrageous representation which was forwarded to England by the Parsees. The despatch approves of the measures adopted by the Bombay Government for the preservation of the peace; expresses the confidence of the Directors that Mr. Farish did nothing inconsistent with the maintenance of neutrality during the pending of the trial; solicits an explanation of the charges of the Parsees relative to his alleged bribing and decoying of the youth; and recommends the servants of the Company to be careful in the use of their legitimate influence in the conversion of the natives, lest their efforts should be misrepresented."

To the Anti-Conversion Memorial, after several months canvassing and misrepresentation, the Parsee priests ob-

tained the signatures of only 2115 persons, who professed to ask Government to prohibit the establishment of missionary schools, to fix the age of discretion for all natives at twenty-one, and to deny to such natives above twenty-one as might become Christians, wife, children, and heritable property, while fining them for the support of the families thus to be denied them. Sir James Rivett Carnac's Bombay Government, and Lord Auckland's Government of India, neither favourable to Christian missionaries, fell back on the position of neutrality, which would have been impregnable if the Bishop of London had not in the previous session of Parliament shown, amid the applause of the Peers, that the East India Company was neutral only to Christianity, while still saluting idols and administering temple and mosque revenues. The Bombay Government pointed out the inconsistency of the Parsees' request with their professed desire for education. The Government of India declined to pass enactments at variance with Lord William Bentinck's Regulation 7 of 1832, with the rights of civil and personal liberty, and the principles of the British Parliament. Dr. Wilson's duty was difficult; he had to enlighten British opinion, but above all to reason in the spirit of the very toleration for which he pled with the misguided leaders of the Parsees. He did both in an able resumé and exposition of the principles and the custom of toleration in British India, which may still be read with advantage side by side with the noble state-paper on the same subject which the now venerable Lord Lawrence wrote after the close of the Mutiny of 1857, when he was Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

In a brief Journal, kept for a few weeks at the end of this conflict, we obtain these glimpses into the daily life of Dr. Wilson, whose indomitable courage and vigorous constitution enabled him to pass through depression and sickness, still abounding in the work of his Master.

"2*d June* 1839.—Considerably indisposed. Letter to Mr. Little on the improvement of the death of Mr. Graham. Preached at the Poors' Asylum. Examined the male boarders of the mission. Read account of the persecutions in Persia, given by Socrates and Theodoret, etc. Visited twice the house of Baí, the convert, to administer medicine and pray. Confined a good deal to my couch.

"4*th*.—Attended the examination of the Byculla Schools, where Sir James Carnac delivered his maiden speech, which, as far as missions are concerned, was very unpromising. When I heard him uttering great swelling words of vanity on this subject, which he does not understand, I thought of Him who has on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, "King of kings and Lord of lords," and felt that our cause was safe, even though all the powers and principalities of earth and hell were to combine against it. Attended the Institution.

"5*th*.—Attended the Institution. Delivered an address in Marathee to my domestics and 40 girls of the Schools, in connection with the death of one of the boarders of the School for Poor and Destitute Native Girls, which took place in the morning; and delivered a lecture on the Testimony to the Divinity of Christ furnished by the Old Testament. The girl was six years old, and distinguished for her intelligence. When I told her to trust in and pray to Christ, she nodded assent, while the little tears rolled down her cheeks. Her disease was cholera.

"6*th*.—Much distressed; but obtained some relief after visiting Malabar Cliff.

"8*th*.—Attended the public levee of Sir James Carnac, because I view it a duty to render him official respect, and because I have no wish to nurse his prejudices against missionaries. Visited my sisters at Malabar Hill, who comforted me much in my afflictions."

On the 23d March 1840, Dr. Wilson thus reported:—

"The offending parties have suffered so much from the universal rebuke of their European friends, and they have been so seriously remonstrated with by their legal advisers (especially by a gentleman who lately arrived from England with the view of giving them any assistance which their circumstances might justly claim), that they are understood to have resolved for the present to resort to no ulterior measures calculated to give us offence, or to interfere with the observance of the sacred principles of religious liberty. Some individuals, indeed, have gone so far as to declare that they have all along dissented from the measures which have been adopted to give us distress, and attached their names to the adverse documents solely

with the view of preventing internal discord among the heads of their own community. For their professions we feel grateful, but we must not permit them to throw us off our guard. Their sincerity will soon be brought to a practical test; for it is very probable that shortly after our return to Bombay the ordinance of baptism will be administered to a Parsee youth, in the progress of whose religious inquiries, excited principally by my preaching in Goojaratee, and the perusal of the Scriptures and tracts, I have for many months taken a great interest."

The numbers in the schools slowly returned to their former level, and even rose higher, though the Parsees long held aloof. While continuing his aggressive work with no less zeal and courtesy than before, Dr. Wilson soon proved that he had conquered the Parsee community not only by the weapons of discussion but by his lofty charity and his unconquerable disinterestedness. They trusted him; all of them who knew him loved him; and their merchant leaders, and even some of their most sacred priests, were his warm friends to the day of his death. In the field of Truth he knew no compromise; in the region of a courteous charity he was, like a greater, all things to all men that he might win some.

The growth of toleration has been so very slow in Christendom that we need not be surprised if persecution for conscience sake died hard among the Parsees even under English law and British rule. Not till 1843 did Hormasdjee succeed in rescuing his wife and daughter from the Punchayat. His wife they had married to another man, although she was believed to be desirous to live with her Christian husband. Such a case is now provided for by a law which permits divorce only after two years, during which the convert has failed to influence his wife. As the daughter grew up to girlhood her father applied to the Supreme Court, which at once made her over to him. This raised the ire of the Parsee leaders for the last time. Mr. Nesbit admirably managed the case, for Dr. Wilson had left Bombay on his first furlough. We must follow the course of his history till his departure for Syria and Europe.

CHAPTER VIII.

1836-1842.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSION.

Civilians and Officers raise a special Fund for the College—Correspondence with Dr. Marshman of Serampore—First and Sixth Public Examination of the College—Domestic Slavery in India—Negro Boys captured from the East African Slavers—An Abyssinian General and his Sons—Joseph Wolff again—Dr. Wilson on the Government College—Two Princes from Joanna—What Converts should be supported by the Mission—First Proposal of a Scottish Mission at Madras—Projected Missions to Runjeet Singh and Independent Sikhs—To Kathiawar by Irish Presbyterian Church—Sir Robert Grant's Death—Dr. Wilson's Report on his Educational System for Lord Elphinstone when Governor of Madras, and for Ceylon—Help to the Gaelic Schools in the Highlands of Scotland—Proposal to Dr. Candlish to send Missionary to the Jews of Arabia and India—First Meeting with Mr. David Sassoon—Female Education and the Misses Bayne—Major Jameson establishes the Ladies' Association in Edinburgh—The Afghan Policy of the Government of India—Intercourse with the Heir-Apparent of Dost Muhammad Khan—Dr. Murray Mitchell arrives—Dr. Duff's Visit—Encouraging Pastoral from the General Assembly—Dr. Wilson's Work as a Translator—Dr. Pfander.

"How, then, stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our Indian Empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects."—MACAULAY: *Calcutta Minute of 2d February* 1835.

"Christ, Saviour, by Thy coming bless this earth of ours with love;
The golden gates, so long fast barred, do Thou, O Heavenly King,
Bid now unclose, that humbly Thou, descending from above,
Seek us on earth, for we have need of blessing Thou canst bring.

With fangs of death the accursed wolf hath scattered, Lord, the flock
That with Thy blood, in time of old, O Master, Thou hast bought;
He has us in fierce clutch; we are his prey, his mock,
He scorns our soul's desire; wherefore, to Thee is all our thought.

Thee, our Preserver, earnestly we pray that Thou devise
For sad exiles a speedy help; let the dark spirit fall
To depths of hell; but let Thy work, Creator, let man rise
Justly to that high realm whence the Accursed drew us all.

Through love of sin he drew us that, bereft of heaven's light,
We suffer endless miseries, betrayed for evermore,
Unless Thou come to save us from the slayer, Lord of Might!
Shelter of Man! O Living God! come soon, our need is sore."

CYNEWULF'S *Christ*: Modernised by H. Morley.

CHAPTER VIII.

In Bombay, as in Calcutta, the Parsee conversions had established the value of an English college as an agency for evangelising the educated native youth no less than as a means of disintegrating the old faiths of Persia and India. The English laymen, chiefly officials, who had helped to set up the English school in the Fort in 1832 under Dr. Wilson's superintendence, and who gladly formed the corresponding committee of the General Assembly's Mission in 1835, did not fail to urge the importance of English as the medium of teaching and preaching to this special class. At the end of 1833 eighteen of the best men and highest officials in Bombay combined to raise a fund for the support of another missionary who should devote his whole attention to this work; and they instructed Mr. Webb and Captain Candy, who had gone to England, to select a missionary of learning and zeal. Civilians like Messrs. Farish, Townsend, and Campbell; scholars like Captains Molesworth, Shortrede, and Jacob; and physicians like Drs. Smyttan and Campbell; with not a few purely military officers who were an honour to the Bombay army, used this language: "In gratifying this desire of the natives to learn our language, we would most solicitously provide against the horrors of irreligion by communicating and recommending the religion of God. We need, for this object, a man qualified for the instruction of the natives in the English language, and for the teaching and preaching, through this medium, the Gospel of Christ. We need a man qualified to assist the mind now emerging; to draw it forth

and lead and direct it; to mould and form and abidingly fix it. We need a man devoted to the Lord; a man of talent, and intelligence and general information; of a vigorous and energetic, yet patient mind; of a sober and sound judgment, of steady and strong self-denial; of a prayerful and hopeful spirit, and of great and catholic love—we want a Missionary. Oh! how should we rejoice to behold such a man; how glowingly should we welcome him!" The transfer of the Scottish Mission to the Church of Scotland had rendered the need less urgent; and Dr. Wilson, while fortunately continuing to hold unshaken his view of the importance of using the classical and vernacular languages, threw the whole weight of his culture and energy for a time into the new Institution Mr. Nesbit's absence at the Cape and Ceylon, from ill-health made the help of a colleague more than ever necessary, and for this the special fund was ready. He studied carefully the experiment of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore which was of the same oriental type as his own, and he was in close correspondence with the Scottish missionaries at Calcutta. We find Dr. Marshman, just after Dr. Carey's death, explaining the constitution of the Serampore College according to the prospectus of its establishment on 24th August 1818, in a letter dated 23d September 1834, which contains this passage:—

"SERAMPORE.—The assertion of the founders of the College is fully justified, that their object in planning it was 'the enlightening of India, and the propagation and final establishment of the Gospel therein.' All the operations of the College, from the beginning to this day, have been in harmony with the original plan. Limited funds have prevented the accomplishment of some of its minor parts, and experience has led to some modification of others. In particular, the Sungskritu has fallen back to a mere secondary place; and the English has been raised to greater prominence. But as to the religious character of the Institution, if there be any alteration it is that it has become every year more decided. The Professors of the College, as well as its Directors, are Christian missionaries, who hold that character the

dearest to them of any they can sustain, and who would not consent to sustain any other which did not naturally coalesce with it.

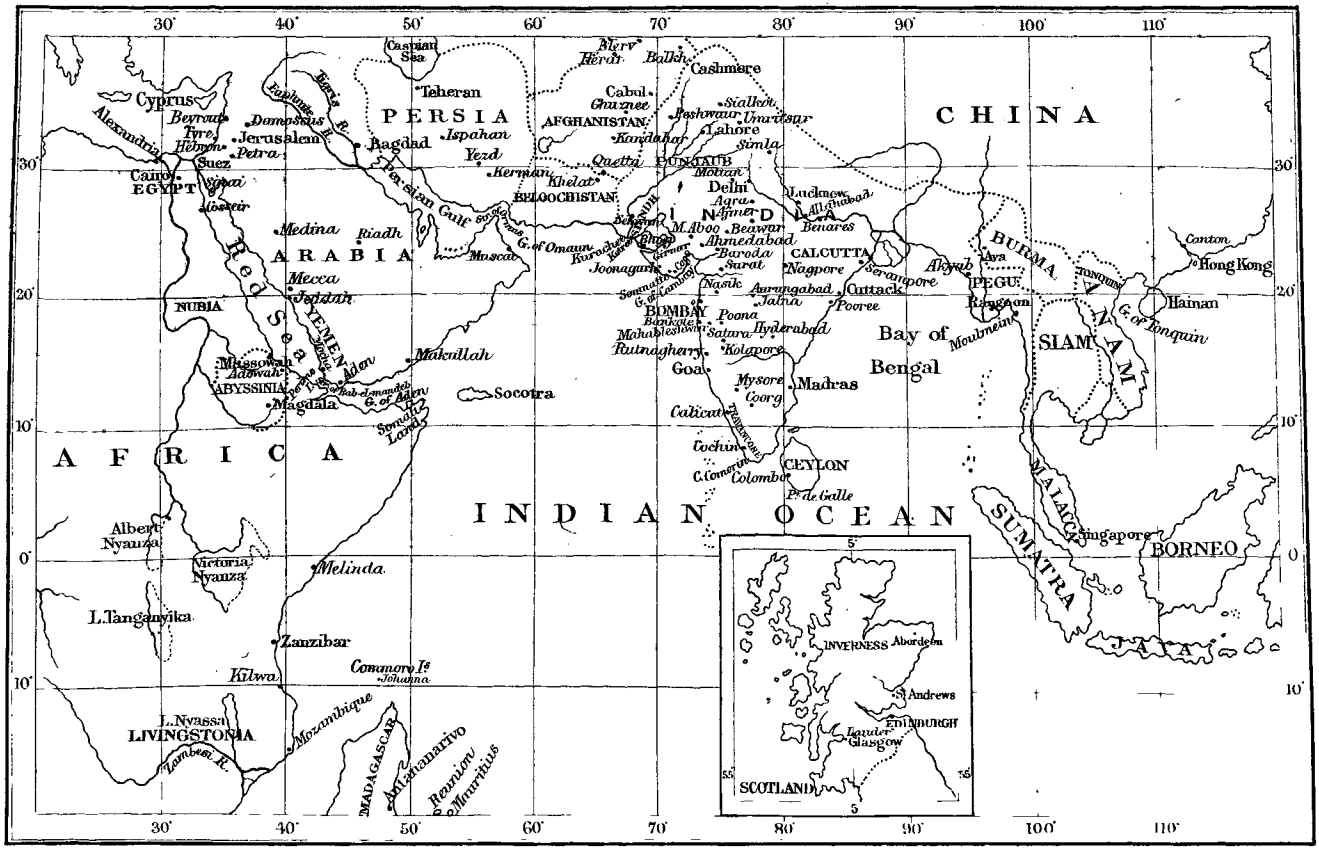
"Our students are of two classes—Christian and Heathen. The former alone are supported as well as educated by the College. They are partly East Indian, and partly native in the more ordinary acceptation of the term. Some of both are properly theological students, preparing for, and already in part engaged in, the Christian ministry. The others may hereafter be the same; but for the present they are receiving a general education in which religion takes a large part. The heathen students are all under my own care in the English department, and are classed with their Christian countrymen without any distinction but what may arise from their various degrees of proficiency in all their studies not purely theological. All of them who are sufficiently advanced read and study the Scriptures two days in the week; and all their other studies, whether in science or history, are conducted after a Christian manner. At morning worship, indeed, the Christian students alone are required to attend; and nothing either in profession or practice is required of any heathen which is inconsistent with his own faith; but the whole controversy between Christianity and idolatry, and the whole contrast between religion and irreligion, are before them continually; and we leave the result with God. What more can be necessary to make the College a religious Institution?"

The first examination of Dr. Wilson's college has a curious interest, as described in the public journals of 1836. All the dignitaries of the island were present, even the leading priests of the Parsee, Hindoo, and Muhammadan communities, for the conversion case had not yet occurred on its public side. Dr. Wilson alluded to the difficulties he had only partially overcome in securing qualified teachers and monitors, and a sufficient supply of unobjectionable text-books and scientific apparatus. He anticipated the time as not far distant when the knowledge thus communicated would bring many natives with their children "within the pale of the Church." By the hope of this he defended his connection with the Institution as a missionary, and his determination "to devote to it a large share of my attention without neglecting other important

duties which harmonise with its objects." From the reading of the Gospel of Mark in their native tongue by ten Marathee boys selected from the primary schools to be educated as teachers, to a theological examination in the English Shastres, and on natural history and mineralogy by the highest class, the work of the college was passed under review. The same Goojaratee papers, which a few months later denounced the college at the bidding of the sanhedrim because of its necessary and publicly avowed results in the baptism of its students, were unqualified in their eulogies. The *Chabuk* or *Whip* declared that "all were fully satisfied that no such progress as that made by the boys of this school within the eleven months of its existence has ever been exhibited in any institution in this place." A knowledge of the Christian Shastres was liberally put side by side with that of arithmetic, "man, and other objects of natural history." In reporting the examination to Dr. Brunton, Dr. Wilson wrote :—

"10*th November* 1836.— . . . . You will observe that we secure the religious instruction of *all* the pupils, even of the boys who have not made so much progress in English as to use it freely as the medium of communication. It is my intention not to overlook the cultivation of the native languages, which have hitherto, to the great prejudice of English seminaries in India, and to the prevention of their pupils from benefiting their countrymen by translations, been much neglected. The Brahmans here have the greatest contempt for some tolerably good English scholars, because they speak their vernacular tongues like the lowest of the low, and are unable to compare together the native and European science and literature.[1] This, I trust, will not be their feel-

[1] The science of the Puranas is inconceivably absurd ; but the science of the Siddhantas approximates to truth. When the veil of the former is torn from the Hindoo mind it enwraps itself in the folds of the latter. When these are torn to rags it says that the object of the Puranas and Siddhantas, alike given by inspiration of God, is not to teach what ought to be believed concerning science and philosophy, but what actually has been discovered concerning them at the time of their composition ! This is the position taken by a learned Brahman in this quarter, who has just published a treatise on Astronomy. Let those who think that they can extirpate Hindooism by mere



LANDS AROUND THE INDIAN OCEAN, INFLUENCED BY Dr WILSON FROM BOMBAY.

ing in reference to our pupils, if you entertain the view which I have expressed. The natives have already much confidence in our operations. As all their own learning flows through the priesthood, many of them have the idea that all European learning must flow through it also. One of the most influential of their number, and of the class represented by party men as hostile to missions, lately offered me a large sum of money if I would give himself exclusive attention during a part of every day, which I of course declined to do, as it would place me in a wrong position with regard to the natives in general."

With this may be contrasted the facts revealed at the sixth annual examination in March 1842, when 1446 youths were under instruction. Of these 568 were in the girls' vernacular schools, and 723 in the boys' schools. There were 155 in the college, of whom 78 were Hindoos, 38 Jews, 6 Mussulmans, and 33 Christians of the Romanist, Armenian, and Abyssinian, as well as Reformed Churches. The subjects and text-books were those of the Scottish Universities, not excluding Greek and Hebrew. Prize essays were read by natives on domestic reform and the practice of idolatry. Geology was the science studied that session. Dr. Wilson lectured on the evidences of Christianity and Biblical Criticism, and used Hill's Lectures as the text-book of systematic divinity.

So early as 1833 Dr. Wilson directed his attention to the slave trade from East Africa, and to the character of domestic slavery among both Hindoos and Muhammadans in India. In reply to an appeal from T. H. Baber, the Bombay Union of Missionaries invited the Moravians or United Brethren to utilise their experience gained in the West Indies and South Africa, and their knowledge of industrial occupations, in the formation of a colony in the Upper Wynaad district of South India, "to reclaim the slaves from their present state of

science remember that it has waved its upas branches, for at least fifteen hundred years, in spite of a tolerably correct science, and that even now it has begun proudly to encounter the full blast of European philosophy. That it will not suffer much from the latter I do not deny. That it would be destroyed by it there is no reason to expect.—J. W.

ignorance and barbarism." The Basel and English missionaries have since done much in mitigating the oppression of the casteless races of South India by the native Governments and Brahminical communities, and that with the aid of the British Government, while Christianity has won her greatest numerical triumphs among the simple peoples from the Dekhan to Cape Comorin. But, till so late a time as 1859, it was the custom of the civil courts in India, more or less ignorantly, to register and treat as legal documents contracts for the service and sale of slaves, which have been prohibited ever since. Whatever serfdom or domestic slavery exists in India is beyond the law, and has ever since been discouraged by the law, as well as by the special efforts of the police directed to the extirpation of kidnapping, eunuch-making, and other nameless horrors of the kind. After the interference of Parliament for the suppression of the African slave-trade the Indian Navy played its part with a vigour and a humanity worthy of its reputation, which, till its premature extinction followed by the recent revival of a Marine Department, had always been great in scientific work as well as in maritime warfare. What was to be done with the captured slaves who were restored to freedom in Bombay, the head-quarters of the Navy? The Government at once made over those of school-going age to Dr. Wilson, to the number of eight boys and five girls at Bombay, and five boys at Poona, to begin with, in 1836. The problem is not yet solved; it has assumed proportions since the Zanzibar treaty, secured by Dr. Kirk following Sir Bartle Frere, which must issue in Eastern and Central if not also Western Africa, following the course of the empire created by the East India Company. But the germ of the enterprise, which blossomed out into the expeditions of Dr. Livingstone attended by some of those very slave boys, is to be found in the eighteen youths of whom Dr. Wilson wrote home at the end of 1836: "There

is reason to hope that they may ultimately prove a blessing to the Mission, while their capture will teach the native slavers a salutary lesson."

In April 1837 we find, similarly, the germ of Lord Napier's success in the Abyssinian Expedition. In the course of those almost chronic revolutions from which Abyssinia has been rarely free, Michael Warka, military commander of three towns in Habesh, as it is called, found himself compelled to take refuge with the British Consul at Massowah, along with his two sons Gabru and Maricha. When in power Michael Warka had always shown himself friendly to Mr. Isenberg, Joseph Wolff, and the Church Missionary Society's station at Adowah. The father and sons went on to Bombay where they became, of course, Dr. Wilson's guests. The boys, then seventeen and twelve years of age, read Amharic and its Tigré dialect with great fluency. Dr. Wilson's polyglott accomplishments had not up to this time extended to the tongue of Ethiopia, but Joseph Wolff accompanied the Abyssinians and left with him an Amharic and English vocabulary, through which they and their teacher at first learned from each other. "I trust they are not the only Christians connected with the Eastern Churches exterior to India who will be placed under our care," Dr. Wilson wrote. Wolff disappeared *more suo* for America in order to enter Africa by Liberia, leaving behind him this characteristic letter:

"Bombay, 10*th April* 1836.—My dear Wilson.—Knowing that you are a dear brother of mine I take the liberty of making the following request to you. I don't like to trouble dear Mr. Farish with it, for he does a great deal for me whilst I am with him in his house. My sickness and journey, and the circumstance of having been robbed on my return for Sanaa, obliged me to draw more on Sir Thomas Baring than I think it to be just to draw now. With regard to my dear wife, I gave my word to her worldly brother never to carry on my mission at her expense. I also don't know whether all the money for my book has been sent in. If you, therefore, could procure for my future journey to the Cape some assistance from Christian friends I should be most

obliged to you and to the friends. I also wish to consult with the brethren here about my future movements, whether I should pursue my journey to Africa *via* the Cape, or go at once to Kokan and Yarkand *via* Kutch, Kurachee and Candahar? I think if I could obtain 1200 rupees for either journies it would be abundantly sufficient.—Yours affectionately, JOSEPH WOLFF."

In Dr. Wilson's correspondence we find these traces of his own college work, and that of the state institution, the Elphinstone College:—

"30*th November* 1837.—The Elphinstone College, which is in the immediate neighbourhood of our school, and which has most splendid accommodations and large endowment and Government grants, has only at present eight pupils. In order to get the number increased its managers have resolved to found sixteen large scholarships, and to commence an elementary school. Did it not by its constitution and practice exclude Christianity I should wish it success. But while it interdicts the teaching of the words of salvation I must invite the youth of India to repair to those seminaries of learning of which the motto is, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge,' and use all lawful means to induce them to place themselves under their influence. Of the most important of these means, in connection with ourselves, is the procuring of suitable buildings for our Institution.

"28*th February* 1838.—I am happy to state that the Abyssinians have conducted themselves in the most becoming manner, and that the progress which they have made in their studies is most gratifying. Gabru, the elder boy, you would observe particularly noticed in the account of the examination of the seminary. He acquitted himself on that occasion remarkably well, considering the short time that he had been studying English; and his subsequent advancement has been such as to sustain the hopes which his appearance led us to cherish. He has superior talents and a most commendable thirst after knowledge. His brother, though inferior to him, is also getting on well. I am quite hopeful that good, which may yet prove to be saving, impressions have been made on both their minds. Their father returned to his native country on a visit a few days ago. Had he not been satisfied with the treatment which they are receiving in Bombay he would not have left them even for a season. When I expressed to him the hope that his sons might yet be teachers of primitive Christianity on the mountains of Habesh he seemed much delighted.

"Of the Zanzibarian children rescued from the Arab slavers, there are now with me six boys and six girls. Three boys, and these not the least promising, have been removed by death. Those who remain are learning English. The most advanced of them is a very promising boy. They all wish to be considered Christians, though when they came to me they were Mussulmans. The five boys who are with Mr. Mitchell at Poona are advancing in every respect. For each of the Zanzibarians we receive three rupees monthly from the Government, but about double that sum is needed. The day may be speedily approaching when the interesting objects of our care and solicitude may prove not only the monuments of the divine mercy but the instruments of the divine praise in their native land, or among their benighted countrymen who visit the shores of India.

"Two young princes, aged nineteen and twenty years, nephews of the king of Hinzuan or Joanna, the African island of which an interesting description is given by Sir William Jones, came in their own dhow on a visit to the Government in the month of October. They were first placed with the Kazee of Bombay; but in their own broken English they said, 'Tat won't do at all. We come from Hinzuan to see white man, and governor send us to stay with black man;' and leaving the Muhammadan judge to his own meditations they betook themselves to their own vessel in the harbour. I was then asked to take charge of them, and they became inmates in my house, in which they continued to stay during the three months of their visit. We felt a great interest in satisfying their curiosity connected with the numerous subjects of their inquiry, and particularly the principles of Christianity; but though they became acquainted with the truth to a considerable extent, and seemed sometimes to feel the force of the arguments against the Koran, they appeared to the last to cling to their errors. What the future effects of our intercourse may be no one can tell. They carried to their homes the word of God in Arabic, which they understand. Their knowledge of English, picked up principally from shipwrecked seamen and occasional visitors, is considerable; and even their servants had some acquaintance with it. From what they stated it would appear that it could be propagated throughout their island without much difficulty. The language most prevalent with them is the Sowaheli, which is spoken at Zanzibar and through large districts on the coasts of Madima or Africa. Muhammadanism they represented as making great progress in those quarters, but principally through the violence of the Arab colonists, and the agents of the Imam of Muskat. Their own hatred of idolatry, though

they had not a few superstitions, they made apparent on many occasions. One evening, after they had accompanied me to some of the Hindoo temples, they had a curious discussion with a Hindoo gentleman whom they found in the mission-house on their return: 'We take walk,' they said, 'with Dr. Wilson, but have got great pain in our stomachs (hearts) because all Hindoo men are mad, and make salaam to stone god. What for got Governor? Why not he put you all in prison? You come to Joanna, then we flog you.' The Hindoo, in self-defence, declared that he did not worship idols. 'Then,' pointing to his sectarial mark, said his princely instructors, 'you double-bad; you come into Englishman's house and say, I wise man, I not worship images; then you go to your own house and put on Hindoo god's mark just 'bove your eyes there. You two-faced man!' With these interesting youths I expect to keep up a correspondence."

The growth of the mission raised such questions as that of "alimenting" or providing for the temporary support of young converts excluded from their Hindoo and Parsee homes, and fit to be trained in the college for missionary or educational work. From the first Dr. Wilson drew a clear and wise distinction between "promising and select Christian youths while they study English with a view to our subsequent employment of them as agents," and "native Christians who have nearly reached the meridian of life." Practically, he settled the difficulty in the case of the former by taking them to his own house and table, even up to the end of his life, judging carefully in every case, but with a kindliness that left him sorely out of pocket. The village and barrack systems for the occupation and training of converts, must be judged of according to the class to be trained and the state of native society from which they have come. In every case the very appearance of seeming to hold out a bribe to converts has been carefully eschewed by the Scottish Missions; and it is even doubtful if, in such a state of society as Hindooism still presents, the so-called barrack system was not too early abandoned in Calcutta at least.

In 1832 Dr. Wilson had urged the establishment of a

Scottish Mission at Madras; offering, on behalf of M. R. Cathcart of the Civil Service there, £150 a-year for a time. Not till 1836 was the General Assembly, moved by Dr. Duff's return, able to appoint Mr. Anderson there, soon to be followed by Mr. Johnston and Mr. Braidwood, the last specially sent out by the Edinburgh Students' Missionary Association which Dr. Wilson had established.

The Church of Scotland, influenced by the alliance with Runjeet Singh, which preceded Lord Auckland's unfortunate Cabul expedition, projected a mission to the then independent Sikhs, but Dr. Wilson counselled a first attempt among those of the protected states of our own territory, such as the Church Missionary Society and the American Presbyterians afterwards undertook. He declared his willingness to make a missionary survey of the Punjab up to the Indus and its tributary streams, preaching in Hindee and Oordoo or Hindostanee on the way. "I could perhaps induce some influential natives to betake themselves to Bombay or Calcutta for their education. I could furnish you with such a full report, diversified by notices of the country, people, and prevalent religious systems, as you could lay before the public for their general information, and to invite approval and co-operation." Such a survey, and the consequent action at that time, would have anticipated by twenty years the Christianising of the land from the deserts of Rajpootana and Sindh, at which Dr. Wilson's influence ceased, to the Sutlej immediately, and ultimately to Central Asia.

What it was not expedient or possible for his own church to attempt, in the regions beyond the three settled presidencies, as they then were, Dr. Wilson induced other churches to undertake. The missionary survey which he made of Kathiawar co-operated, with the eloquence of Dr. Duff in Ireland, to lead the three hundred Presbyterian congregations of the Synod of Ulster, as the Irish Presbyterian Church was called

in 1839, to establish a mission in India. The Rev. George Bellis, the secretary, asked Dr. Wilson's counsel in time to report to the Synod of 1840. He submitted, in reply, an exhaustive report—an apostolic epistle—on the needs and the advantages of Kathiawar, which thus begins and closes:—

"BOMBAY, 27*th November* 1839.—About three years ago I had determined to memorialise the Synod of Ulster about the propriety of its engaging in foreign missionary operations in its corporate capacity, and with special reference to the great and inviting and promising field to which I am about to direct your attention, and I was led to delay communicating my views to you only by observing from one of your missionary reports that you yourselves had been led to determine to send forth some of your ministers to preach the glad tidings of salvation to the heathen world, and to make some inquiries—the result of which I thought it proper to await—at Dr. Philip and some other individuals, about the particular scene of your operations. When, in April last, I learned that you had turned your attention to India, I proceeded to collect some more particular information than I possessed respecting the district the claims of which I had resolved to plead before the bar of your Christian compassion and enlightened benevolence. The arduous duties which I have been called to discharge, and the great trials in which our mission has been involved since that time, have hitherto prevented me from accomplishing my purpose. My procrastination you will easily understand. *Cum ad Maleam deflexeris, obliviscere quæ sunt domi.*

". . . . I say nothing about plans of labour, as your dear brethren and agents ought personally to inspect the field before particular measures are resolved upon. It will afford me, and the other members of our mission, unspeakable pleasure to receive them in Bombay, and to introduce them to the friends of the Redeemer's cause particularly connected with the scene of their labours. We most cordially invite them to join our ranks, and with us to fight the battles of the Lord in these high places of the field. Let them come to us 'full of faith and the Holy Ghost,' and be prepared both to *labour* and *suffer* agreeably to the Divine will, and the work of the Lord will assuredly prosper in their own souls, and those of multitudes of their fellow-men. We cannot say to them, 'the fields are already white unto the harvest,' where the soil is not even broken; but we can tell them that the field is both large and unoccupied, and that *when* the seed is sown it will prove incorruptible."

In 1838 Dr. Wilson lost a personal friend in the death of Sir Robert Grant, the Governor, of whom one of the native newspapers remarked that his last act had been to subscribe to the General Assembly's Institution—"the last expression of his regard to the hallowed cause of education, which ever lay near his heart, which on various occasions he advocated with surpassing eloquence, and which many of his public measures were calculated to advance." In a letter to Miss Bayne the widowed Lady Grant wrote—"I have much valued the letter which Dr. Wilson had the kindness to send to me, and it has interested me often when nothing else could. May I be enabled to profit by the lessons given in it." Under the new Charter Act Mr. Farish became Acting-Governor, as senior member of Council. Soon after Dr. Wilson was pleasantly associated for the first time with a Governor to whose administration he was destined to render signal services. The young Lord Elphinstone, nephew of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, had been appointed Governor of Madras. One of his earliest acts was to invite a statement of the experience of the principal educational institutions in India before introducing reforms into his own Province. Dr. Wilson, after statistics showing 1887 boys and girls under his instruction in 1839, and detailing the school and college work, thus proceeded:—

"Candidates for entrance into the Institution are required to be able to read their vernacular language with fluency before their admission. It is a great fault in many of the Government seminaries in India, that English literature and science are taught to one set of individuals, and oriental literature and science to another. There can be little intercommunion between the two classes of *literati* which are thus produced. The stores of European wisdom find no natural native channel in which to flow forth for the improvement of the country; and the stores of eastern lore, unqualified and uncorrected as they are by that of the west, prove injurious, instead of beneficial, to their possessors and those who are brought under their influence.

"The pupils, on their admission, pay one rupee in our school, and

two rupees in our college division for a class-ticket, and are required to provide themselves with books and stationery. We are most desirous to lead the parents to appreciate the benefits of education; and the small demand which we make of them has this tendency. It deters no persons from entering the seminary who have heart and leisure to prosecute the study of English, while it forms a slight check on the indiscriminate enrolment of pupils who are disposed to come from mere idle speculation.

"In our seminary caste receives, and can receive, no indulgence. Firmness, kindness, and impartiality overcome all the difficulties connected with it, which were experienced during the first year of its existence. We inform all our pupils and their relatives that the lines of our classes are formed exactly as the ranks of the native army, and that we know only those distinctions among individuals which arise from talent, good moral behaviour, attention to study, and progress in learning. Nothing more can be rationally wished for; and every native seen to cross the door of a European, an impure *Mlecch*, ought to be very quiet on the subject of caste. With regard to the native holidays, which in general so much interfere with the work of tuition in India, our rule is neither to give permission to attend them nor to inflict punishment because of their observance. To quote the native expressions used, they procure neither *razá* nor *sazá*. The responsibility of them is thus made to rest where it ought to rest, with the parents and children themselves. They are all satisfied with the regulation which has been adopted; and we have often a voluntary attendance during the holidays, which could have scarcely been expected.

"For the higher department of our Institution we are not entirely dependent on our own school. We have been able to draw *material* for it from every similar seminary in this place, and particularly from the schools of the best private teachers. Some of our pupils come from a great distance, and we are most happy to receive them on this very account that they will prove, when properly trained and instructed, the most effective agents in the illumination of their native districts when they return to them.

"The system of instruction which we pursue is what has been called the intellectual, and which is now so well understood and generally approved that it is unnecessary to make any particular statement respecting it. When we deliver lectures to our pupils we do not fail to make them the subject of particular examination, and to encourage the writing of essays connected with them, either in the English or Native languages. Attendance at some of these lectures is

free to the public. About eighty native youths connected with all the educational institutions in Bombay were present this week when I commenced a course on the principal doctrines of divine revelation. The English school at Poona is conducted exactly on the same principles as the school division of our Institution in Bombay.

"The vernacular boys' schools of our Mission are in some respects nurseries to our English seminaries. They are found to be highly beneficial in diffusing, at a very small expense, much useful and divine knowledge amongst the lower orders of the people. The teachers are paid according to the number and proficiency of their pupils, and generally earn from ten to fifteen rupees a month. They require to be invigorated by a constant European superintendence.

"I forward, for transmission to Lord Elphinstone, a copy of the last report of our female schools. I would strongly recommend to his Lordship the attempt to get similar establishments formed in connection with his Presidency. The honour of instituting the first Government female school in India is still unappropriated, and it will prove one of no small magnitude.

"The average amount of annual subscriptions in this place for the various objects which we pursue is more than double that of the Native Education Society. The reason is probably to be found in the fact, that there is a growing conviction on the part of the public in India, that it is both proper and expedient more intimately to connect human and divine science in the instruction of its youth than has hitherto been the case in Institutions not directly missionary. Though it might be expedient (I do not say that it is) for our Governments as such to avoid for the present all *hortative* teaching of Christianity, it is in the highest degree desirable that they should permit the youth of this country to become fully acquainted with its historical relations, and allow them free access to the use of its unerring standards.

"Our schools have as yet received no donation to their funds from the Bombay Government. Sir Robert Grant, however, personally attended an examination of some of them, and afterwards officially presented a Khilat, or honorary dress, to one of our most distinguished pupils, the eldest son of Venkat Rao Bahadur, the Suddur Ameen of Dharwar, and asked me to submit to him a plan according to which the Government countenance might in a similar way be extended to all deserving seminaries in the Presidency."

Nor was it only the Madras Government that consulted Dr. Wilson as to an educational policy. We find in his

papers this extract of a letter which he wrote to the Governor of Ceylon, the Right Honourable J. A. Stewart Mackenzie, dated 28th April 1841:—

"It will afford me very great pleasure to write a short epistle to Mr. Anstruther on the subject of vernacular education, if you will kindly apologise to him for my intrusion. None of the arrangements connected with the Indian Governments on the subject of public instruction have given me a tithe of the gratification which yours in Ceylon have afforded. Our 'boards of education' are by far too exclusive, and they admit no members of practical experience. They despise and disparage religion, the only available engine of moral reform; and were their endeavours not in some degree supplemented by our Christian missions, I should be disposed to question their ultimate safety. With you all seems right, proper, and judicious; and it reflects great honour on Lord John Russell that he has approved of your scheme. There are many eyes in India placed on Ceylon as a model Government. In saying this, I do not mean to make any insinuation against the civil officers of the Company, who as a body are a most honourable, enlightened, and faithful set of public servants. It is the simple fact of the intervention of a Company, which sometimes appears to me to interpose between this great country and our happy native land a barrier to the full tide of free and generous British feeling. Direct responsibility to a chartered corporation—most necessary when infantile adventure required every guarantee against destructive loss—is a very different thing from direct responsibility to the Sovereign, nobles, and popular representatives of our own realm. I express this opinion merely as glancing at the general interests of philanthropy."

Nearly twenty years were to pass before, under the catholic University and Grant-in-Aid systems, the Government of India assumed its proper relation to all educational enterprise, independent as well as under its own departments. But Dr. Wilson did not confine his energies to India and Ceylon. His sympathies had been also all along with the Gaelic School Society, to which he and other Scotsmen were in the habit of sending remittances. And, in return, he sought to induce other committees of his Church than that

specially charged with the care of the India Mission, to evangelise the Jews. These letters from Dr. Wilkie on the Highlands, and to one who was already becoming famous in his own land—Mr. Candlish—on the Jews, let in side-lights on his work at this time. In 1841 he called a meeting of the principal Arabian Jews in Bombay at the house of Mr. Sassoon, whose son is now Sir Albert Sassoon.

"EDINBURGH, 13*th April* 1838.—It is a matter of most sincere congratulation amongst us that the Lord should have put it into your heart, and into the hearts of your dear Christian friends so far removed from their native land, to feel for the wants of their countrymen at home. We have still really much to do at home in all the departments of Christian philanthropy. But I invariably find that those whose charities are most active at home are just those who are most liberal in their contributions for foreign objects. Notwithstanding all the assistance now promised by Government for the support of schools in the parliamentary parishes, together with the exertion of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and of the General Assembly's Committee for Schools—and, indeed, after all that could be reasonably expected from stationary schools in the Highlands—there will still be left many more localities than have yet been occupied, in the plains and islands, at great distances from any schools, and which can only be properly or reasonably supplied by teachers of circulating schools, removed in two years and returning again when the wants of the district require their aid.

"Your judicious observations about the native languages in India are all confirmed by the experience of our teachers in the Highlands here. And though in many districts, where a few years ago not a word of English was spoken, the people can now, from having picked up a very few vocables, transact the common business of life in that language, yet it will be long indeed before they will be able to receive anything like efficient religious instruction except in their native Gaelic. Hundreds of Highlanders in this town, who have been from twenty to thirty years amongst us, and who seldom speak one word of Gaelic throughout the week, are still attending regularly the Gaelic Church on Sabbath, and cannot yet relish instruction in any other tongue. You must have had a wonderful facility at learning languages, that with your multiplicity of engagements you should have already made such attainments in that way. I cannot help thinking, without entering upon the controversy about

the gift of tongues, that the Holy Ghost has in the distribution of his gifts, given special and peculiar talents and abilities to some of our missionaries in this way. . . . DAVID WILKIE."

"28*th October* 1839.—REV. MR. CANDLISH, Edinburgh.—I sent you by the last steamer a number of the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, containing some notices of the Jews of Cochin. I have now the pleasure, according to my promise, of enclosing a correct translation of the celebrated copperplate grant, by the late C. M. White, Esq., a young gentleman of extraordinary capacity for acquiring the oriental languages, but who was removed by divine providence at the very commencement of his able and zealous research. The gentleman whom I mentioned to you as having offered his services for the purpose of exploring Arabia and the north of Africa, with a view to investigating the state of the Jews, has conversed about his plans with several influential persons in this place; and it is likely that, with a view to securing adequate support on the one hand and accomplishing the greatest amount of good on the other, he may extend his views so as to embrace the general objects of science and philanthropy. He is still desirous of receiving countenance from the Jews Committee of the General Assembly. We are most anxious to hear of the appointment of your missionary to Aden. It would contribute to facilitate his operations had he some connection with Bombay, the organ of the British Government in its dealings with the Arabs; and it would rejoice our hearts to see him include the Jews of this place as occasional objects of his ministry."

"10*th July* 1841.—To ROBERT WODROW, Esq., Glasgow.—It is a joint Mission to the Jews of Arabia and India, then, having Bombay as its centre, which I think in present circumstances most feasible and promising. I will thank you to direct the particular attention of the General Assembly's Committee to the view which I take of the subject, and also of the friend who has so generously promised to support a missionary at Aden. I am certain that his views would be forwarded, and not retarded, by the plan which I venture to suggest. I think that my friend Dr. Smyttan could easily show the advantages of the scheme which I propose. A missionary for Bombay would require to direct his particular attention to the Arabic as well as the Marathee language. I called a meeting of the principal Arabian Jews, which was held at the house of David Sassoon, the most opulent merchant of their body. R. T. Webb, Esq., Major Jervis, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Glasgow and Mr. Kerr were present with me during the greater part of the time that we

were together. We were very politely received, and obtained much of the information which we asked, as well as the promise of every assistance being granted to a Jew whom I have employed to commit to writing whatever he can learn of the circumstances of his brethren in Yemen, Bussora, Bombay, and other places. Towards the close of our interview we entered on the infinitely important question of the Messiahship of Christ, and had an opportunity of stating the usual arguments for its establishment. They ordered all their children to leave the room when we first mentioned the name of the Saviour; and we could not help observing how much more reserved they appeared in this matter than the Beni-Israel. They otherwise evinced, however, no improper feeling; and they freely discussed with us the different points to which we adverted. I told them of the deputation to Palestine, the objects of the General Assembly's Committee, and its readiness to aid in the instruction of their countrymen; and they seemed pleased with the interest which our Church takes in their welfare. More noble looking men than they are not to be seen on the streets of Bombay, where so many tribes of the world have their representatives."

Such was the first love of the Church of Scotland in the infancy of its missions abroad and its evangelical revival at home, that it planned enterprises in Arabia, in Persia, and on the upper Indus,[1] while it stimulated other churches to take up provinces which its agents had, as pioneers, surveyed. But in Bombay itself the death of Mrs. Margaret Wilson had left the many female schools without a head, although a lady teacher had been speedily sent out to conduct them; and the development of the College made it imperative that the long sought for colleague, whom the Christian officials desired to help Dr. Wilson, should be at once found, the more that Mr. Nesbit had been absent from India for a time seeking health. Accordingly, Dr. Wilson, early in 1836, had summoned to his side the Misses Anna and Hay Bayne, on whom he pressed the

[1] Dr. Brunton had written thus to Dr. Wilson:—"EDINBURGH COLLEGE, *2d January* 1838.—Allow me to remind you of your promise to send us information about the feasibility of a Mission in the Sikh country. The munificent patroness of the undertaking is now a widow, and waning fast into the vale of years. She is the more earnest to learn 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.'"

claims of their sister's work as an inheritance of which they were bound to take possession. These ladies were to be his own guests, brought out at his own cost, while retaining their independence in all things. "The Assembly's Committee, I doubt not, would give you any encouragement you might desire," he wrote in September 1836. But, "I have been forming a private fund for female education from the profits of our publications, which are of course my own; from the proceeds of some jewels presented by a lady in aid of it, and to be employed by me, without any notice being taken of the matter, for procuring me personal aid in the schools; and from sums given me for my unquestioned disposal either private or public. I shall, I doubt not, have two hundred guineas to pay your passage to India." Towards the end of 1837 the sisters arrived in Bombay, and at their own charges. Very tender and beautiful was the family life in the Ambrolie mission home, and occasionally in the country house on Malabar Hill and in that at Mahableshwar, as revealed by the now faded correspondence, till Hay was married to Mr. Nesbit only to carry on her missionary work till her premature death in 1848, and Anna was laid beside her sister Margaret in the Scottish cemetery, her works following her. Once more did the fast increasing class of educated Natives of all sects in Bombay, as well as the native Christian community, see the purity, the grace, and the intellectual attraction which cultured women lent to the missionary's home, making it every year more and more the centre, and largely the source, of all that was elevating in Bombay society.

Impressed by the importance of the work, a retired Bombay officer who had taken part in it, Major St. Clair Jameson, brother of Sheriff Jameson, had in 1837 issued an appeal to the ladies of Scotland, which resulted in the formation of the Ladies' Society for Female Education in India.

That Association, united in 1865 with a similar agency for Africa, has ever since worked side by side with the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church, and with remarkable success. At Poona, as well as Bombay, this indispensable side of a vigorous mission was extended. In a letter to the Rev. G. White, chaplain of distant Cawnpore, who was successfully conducting a Female Orphan Asylum there, Dr. Wilson wrote in 1835, "I am more and more convinced that, in seeking for the moral renovation of India, we must make greater efforts than we have yet done to operate upon the female mind. In Christian countries it is, generally speaking, more on the side of religion than the male mind. In India it is the stronghold of superstition. Its enlightenment ought to be an object of first concern with us. You will be happy to hear that the prejudices against its instruction in Bombay are fast diminishing among the natives." In a letter to his Edinburgh agent Dr. Wilson records the progress of his sisters-in-law, and gives us a contemporary view of the then gathering Afghan expedition. He shows himself wise, as always, in political questions, while, writing to a confidential agent, he expresses his opinion with a frankness rare in his more public communications. For while he was the citizen and the statesman, the scholar and the philanthropist, he was above all things the Christian missionary:—

"3*d October* 1838.—Anna and Hay are making rapid progress with the Marathee. Our friend Dr. Smyttan is to leave us in January. You will find him a great acquisition in Edinburgh; but his loss to us will be great indeed. I am wearying greatly for Mr. Mitchell's arrival. I got his letter *via* the Cape only the other day. I liked the spirit of it very much, and anticipate great results from his labours.

"I am not by any means satisfied of the *justice* of our invasion of Afghanistan. Shah Shujah (that old cruel monster) has got from our army 6000 volunteers, officered by the Company, to endeavour to reseat him on the throne of Cabul. Our main army, 13,000 strong, is now assembling on the banks of the Sutlej, and it is to move to the

northward under the command of Sir Henry Fane. It is entirely composed of Bengal troops. Our army of reserve, 5000 strong, composed of Bombay troops, is now mustering in Kutch. Four of the Bombay stations, Sholapore, Kaludgee, Belgaum, and Dharwar, are in a few days to be occupied by Madras troops. The large station of Mhow is to have Bombay instead of Bengal troops. That we should send an army to *watch* the movements of Russia, Persia, etc., I fully admit. That we should dethrone Dost Muhammad Khan I stoutly deny, on the ground of my present information."

When, three years later, the Afghan iniquity was becoming a tragedy of a very doleful kind to our arms, our honour, and our prestige in Asia, and when Dost Muhammad was a state prisoner on parole in Calcutta, where he might be observed at his devotions on the Course as the gay world rolled past, his heir-apparent, Haider Khan, was a frequent visitor at Ambrolie. On the 1st March 1841 Dr. Wilson thus gossips in a letter to Dr. Smyttan :—

"We have lately had presented to us a hydro-oxygenic microscope, which cost Rs. 600. It has been several times exhibited at my house, and has made a great impression on the natives. Prince Haider Khan, the son of Dost Muhammad, is coming to see it in a day or two. He and I are great friends. Should his family ever again be restored to sovereign power, it will, I think, be favourable to missionary operations. He sat two hours with Anna and me the other day. He talks nothing but Persian and Pushtoo. I get on pretty well with him; and the Moonshee Abdool Rahman Khan, whom you will perhaps remember as a companion of Dadoba Pandurang, makes all clear when I break down. This young man, by the bye, comes to us every morning to read the Scriptures. He will, we hope, declare for Christ. What an accession he would be to our strength!" So grateful was Dost Muhammad to Dr. Wilson for his kindness to his son when in captivity, that he declared he would keep the passes open for a visit from the Padre Saheb, however

disturbed the frontier might be. But Haider Khan never became more than a sensual Afghan, as described in Colonel Lumsden's confidential report on the "Mission to Kandahar" in 1856, although he was always well inclined to the British Government because of "the manner in which he was treated while a prisoner in Hindostan." When in Bombay he had an opportunity of visiting England, of which he afterwards regretted that he did not avail himself. The present Ameer, Sher Ali, is his full brother.

The Mr. Mitchell for whom Dr. Wilson wearied, was the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, of the University of Aberdeen, which now followed in the wake of the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and, besides him, gave to India from the same year's classes the Rev. John Hay, still the able Teloogoo scholar of the London Missionary Society at Vizagapatam, and the Rev. Dr. Ogilvie, the first missionary of the Established Church of Scotland at Calcutta. Dr. Murray Mitchell, as in due time he became, took with him the Classical and Hebrew scholarship with which Aberdeen and Melvin were associated, while his wife subsequently became a missionary to the women of Bombay and Calcutta, worthy of her cousins the Baynes. The arrival of his new colleague towards the end of 1838, gave Dr. Wilson another proof of the confidence and affection of the Christian officials, who had raised a special fund of £1800 for this extension of the college operations.

DR. DUFF TO DR. WILSON.

"My Dear Wilson—I know not why our correspondence should not be more frequent. It is my own heart's desire to be linked closer and closer with all my fellow-labourers in the East. Ere long I trust, in the good providence of God, to rejoin the field from which I have been so long severed. To Bombay I have looked, in common with others, with no ordinary interest. And I have blessed God for all that he hath accomplished by you and for you. Long may he spare you to prosecute your multifarious labours. In Mr. Mitchell you will find a

hearty coadjutor, a man of faith and prayer and scholarship—all beauteously and harmoniously united and blended.

"In case I should still be detained here for some time, I am anxious to be put in possession of all the existing facts and documents that are accessible on the subject of the connection of Government with idolatry. If spared, I should like to make an efficient appeal on the subject, in the event of the despatches from the Home Office not proving satisfactory. I was doing this sooner, and was prevented for some time for want of the necessary documents, and latterly from severe and protracted ill-health.—Yours affectionately, ALEXANDER DUFF."

Having roused the whole of Scotland, the north of Ireland, and many parts of England by his fiery zeal, Dr. Duff returned to Calcutta early in the year 1840, by way of Bombay. It was necessary for the good of the Mission in all three cities and for the success of the projected Irish Mission, that the two distinguished men, still young, should consult together—Dr. Wilson, now almost worn out by eleven years of incessant and varied work for his Master; Dr. Duff fresh from home, but also from labours no less abundant. If, in the course of the many splendid orations which Dr. Duff had spoken and published in the previous five years, he had been led by his Calcutta experience occasionally to seem to Dr. Wilson to underestimate the need for female education and instruction in the vernacular languages which Western India at least had demanded, all was forgotten or discussed after a most brotherly fashion when the two held long converse at Ambrolie. Dr. Duff has left a record of his visit in a popular report to the committee, published at the time.

The General Assembly of the subsequent May addressed an encouraging pastoral letter to its missionaries, ministers, and elders in India, signed by the moderator, Dr. Makellar, and the learned Principal Lee, the clerk. Their generous acknowledgments of the arduous labours of the missionaries, and co-operation of the chaplains and elders, and the wise counsels of the document, had so good an effect that a similar com-

munication might be more frequently sent with the best results both at home and abroad. After the last Assembly before the Disruption of 1843, Dr. Welsh, second only to Dr. Chalmers in the Church of Scotland at that time, addressed Dr. Wilson at the request of the Colonial Committee, on the subject of the scattered settlers in India, for whom no spiritual provision was made till the establishment of the Anglo-Indian Christian Union in 1864.

It is difficult to see how, in the midst of all his other engagements, Dr. Wilson found time for that translation and publication of books, which formed in his eyes as important a department as the schools and even the preaching, because the press fed both.[1] So early as 1833 he had thus justified his expenditure to the directors of the Scottish Missionary Society, when they were insisting on restricting operations in

[1] "OPERATIONS OF THE PRESS IN 1839.—I published a new edition of my *Idiomatical Exercises*, in English and Marathee, which are pretty generally used as a school-book in this part of India. A Goojaratee tract, addressed by me to the Jaina priests of Palitana, and an English sermon addressed to the Parsees, have been new publications. I have spent a considerable time in connection with the Translation Committee of the Bible Society, of which I am the secretary; and Mr. Nesbit has similarly occupied a part of his leisure. The following is the work done at the lithographic press:—

Account of the Ancient Egyptians	Pages 80	Copies 1500
Letter to the Jaina Priests of Palitana . . .	18	1500
The Nature of God and Character of True Worshippers	25	2000
Account of Missionaries	53	2000
The True Atonement	29	2000
On Repentance	28	2000
Marks of the True Religion	28	2000
In Whom shall we Trust?	26	2000
Relief to the Sin-Burdened	19	2000
On the Holiness and Justice of God	22	2000
The Ayah and Lady	78	2000
On Knowing God	8	2000
The Worship of the Elements	38	2000
Gospel Catechism	36	2000

"The total number of tracts printed is 27,000, and of separate pages 957,000. Most of the tracts belong to the Bombay Tract and Book Society. The two first were printed at my own expense, but the subsequent sale of them has almost reimbursed me for the outlay.—J. W."

Bombay, where the press cost £128 a year; the Goojaratee pundit £20; the Hindostanee, £36; and the Sanscrit and Marathee, £36:—

"The Pundits whom I have retained for some time have been required by me not so much for the purpose of aiding me in my studies—though they are of course highly useful in this respect—but of aiding me in fulfilling my engagements with the press. During the past year I have composed and principally written out with my own hand, in the first instance, upwards of 2000 8vo pages in different languages; and it will be perceived, when the general inefficiency of native assistants is considered, that the help which I have enjoyed has been required for almost merely mechanical purposes. At present the editing, and in a great degree the translating, of the Marathee Scriptures, and the editing of the tracts of the Bombay Tract and Book Society, and the preparation of some pamphlets, have devolved on me. I have all along paid a considerable part of my Pundit's wages independently of the Society."

Nor was it in Bombay alone or in its languages that Dr. Wilson was active. Dr. Pfander, the Arabic scholar and controversialist, had arrived in Calcutta in 1838, and sought his aid in printing the three Persian treatises before referred to. In the work of translating the Scriptures into the various vernaculars all the competent Protestant missionaries in the Province, and scholars like Captains Molesworth and Candy, gladly gave help. Until there are native scholars, masters of Greek and Hebrew as well as of their own classical and vernacular languages, to become to the races of India what Luther was to Germany, the translations of the Scriptures by foreigners, however learned and experienced, will require revision every generation. This has been the case in the century since Dr. Carey began his attempts in northern, and the Lutherans in southern India. The difficulties caused by such revisions, required even in the English Bible, are inevitable, until the Church of India develops its own organisation and life.

CHAPTER IX.

1836-1842.

TOURS—GAIRSOPPA FALLS—RAJPOOTANA—KATHIAWAR—THE SOMNATH GATES.

Sun-Worship Tested by Arithmetic—Changes in Goa—The Portuguese Priests and the Bible—Gairsoppa and its Falls—Ajunta and the "Possessed" Bangle-Seller—Cursetjee J. Jeejeebhoy, Esq.—A Pilgrimage to Parbuttee, the Government Idol—First Tour to Rajpootana—Farewell to Dr. Duff—Civilisation of Baroda—Dr. Wilson and his Cashmere Shawls—Breakfast with a Nawab—Correcting Bishop Heber—Antiquities of Puttun—Native Christians without a Missionary Teacher—The Great Goddess of Goojarat—The Lions of Rajpootana—Sad Letters from Home—A Brahman Butler at Edur—The Bheels and Sir James Outram—Aboo as it is—Gratitude for safe Return—First Mission in a Native State—Second Visit to Rajkote—The Prince's Difficulty about the Existence of Evil—Mr. Kerr's Death—Dr. Wilson's nearly Fatal Illness—Anna Bayne's Death—Cholera Epidemic of 1842—Persuaded to take Furlough by prospect of a Tour in Syria—Sir W. Hill's Endowment of the Nagpore Mission—Sir W. H. Macnaghten—Sir George Arthur—Sir Bartle Frere's First Friendship with Dr. Wilson—Sir J. P. Willoughby on the Proclamation of the Gates—Dr. Wilson's Confidential Reply to the Document—Macaulay, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Ellenborough's Recall.

" A gentle Knight was pricking on the Plaine,
Ycladd in mightie armes and silver shielde,
Wherein old dints of deepe woundes did remaine,
The cruel markes of many' a bloody fielde;
Yet armes till that time did he never wield:
His angry steede did chide his foming bitt,
As much disdayning to the curbe to yield:
Full jolly Knight he seemd, and faire did sitt,
As one for knightly giusts and fierce encounters fitt.

" And on his brest a bloodie Crosse he bore,
The deare remembrance of his dying Lord,
For whose sweete sake that glorious badge he wore,
And dead, as living ever, him ador'd:
Upon his shield the like was also scor'd,
For soveraine hope, which in his helpe he had.
Right, faithfull, true he was in deede and word;
But of his cheere did seeme too solemne sad;
Yet nothing did he dread, but ever was ydrad.

" Upon a great adventure he was bond,
That greatest *Gloriana* to him gave,
(That greatest Glorious Queene of Faery lond),
To winne him worshippe, and her grace to have,
Which of all earthly thinges he most did crave:
And ever, as he rode, his hart did earne
To prove his puissance in battell brave
Upon his foe, and his new force to learne;
Upon his foe, a Dragon horrible and stearne.

" A lovely Ladie rode him faire beside,
Upon a lowly Asse more white than snow;
Yet she much whiter; but, the same did hide
Under a vele, that wimpled was full low;
And over all a blacke stole shee did throw:
As one that inly mournd, so was she sad,
And heavie sate upon her palfrey slow;
Seemed in heart some hidden care she had;
And by her in a line a milke-white lambe she lad."

EDMUND SPENSER: *The Faerie Queene.*

CHAPTER IX.

DR. WILSON'S combined missionary, scientific, and archæological tours in the second period of six years which preceded his first visit to Europe, were not less thorough and fruitful in their results than those of the previous six years. February 1837 he devoted to an inspection of the old mission station of Hurnee and to a second visit to the Portuguese territory of Goa, his first survey of which had led him to give more attention to the many Portuguese and their descendants in Western India, known as Indo-Britons. It was his custom to examine Government as well as missionary schools at the request and generally in the presence of the authorities, wherever he went, as well as to hold services for the scattered and neglected English communities in distant stations. To the Government Marathee school of Hurnee, the pupils of which he found remarkably prompt in arithmetic, he proposed the question which they readily solved, "If sound travel at the rate of 1140 feet a second, and the sun be 95,000,000 miles distant from the earth, what time will be required for a man's prayers to reach that luminary?" The Brahmans seemed greatly amazed when they saw the result of a computation which really involved the whole teaching of their system. The examination closed with the suggestion to the Puntojee, or "dominie," that he should extend his cross-examinations to the scope of the passages read as well as to the meaning of each word. The boys were rewarded with books, and their parents crowded to talk with the missionary throughout the day. At Goa Dr. Wilson found

that a great change had taken place in three years. The Inquisition had been destroyed, but that fact was officially assigned as a reason why no books could be admitted into the settlement without the permission of the Archbishop or the Vicar-General. After a week's delay Dr. Wilson thus appealed to the civil authorities as represented by the Provisional Government:—"Be the character of these books what it may, the detention of them, and that too without any examination, is contrary to the principles of religious toleration recognised by the constitution of Portugal, and every principle of justice to which I can advert, to the precedent of 1834, and to what I believe must be the unanimous dictate of the judgment of the respected gentlemen who now exercise authority in this place." Dr. Wilson in truth knew by this time that the two Portuguese gentlemen who formed the Government "would gladly accept Bibles in the Portuguese language." Soon after the books were passed; though almost too late for wide-spread circulation. The number of the clergy had been reduced one-half since the tour of 1834, and all the monastic establishments had been shut up. Their libraries had been sold. The cruel intolerance of Menezes, the Synod of Diamper, and the Inquisition, was avenged. To this day the Archbishop of Goa finds it impossible to assert against the Belgian or French Archbishops of Madras and Bombay, Calcutta and Agra, who are directly subject to the Vatican, his powers under the old Bull, confirmed by two Popes, granting to Portugal in perpetuity whatever lands the great and good Prince Henry and his successors might discover from West Africa to the Indies inclusive.[1] The Vicar-General refused the gift of a Portuguese Bible, alleging that the use of the translation is prohibited. When asked to point out any passages erroneously

[1] See Mr. Major's *Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator, and their Results.* 1877.

rendered, he exclaimed, *Plurimi sunt, plurimi sunt*, as he turned the leaves, but could not point out one. Dr. Wilson replied to him in the words of David, *Testimonium Jehovae verax, sapientiam afferens imperito.* The Vicar-General then changed his ground to the charge that this version omitted the Apocrypha, a point of which an early Edinburgh controversy had made Dr. Wilson master. One of the clergy gladly took a Bible, while another presented him with two defences of Roman Catholicism recently published in Colombo, Ceylon, and full of flagrant mistranslations of Scripture. This passage follows in Dr. Wilson's account of the tour, sent to Dr. Brunton:—

"A respectable Portuguese officer spent the evening with us. His conversation turned principally on the errors of the Church of Rome, of many of which, like most of the Roman Catholic lay gentlemen whom I have met in India, he seemed to be well aware, and on the immoralities of some of the clergy in the State of Goa. One of them, he mentioned to us there could be little doubt, had been accessory lately to the exposure of his own illegitimate child, the body of which he himself found in the course of being devoured by ravens. The late archbishop he represented as one of the greatest debauchees in the colony. We heard his statements with pain, though we did not much wonder that the Papacy had been tolerant, nay, productive of many of the crimes which he mentioned. Next morning, after we had paid a visit to Colonel Joao Casimir, the President of the Provisional Junta, my books were sent to me from the custom-house."

This passage may be compared with the picture drawn by the late Colonel Meadows Taylor in the last of his vivid romances of Indian life and history, *A Noble Queen.* The professors, 110 students, and resident clergy, at the college of Rachol in Salsette, showed much kindness to Dr. Wilson, and he records that he "particularly prepared" himself for a Latin discussion on the merits of the Vulgate and Portuguese translations of Scripture, which he conducted with two of them. One of his adversaries, taking him aside at the close, confessed

his position to be most miserable, and was invited to Bombay. His reply was *Est mihi voluntas sed valde timeo.* All through Goa the laity showed great eagerness for copies of the *Gentilismo de Papismo,* a tractate containing correspondence between Captain Shortrede and Bishop Prendergast on the heathenism of popery. But the main interest now of this second tour to Goa, lies in the opportunity which it gave Dr. Wilson to visit and describe what has been called the third of the greatest wonders of India, the Gairsoppa Falls, the Himalayas and the Taj Mahal being the other two. The four falls have since become famous in India, but the best English treatises of descriptive or physical geography are still ignorant of them. Some 340 miles south-east of Bombay, in its district of North Canara, the Sheravutty divides into several channels just above the old capital of Gairsoppa, famous three centures ago for its queen, but plundered successively by the Portuguese, Hyder Ali, and Tippoo Saheb, and taken by assault by General Matthews a century ago. Dr. Wilson, who was accompanied by Dr. Smyttan, sent an account of the falls to his old professor, Dr. Jameson, and it appeared in his *Philosophical Journal.* The water falls eight times the depth of Niagara.

The brief college holiday in January 1838 was devoted to a second tour to Ajunta, with its caves, and to Jalna. The incidents are most pleasantly told by Dr. Wilson in letters to the sisters Bayne. The effect on a bangle or bracelet-seller of one of the vernacular books distributed in the bazaar, *On the Nature of God,* he describes to have been "such as I have never witnessed."

"2*d February* 1838.—When I was preaching in the evening a man came roaring into the enclosure in such a loud and frantic manner that he frightened the doctor, myself, and all present. He called out to me in the most awful manner which you can imagine, 'It is all true, It is all true, It is all true. You are my Gooroo, You are my Gooroo, You are my Gooroo,' and then threw himself down on the ground with

such violence that we feared he had fractured his skull. He quickly recovered himself, caught hold of my feet, and held them with such force that I was obliged to call on the people to extricate me, which with great difficulty they could effect. I tried to calm his mind, but his excitement gained ground notwithstanding all my efforts. His body was greatly convulsed; and he tossed himself and tore himself in the most fearful manner. On every person but myself he loaded the vilest abuse, and particularly on two of his relatives. To me he gave ascriptions of praise proper to God only; and extolled me as the lord of Pandarpur, and several other idol-shrines. He cried out that he would never leave me till his death, which he declared would take place before the close of the evening. It was now but too evident that he was labouring under temporary derangement, if not under direct possession of the great adversary of souls, which the peculiarities of his case seemed *most* to indicate to us, notwithstanding all our cautious reserve of judgment. I succeeded, with the help of the natives, in getting beyond his grasp for a few moments, when Dr. Smyttan and I anxiously consulted together about what was proper to be done. We agreed to direct our whole efforts to the soothing of his mind; and to his friends, who ascribed his state to my enchantment, and who were afraid that we should carry him away with us, we gave the assurance that I receive none as disciples but those who are reasonably convinced, and that we should render them every assistance in our power in allaying his excitement. He would listen patiently to none of my counsel or instruction; but when I found him willing to follow me I took him by the hand and led him to a house in the bazaar, where his friends said he could be accommodated for the night. They held him to the ground, while we, after promising to call upon him in the morning, took our departure. After fighting with them for some time he got quite exhausted, and sank into a profound sleep. They carried him off early next morning before we could hold any communication with him. He belongs to the village of *Shiwaná*, about six miles from Ajuntâ. He had proceeded about a mile on his return from the bazaar to that place, when he sat down to read the tract; and he flew to me with the speed of lightning, bursting through all opposition, after his mind began to be affected. He is a man whose reason was never formerly known to be disordered. What his first emotions were on perusing the tract it is impossible to say. The probability from his own language is, that he gave to it his assent at the same time that Satan stirred up the evil feelings of his mind with a view to extinguish his convictions, and to misrepresent our cause in the eyes of the heathen.

His case is a most singular one; and what the result of the whole may be no man can tell. Our prayers ascended to heaven that Christ might say to the waves of his affliction, 'Be still,' and that he might sit meekly at his feet, learn his Gospel, and receive it to the salvation of his soul. At what I have told you you will no doubt be astonished. I trust that the occurrence has been blessed to me, as impressing on my mind the fact that we are either the savour of life unto life or death unto death to those to whom we minister. How solemn are our circumstances!

"On the morning of the 29th we proceeded to the caves, which are six or seven miles distant from the town. The road leads down the Ajuntá Ghat, which in some parts is steep, though not very difficult in the passage. It then strikes to the left hand, and winds through jungle along the base of the hill which we descend, and up through a wild dell between other two of similar altitude, with a small river flowing below. You find yourself approaching some very precipitous rocks, about 250 feet high, without discerning any outlet. On the north side of the river, and a third way up the face of the rocks, the mouths of the caves, about nineteen in number, make their appearance. The curve of the rocks in which they are is somewhat elliptical. There is no regular road leading from one excavation to another; and it is a matter of no small difficulty to reach some of them. The entrances of four of them are arched, and those of the others are nearly square. None of them are high; and there is nothing imposing connected with them as at Kánadí in Salsette, and Kárlí. The principal object within is in some of them the dhagob, forming either a tomb (or the representation of it), in which is deposited some relic of a Buddh, and in others a statue of Buddh, generally sitting squatted, and hewn out of the solid rock. There are various ornamental figures cut or painted on the walls and ceiling and pillars, both in the principal chambers and those which, in the days of yore, were occupied by the monks. Among these some antelopes below the pedestal of Buddh are pretty well executed. Neither the sculpture nor the colourings, however, will bear to be compared with any of the products of Roman or Grecian art. The paintings are by no means so perfect or so interesting as they have been often represented. I think that we see in them attempts at the delineation of the inhabitants of *Asia*, in which Buddhism is spread; but I must say, contrary to what has been alleged, that it requires a great stretch of imagination to make either Africans or Europeans out of them. *Some* of the figures of flowers, dolphins, etc., have probably been made with some regard to taste, which has certainly more predominated among the Buddhists

than the Brahmans, who generally confine themselves to the routine of their symbols. On the western portico of two of the arched entrances there are inscriptions in the common cave character, though of a small form. They have been much injured; and we found it impracticable to take a fac-simile of them. Captain French had the parts of them which are legible copied some time ago; and I believe that they will be lithographed in Dr. Bird's account. You will see that we have been disappointed with the Ajuntá caves.

"The town of Ajuntá itself is now almost depopulated. The wall which surrounds it, however, is nearly perfect, and very neat. At one part of it there is a large octagonal serai, in which the sick of the British army, under General Wellesley, now the Duke of Wellington, were accommodated after the battle of Asaí in 1803, when the combined forces of Sindia and the Nágpur rájá were so signally defeated."

Again, at the beginning of 1839, he roamed among the jungles of the mainland, studying the aboriginal tribes, and preparing for a more permanent mission among them, till his stock of provisions was exhausted and his purse was empty. He was to meet a party at the Caves of Elephanta, to which he desired that ammunition for his gun might be sent. The ardent naturalist writes:—"I wounded an eagle the other day so much that I caught it, and I require to shoot some birds to keep it in life." He describes himself, at this time, as "quite mad upon ornithology." The following letter makes more revelations regarding the Government support of Hindooism, and introduces the second Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, who was Dr. Wilson's fast friend till the death of both of them within a brief period of each other:—

"Poona, 29*th August* 1839.—My Dearest Anna.—On Monday I visited Mr. Baber, and found him, as usual, extremely communicative. I received from him the information which I wanted relative to the Cochin Jews. He says that the native in the southern Maráthá country, on whose account he has suffered so much, is about to be found guilty, by Mr. Townsend, of several serious charges brought against him by Mr. Simpson. Should this be the case Mr. Baber will be relieved from much trouble. I am to dine with Baber to-morrow, at his brother-in-law, General Fearon's. I spent Monday evening at Captain Brett's, where a number of the Poonâ worthies were present.

"On Tuesday evening I went on a pilgrimage to the Poona Cathedral—*alias* the shrine of Parvatee—which is situated on an eminence that overlooks both the town and camp. I was greatly tired before I found myself in her highness's presence, though to a person in health the ascent of her sacred mount is a work of no great difficulty. I asked the priests why they worshipped an idol, and they replied to my question by inquiring why the English Sarkár pays them for doing so, and by mentioning that it contributes to Parvatee the sum of Rs. 1500 a-month! The Government, I said, must think that the idol has *endowments* to this amount. 'No,' quoth the Bhudwas, 'it acts like the Peshwa; it gives of its own free will to our establishment all that is necessary to uphold it. Formerly it granted us about Rs. 2500 a-month, but on the recommendation of Mr. Baber it has reduced its allowance to the sum which we have mentioned.' I could not but heave a sigh at this intimated profanation of English rule. Our Government continues the discretional bounty of a heathen prince to a lifeless idol, confirms the wretched natives in all their abominable and degrading superstitions, and deprives itself of the means of extending the benefits of a right education throughout the country! And for what reason does it thus violate the precepts of heaven, and injure its subjects? For no other, that I can imagine, than that it fears to assume a perfect neutrality in reference to the native religions. By encouraging them it hopes to secure their affections, while it in fact only nurses the elements of their greatest alienation to our sway—those connected with the monstrous error of their creed and religious services. There is not a syllable in the last despatch from the Court of Directors about grants to temples, though a casual reader may suppose that they may fall to the ground if the principles of that despatch be carried into effect. Let the Christian public in India and Britain again awake to the re-agitation of the question connected with the Government countenance of idolatry in India. Let it plead for the interdiction of all payments to heathen temples, to heathen priests, and to heathen schools, which are not the fruit of property actually legally alienated to them by chartered deeds; and let it cease to manage that property which they may legally claim. This is the grand measure which is imperiously demanded by Christian principle.

"When we were returning from the temple we met Cursetjee Jamsetjee, Esq., the eldest son of Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy. He shook hands with me very cordially, and impressed me with the belief that *he* was no zealous partizan connected with the late proceedings in the Parsee community. He expressed a wish to see my Sermon; and yes-

terday morning I sent him a copy, with a suitable note. He returned me many thanks for my kindness, and forwarded to me some of the native newspapers for my perusal.

"Yesterday I principally spent in making calls. 'How are the *Misses* Bayne!' said several of my friends. They had not connected the intimation of Mr. Nesbit's marriage with our family circle, and they were much surprised that my bereavement of my dear sister had not been mentioned to them! I felt rather unwell toward the evening, and I got no sleep during the night owing to sub-acute pain which I felt in my liver. The blue pill, of which I have received a supply, will I trust relieve me. I have to-day been busy with my missionary sermon."

To complete his survey of the Native States around the Province of Bombay, and to seek in the great stone cities and deserts of Upper India forms of Hindooism more ancient and more directly the fruit of its Vedic and Epic times than even the Brahmanism of Maharashtra could afford, Dr. Wilson had resolved to assign the early portion of 1840 to a tour in south-western Rajpootana, with his new colleague Dr. Murray Mitchell. The visit of Dr. Duff delayed their departure, but they resolved to face the terrors of the hot season, which is, officially, considered to begin on the 15th March, when the cooling *punkah* is for the first time in each year allowed in the public offices. The tour may well begin with this characteristic letter from its first stage at Tanna, honourable alike to the writer and to Dr. Duff. The Governor, Sir James R. Carnac, pressed upon Dr. Wilson letters of introduction to the political officers on his way—all of whom the missionary well knew—and presented him with an unpublished map of the Presidency in twenty-two sheets:—

"TANNA, 28*th February* 1840.—MY DEAREST ANNA.—I said little to you when I parted with you, because I felt much; but I offered up to God the fervent prayer that his divine presence might remain with us while we are separated from one another. My supplication was not that of the moment. It still rises, and will rise from my heart, as I bend my footsteps on this great journey, which the desire of publishing

peace to the unsoothed hearts of the inhabitants of Goojarat and Rajpootana has led me to undertake. You must conceive of me as always addressing the throne of heaven on your behalf; and I shall have the same realisation of your blessed employment for my sake. It is only when our desires for our mutual welfare find their expression Godward that we can rest with confidence in the view of all that may await us.

"We went through the fatigues of yesterday wonderfully well; and I was quite refreshed by Dr. Duff's admiration of the beauties of the Salsitian landscape, and the interest which he felt in the antiquities of its ancient forests. We rode together in the phaeton to Vehar, where we met with Mr. Nesbit, Dr. Campbell, and Mr. Mitchell; and after performing the usual operations of conservatism at the table of our old friend Merwanji, we sallied forth on our pilgrimage to the excavated mount. The hamals (bearers) groaned under the weight of their precious load—the apostle of the Ganges; and two sturdy bullocks, Pandhya and Sona, dragged a crazy chariot containing the carcases encasing the souls of the other constituents of the choice fraternity. We were forced to dismount about a couple of miles from the abodes of the Buddhas, and with staff in hand, and over-canopied with chattris (umbrellas) from the west and the east, we plied our steps to the exalted regions. The sun himself entered into battle with us on the way, and he had nearly overpowered us before we could find refuge in the temple's shade. He applied himself so sturdily to the monk of the Don that he had nearly succeeded in making his visage glow with a radiance as glorious as his own. We congratulated ourselves when we arrived at the *terminus ad quem* that we were not reduced to cinders, or melted into minerals, by his furnace heat. Our perambulations in the caves followed a second conservative repast, and the echo of our eloquent discourse caused the very hills to shake. The images themselves told us what they were and what they had been, and pointed us to the tombs in which are enshrined the relics of their anti-type. We performed *pradakshina* round the Dhagobs, reclined on the living couches of the devotees of Nirwan, traversed the halls of instruction of the primitive intellectualists, peeped into the bowels of the earth, ascended the lofty stairs, and gazed on the beauty and grandeur of the famed isle.

"We returned to Vehar about sunset, and mounted our steeds for Tanna. I rode along with Dr. Campbell; and, *mirabile dictu*, having got into a brown study I missed the road in the dark, and did not recover my senses till an error of six miles' length found him and myself in the village of Bhandup, in the wrong direction. Here we encountered

various difficulties, from which we thought we had delivered ourselves by committing ourselves to the care of a Brahman carrying a sword and shield. He led us another couple of miles astray; and our strength and patience had nearly failed when a Fakeer had compassion on us, and for the sake of Allah, as he said, turned our faces in the direction of Tanna, which we reached at a late hour. Our friends, who had arrived long before us, were overjoyed when they found that we had not been devoured by the ghost of Jamshid, or Feridun, or some other hero of ancient Persia. Something more than the excitement of fun and frolic filled our hearts when we found ourselves safely around the table in the traveller's bungalow.

"I cannot tell what I felt when dear Mr. Nesbit, who had kept his intentions secret in the chambers of his own individuality during the day, announced that the *moment* had arrived when he and Dr. Duff must proceed to Panwell, and that without the formalities of worship, which the tide, he thought, would not await. We resolved, at all hazards, however, to part calling on the name of God; and after reading the 20th chapter of the Acts I endeavoured to conduct our devotions. My heart completely failed me when I was praying, but not before many supplications had proceeded from its inmost recesses. Dr. Duff, with whom I was so sorry to part because I felt that I should not again see him till the heavens are no more, addressed to us the words of comfort which his affectionate heart can so well indite, and we solemnly bade each other farewell. My memory will often visit the hallowed spot whence we moved asunder."

This tour extended over a distance of 1525 miles. At Baroda Mr. Sutherland, the Resident, not unassisted by the influence of Dr. Wilson in his former visit to the Gaikwar, was able to announce the abolition of Suttee throughout the extensive territories of his Highness. Dr. Wilson was unable to wait there long enough to accept an invitation to renew his acquaintance with the Gaikwar; but had much intercourse with his nobles.

"I had a long private interview with the Resident, during which we discussed at considerable length the abolition of Suttee in the native States, the cessation of the Government countenance of idolatry, the propriety of erecting an English school in Baroda, the measures to be adopted for the further suppression of infanticide, etc. He was very free and candid in his communications; and I am perfectly satisfied

that he will do all in his power to forward the cause of philanthropy. I received from him the loan of several interesting works and documents connected with the country and the native Governments. At the Residency I met an important native personage named Govind Ráo, whose son was adopted by the late Dewánjee of the Baroda State; and who, under the new arrangements with our Government, has been permitted to return to the city as a candidate for high political employment under the Gáikáwár. Captain Fawcett, and Mr. Mitchell, Dr. Campbell and I, went to pay a visit to him at the Divanji's Wádi in the evening of the 21st ult. My friends were mounted on Mr. Sutherland's elephant, which outstepped my bearers on the road to the city. We lost sight of one another in one of the lanes; and the wise men who were bearing me took me to the house of the king instead of to that of his minister! I had there the pleasure of seeing two of the Ránees (queens), whose curiosity introduced them to my view on one of the staircases. Having explained the error of the bipeds to the guards around me, I was quickly transported to what ought to have been my first destination. I found the trio sitting in a splendid apartment, and lost in wonder at the marvels around them. To me they had little novelty; and the delay which had occurred in my movements consumed the time which should have been devoted to religious conversation. Alas! The first movement of the household in reference to our leaving the mansion revealed the kindness and liberality of its owners. Govind Ráo rose to present each of us with a pair of Cashmere shawls and a turban; and he succeeded in getting us to accept of them. The most valuable he set apart for myself; those next in a market-reckoning to Mr. Mitchell. Dr. Campbell, who was last served, fared worst. I determined for my own part to manage so as to give a suitable return; and when the great man visited us with his followers on the 23d, I presented his son with an Atlas, phenakistoscope, and several helps to the acquisition of English which he has begun to study, and himself with several books. It was a relief to my feelings to be able to give him an exposition of Christian doctrine when he waited upon us. The Bráhmans who attended him, as well as himself, were very attentive to what I said. I must not forget to mention that he accompanied us to his gardens, which are in excellent order. The first fruits of the season were destined for our use; and three men followed us home with baskets filled with them.

"The Nawab, whose brother you saw in Bombay when on his way to Mecca, called upon us on the 21st. He afterwards sent us a written invitation, which I enclose, and which is sufficiently *precise* and amus-

ing. We asked him to convert the dinner into a breakfast, which he most readily did ; and we resolved to avail ourselves of his hospitality. Captain James and Lieutenant Lucas, and the young Hewetts were with us his guests. Victoria herself, I guess, could not, with the aid of all her Welsh, French, and German cooks, give us such a repast. And as to the *tamáshá* which followed, or rather which was proposed, for much of it we prevented, I know not how to characterise it. It consisted chiefly of a review of all the Damascus, Khorassan, Iran, Arab, Turkish, and English blades ; swords, sabres, daggers, bayonets, dirks, creeses, etc.; of all the guns, carbines, blunderbusses, muskets, pistols, and rifles ; and of all the birds and beasts of war, from the partridge to the tiger, which are to be found in the Nawab's museum and offices. Then we had the hookah, the chilam, the pipe, and other fumeries ; rosewater, attar, arall, and other perfumeries ; flowers and roses ; fruits and roots ; sweets and sours and bitters, *usque ad nauseam.* How could I bear all this ; how could I be present when this display was made ? I know not whether or not I may not have failed sufficiently to testify against the folly of the world. I allowed, however, nothing to be *done* which appeared to be wrong ; and I failed not to declare that we are messengers of peace, and to point to that time when men shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks ; and to put into his hands the words of Him who neither cried nor lifted up His voice in the streets, but Who himself was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth, and the testimony of some of His servants as to its purity integrity, and authority. The Nawab acknowledged my gift by presenting me with a box of bloodstone set in silver. Neither he nor his brother ate with us while we sat at table. They excused themselves on the ground of indisposition, but declared themselves perfectly at liberty to associate with us as brethren of the board."

From Baroda Dr. Wilson and his companion marched through the level country of Goojarat, by Khaira to which he sought to induce the Church to send a missionary. His journal corrects a few of "the most amusing blunders" of that very inaccurate but most pleasant book, Bishop Heber's *Narrative.* Here he had much discussion with the Jains, one of whom proposed to write a reply to his letter to the priests of Palitana. Lieutenant Pilfold, "an excellent Sanscrit scholar," copied for him Sanscrit inscriptions on his march to Deesa by

Ahmedabad, Khaira, Puttun, and Pahlunpoor. At Puttun ("the city"), the ancient capital of Goojarat, they were met by Captain Lang, the scholarly political agent. After cross-examining a young Hindoo ascetic, so as to discover for the first time that the lengthened hair of these devotees is caused by twisting to the growth the thinning which is taken from it, the party proceeded to survey the ruins.

"*5th April.*—Our guides had been procured by Captain Lang, and, including a Bhat (bard) brought at my special request, they proved most zealous and attentive. We could distinctly trace the ancient course of the Saraswati, which must have formerly passed under the walls of the town. . . . Not far from the tank are the remains of a large well called the Ranis Kua, the carved work of which is most extensive and tasteful, and must have cost much more than the similar work at Adalij, for which were paid five lakhs of rupees. Some Jain temples in another direction were also inspected by us. They are ascribed to Sadra Jayasingh, one of the Jain princes of Goojarat. When I heard the name of this sovereign I examined the Bhat as to his knowledge of his progenitors and successors; and I was delighted to find him produce a little work, which may be denominated the annals of Puttun, which contained all the information which I could desire. Having Mr. Prinsep's tables in my hands, I compared with it the genealogies of the Ayin Akbari and Agni Puran, and found the different documents in many respects corroborative of one another. The bard gave me the promise of a copy of his work; and Captain Lang having seen to its fulfilment since I left Puttun, I have now the treasure in my possession. I have perused the whole of it. Who knows but a translation of it, with remarks, may yet form a chapter in my researches? I am persuaded that many valuable historical gleanings are to be obtained from the traditions and chronicles of the Bháts and Chárans (bards and annalists). I suspect that most of Colonel Tod's information about the Rajpoot States was procured in this manner.

"On our return from our expedition we had many conferences with the most respectable natives of the place, who came to visit us at Captain Lang's tents. Their attention to the word spoken, and their desire to become acquainted with the principles of Christianity, favourably contrasted with what I have sometimes witnessed amongst their compeers in Maháráshtra. There is less *bigotry* in Goojarat than in most other districts of India. Its present religious state is worthy of a distinct exposition.

"A highly respectable Brahman youth agreed with me to go to Bombay for the prosecution of his studies and religious inquiry. He will gain his own livelihood by his labours as a teacher of Goojarátee. He is espoused to the daughter of the chief Achárya (priest) of the Audich Brahmans. He is a youth of the highest promise; and we have found him very useful in our travels.

"I had a congregation in the bazaar amounting to 800, who could distinctly hear my voice as I called them to flee from the wrath to come, and to take refuge in the grace of Jesus. Oh, how it moves one's soul to give the first testimony for our Lord and Master in such circumstances. Oh, Anna, pray that I may feel the power of the message which I announce."

At Pahlunpoor, one of the vassal states of the Gaikwar, the Dewan held a durbar or court for the reception of the missionaries. He was Futh Khan, whom we had put on the throne as the rightful heir of the Afghan Chief first recognised by Akbar, to a principality which the Rajpoot Chief of Jodhpore had reduced to Pahlunpoor and Deesa. He lived till 1854, having been first acknowledged in 1794, and his son still rules after loyal services in the Mutiny. The most interesting visitor, however, was a Muhammadan, who had lived nine years in the Hedjaz of Arabia. He gave Dr. Wilson a description of the *Hajar-as-Swad*, exactly corresponding with the engraving in Burkhardt's travels, but without expressing particular veneration for the sacred stone, the most venerable relic of antiquity in the eyes of Mussulmans. The British cantonment of Deesa, eighteen miles from the Dewan's capital, was next visited, and the Sepoy regimental school was examined through Marathee. Its fifty-five pupils and regimental boys flocked to Dr. Wilson's tent for books, and there he instructed them in Christianity. "Many of the youth in the Army," he writes on this occasion, "in consequence of its discipline and arrangements have had their faith in Hindooism greatly shaken. They are very observant of the walk and conversation of their officers, and they generally respect those of them who are imbued with the

spirit of Christianity!" Here Dr. Wilson was surprised by coming into contact with one of the many proofs, apparent to the experienced and unprejudiced observer of Hindoo society, that the leaven of Christianity is working by means and in directions such as no statistics can tabulate nor formal report record. The subsequent history of Christianity in India has revealed many similar cases of quasi-Christian sects, of "almost Christians," of "secret Christians," and of Christian heresies and apostasies, caused by such an admixture of pantheistic speculation with Christ's teaching as Gnosticism, Alexandria, and the early Oriental Churches illustrate.

"12*th April*.—We met three natives at Dr. Robson's door, who said that they had been going about the camp in search of us, in consequence of the report of my having preached in the town of Deesa. To my inquiry, 'Who are you?' they readily and emphatically answered, 'We are *Christians*.' We immediately repaired with them to the bungalow in which we were holding our meetings; and I conversed with them, and addressed them respecting the interests of their immortal souls. The individual who took the lead in the conference with me stated that he is a *Bhagat*, devoted to the service of Christ, that his name is Narottam Ladha, and that his class is that of the Lawana; one of his companions, that he is a disciple of Narottam, named Daman Deva, and of the Khatree class; and the other, that he is a Jain Mehta, named Natharam Dalichand, and an inquirer into the doctrines of Christianity, of the truth of which he is thoroughly convinced. Narottam remarked that he teaches Christianity to those who listen to him, and receives the support which they voluntarily afford. His knowledge, he said, he had received from books, and from conversation with a native convert from Bengal, named Kamilakant Rao. His profession of Christianity he had assumed, and his attempts to propagate Christianity he had commenced and carried on without any consultation with Europeans. He had seen the Bishop of Bombay, however, and Mr. Fletcher, on the occasion of their visit to Deesa last year, and is acquainted with Mr. Pemberton, the chaplain, whose services in the church he sometimes attends, with a partial knowledge of what is said though he himself is unable to converse in English. I found, on examination, that he is well acquainted with the principal facts recorded in the New Testament. His views of the offices of the persons of the Holy Trinity appeared, in

the first instance, to be obscure, but after I had delivered an exposition to him on the subject, I perceived that they were more extensive and correct than I had supposed. He distinctly ascribed the origination of the plan of human redemption to the Father, its accomplishment to the work and merit of the Son, and its application to the agency of the Spirit, of whose various operations he spoke in a manner strictly consistent with the divine testimony. Both Mr. Mitchell and myself felt the greatest interest in him and his friends, and we invited him to return to us at the conclusion of English worship in the camp.

"Narottam made his appearance at the time appointed, along with the persons already mentioned, and Jawer, a barber, who represented himself as an 'established believer' in Christ, and Mancharam, a respectable Mehta, who said that he wished himself to be considered as merely in the capacity of an inquirer. The Bhagat, at my request, gave me a particular account of his past history, his present engagements, and the circumstances of his followers. He was born in Bombay about thirty years ago, his father being a native of Bhownuggur, in Kathiawar. Six years ago he received from a soldier in the camp bazaar at Deesa, a copy of a Goojaratee tract, entitled 'The Great Inquiry,' and a Marathee tract superscribed 'The First Book for Children.' He read both of these little publications with the greatest attention, and the consequence of his acquaintance with them was the awakening of great anxiety about the salvation of his soul. Seeing on one of them a notice of different mission stations where information respecting their contents could be found, he determined to betake himself to that which was most accessible. He went on his way to Surat as far as Ahmedabad. He was there assailed by various idolaters, who represented the missionaries to him as too powerful in their influence over the minds of those who come into close contact with them. During his stay at Ahmedabad he met with Jayasingh, the hereditary Kamavisdar of Kadee, a most intelligent gentleman, with whom we had a very agreeable interview on our visit to his native place. Jayasingh's followers said to him, 'There are many Fakeers, Bairagees, Gosayees, etc., in the country, why don't you unite yourself with one of their fraternities;' but their master, when he had a private opportunity afforded him, said, 'I have as much need of God as you, stay with me; when I hear of a teacher I will send for him.' This invitation was complied with; and he to whom it was addressed resided for five months at Kadee, when the failure of the money which he had carried from Deesa, the usual place of his residence, forced him again to proceed northward. About half a year after his return to the camp bazaar he

met with Kamilakant, already mentioned, and began to associate with him, and to accompany him occasionally to church. By the perusal of some Goojaratee books, portions of the Bible, and tracts which he obtained, and by conversation with his friend from Bengal, he became convinced that Jesus Christ is the only surety and Saviour of men, and resolved, without consulting with flesh and blood, to devote himself to His service, in which he has now been engaged for a considerable time. He reads and expounds the Scriptures, according to the light which he has obtained, to all who will listen to him. Seven of his acquaintances, he says, have received the truth in the love of it, and avow themselves to be disciples of the Redeemer. About a hundred persons appear to be sincere inquirers. About 20 or 25 of them reside in Deesa, 10 or 15 at Pahlunpoor, 40 at Puttun, 2 at Vijapoor and Kadee, 10 at Baroch, and 5 at Baroda. Many other individuals hold religious intercourse with him; and there is in various places a growing attachment to the divine word. All his temporal wants are supplied by his followers, and Asharam, a merchant, shows him particular kindness.

"After he had given me this narrative, he asked me to explain to him many passages of the sacred Scriptures which he had found it difficult to understand. I was surprised at the degree of intelligence which his inquiries evinced, and at the readiness with which he received my expositions. He clearly showed that he reads the Bible with the greatest attention, and that he is no stranger to the analogy of the faith. He had no objection, he said, to be baptized; but he added that, though not recognised as a teacher by Europeans, he would minister to his native flock as long as its members might choose to attend to him. Some of the rules of the Hindoo devotees he thought it expedient to apply to his services. He wishes to be considered a *Bhagat*, and not a *Gooroo*. 'Gooroos, like yourself,' he said, 'I shall ever attend when I have the opportunity.' Such of his friends as were present expressed the same determination. Though we saw a good deal of superstition in some of their notions we were rejoiced to find that they were far from being ignorant of the most important truths. I read my letter to the Jain priests to the company, and conversed about some of the topics on which it touches. I then delivered a practical address suited to the circumstances of my audience, and closed our meeting with prayer. The immediate objects of our regard were evidently much affected during the latter exercise, and they grasped my hand in the most tender manner when I ceased to address the Throne of Grace on their behalf. On parting with us they readily acquiesced in a proposal to correspond with our Native Church in Bombay.

"I do not know how you and my other friends in Bombay will receive this intelligence. For my own part, I have no hesitation in saying that the privilege of communicating it is to us a sufficient recompense for the long journey which we have undertaken at this trying season. The simple spread of the knowledge of Christ in this moral wilderness, independently of the hope which this case affords that real conversion may have occurred, demands the fervent gratitude of all His people, and forms a mighty encouragement to the dissemination of the holy Scriptures and religious tracts throughout the length and breadth of the land. The Apostle Paul and his companions met with 'disciples' in different cities before they had commenced in them their own personal ministrations, and before elders were ordained to watch over their spiritual interests as 'those who must give an account,' and so have we found persons who *appear* to be deserving of the name in a situation where we least expected them. . . .

"On the 25th of April we left Amba Bhowanee for Danta, the capital of its Raná, who receives as his due the offerings presented to the goddess. We quenched our thirst at Nana Bhai Ká Bawadi, a well tended by a devout Bairagee (ascetic), originally from Nagpore. He is, without exception, one of the kindest and most considerate persons of his class whom I have met in India, and a very respectable Sanscrit scholar. I gave him a brief outline of the Christian faith, but he hesitated about the reception of a tract. 'If I take it,' he said, 'I shall probably incur the displeasure of the goddess.' During the night we heard lions roaring in our neighbourhood, and one of them approached our resting-place, not indeed to devour the intrepid travellers, but to quench its thirst at a well in our neighbourhood. The king of the forest was followed, at a respectful distance, by bears, jackals, and porcupines.

"The 26th of April was the Sabbath; and after the toils of the week I found its rest most refreshing, both to my outward and inward man. I received on it the home letters which arrived by the steamer, and they awoke very deep and peculiar emotions in my soul. The illness of my beloved children, with their subsequent deliverance, affected me much; and I felt, perhaps, more strongly than ever, that they are the Lord's, and that I must cheerfully submit to *his* disposal of them. I had great delight in commending them to the loving-kindness of their covenant God, and praying that grace may be imparted in great abundance to my beloved sister in whose charge they are now placed. The proposal of the Calvinistic Methodists to commence a mission in India delighted me much, and I found in it the fulfilment of a long cherished desire. The sums voted by the Bible Society will

contribute much to the multiplication of copies of the sacred records in our benighted provinces. The situation of our Church at home is most trying; but if its ministers continue faithful it will receive in rich abundance the blessing of the Lord.

"*29th.*—After a long and tiresome ride we arrived in Edur, which may with propriety be denominated the capital of the jungles. It is situated between two hills, which appear covered with large granitic rocks most romantically disposed of; and most beautiful trees are planted throughout its different wádás. We were kindly received by the native agent of the English Government at the court of the Raja, and by the relatives of the Prince; and we regaled ourselves on the viands which they had provided for our breakfast. A Bráhman acted as our butler, and he was most attentive both in urging us to eat, by lauding the dainties which were before us, and doing all he could by his own hands to compensate for the want of knives, and forks, and spoons!

"A durbar was held in the afternoon on our account. The youthful prince, who is only nine years of age, acted his part remarkably well. He relished our visit exceedingly, and everything about us seemed to excite his curiosity, and to call forth remark and inquiry. His ministers had taught him a set of questions to address to us, with the view of supporting the dignity and grace of the *gadí* (royal cushion); but of them he made a most ridiculous use, and that to the great confusion of his counsellors. Instead of putting them to us seriatim, and waiting for an answer, he asked them all in one breath, and said, 'Now I have done with them!' So much for royal parrots. I felt a great love for the boy, and I could not but admire his manner and appearance. By way of examining him as to his progress in education we asked him to furnish us with a specimen of his handwriting. He wrote in Devanágree letters, 'Captain William Lang, Saheb Bahádoor, Political Agent, Prant Mahí-Kántá.' When he had done this, his gooroo said, 'You have forgotten to write the usual salutation to Shrí Rámachandra;' and he immediately supplied the omission. How melancholy it was to observe the watchfulness exercised as to the teaching and practice of superstition. I said to the boy, in the most affectionate tone, 'Remember the *Supreme*.' He readily assented; but he was immediately told by the Brahmans and his Rajpoot relatives that Bhagawán and Rám are identical. I presented him with a new patent ink glass and several engravings, with which he was greatly delighted. He ordered a *sirpáo* of fifty rupees to be given to us, which, with the advice of the English Vakeel (agent), we accepted; determining at the

same time to convert it into suitable presents to the donor, and other native chiefs whom we may meet."

Dr. Wilson had now passed through that wild Bheel country on the Maheekanta and Rajpootana frontier, which Sir James Outram had in 1838 pacified and done much to civilise, but we have no trace of a meeting between men who must have appreciated each other. It is to be regretted too that we have here no detailed description of that mountain of the Jains—Aboo—which in 1840 was purely native. Five years after his visit the Rao, Sheo Singh, made over to the British Government lands for a sanitarium, which became the favourite resort of Sir Henry Lawrence and his successors to the present day. The reigning chief, son of Dr. Wilson's friend who died a few weeks before the missionary himself, is now of age, and still insists on the one condition of the grant, that no kine shall be killed on the holy mount of the Jains.

Marching forward thus through the country between the Aboo and Aravullee hills and the wild Bheel land, and away by Sadra on the Saburmuttee, Dakore, famed in Hindoo pilgrimage, and the Baria and Champaner jungles, south-east to the great Nerbudda river, Dr. Wilson and his companions had to climb the low Satpoora range before reaching the Maratha-desolated plains of Khandesh. Thence by Dhoolia and Malligaum Bombay was reached in the middle of June, after a journey unmatched at that time by any save officials on military or most urgent duty, whether we look at the terrific heat or the desert and dangerous lands.

Soon he prepared a series of lectures on a tour which, even to the few experienced travellers, English and native, who had gone over the same route, were full of the highest instruction. It is long since the railway reached Ahmedabad from Bombay, and the line has already penetrated from Calcutta to Jeypore for the salt of the Sambhur Lake. It cannot be long till

Ahmedabad and Jeypore are connected by a line which will follow Dr. Wilson's route away by Aboo to Palee and Ajmer, to which he afterwards conducted the first United Presbyterian missionaries.

At the close of February 1841, Dr. Wilson welcomed the first of those bands of missionaries who, of whatever evangelical Church, continued successively, during the next third of a century, to find in Ambrolie or "The Cliff" on Malabar Hill the most generous hospitality, the wisest counsel, the most efficient aid. The first of his tours to bear fruit in the establishment of a mission by another Church than his own, was, as we have seen, his exploration of Goojarat and Kathiawar in 1835. To evangelise that, the Synod of Ulster, daughter of the Scottish Kirk, sent out two missionaries. The Rev. J. Glasgow and J. Kerr had not been asked to volunteer for the work, but had been called upon by the Synod's committee to do it. This course, followed only by the autocratic organisation of the Church of Rome, was declared by the very democratic Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church "to be a precedent in all time to come." It may be regretted that the precedent has been so seldom, if ever since, followed. Certainly few Protestant missions to people possessed of an ancient civilisation, literature, and faith, have been so promising, to the present day, as that conducted by a succession of men of the same stamp as the Lawrences and Montgomerys of Derry, who, in the civil and military services, have written their names deepest on the page of Indian history. The landing of Messrs. Glasgow and Kerr raised in Government circles, as well as in native society, a new question: Would they, should they, be allowed to preach and teach in native States like Baroda and the many vassal principalities of Kathiawar?

The East India Company had been compelled, by the public opinion of Great Britain expressed through Par-

liament, to tolerate missionaries in their ordinary territory. But up to this time there had been no instance of a Christian mission in a native State. And we may be assured that, but for the pioneering work and influence of Dr. Wilson, the principalities of Western and Northern India would have remained closed for many a day. His interviews with chiefs and people had prepared them as well as the British Government for Christian schools and preachers, a result to which the earlier example of a chaplain and the increasing number of Christian officials had contributed. There was some doubt as to how Sir James R. Carnac, the Governor of Bombay, would act. He was an "old Indian," who, after experience as a sepoy officer in the Madras Army, had himself been Resident at Baroda, and then Chairman of the Court of Directors. One of his first utterances as Governor had seemed hostile to toleration. But over him also Dr. Wilson's perfect honesty, fearless character, and fine Christian tact, had had their due effect. His formal application to the Government produced this reply, signed by the friendly chief secretary, Sir. J. P. Willoughby, "The Honourable the Governor in Council will offer no objection to these gentlemen proceeding to and residing in Kathiawar, so long as they conduct themselves according to the principles set forth in your communication." Thus peacefully was established a precedent of which Dr. Wilson wrote to the Ulster Synod: "The freely accorded permission of the Government for the establishment of your mission in Kathiawar, though nothing more than what was expected in the circumstances of the case, is such as to demand our fervent gratitude. Though we should not have refused to enter the province even though the goodwill of our rulers had not been expressed, the official communication which we have had with the authorities enables us to do so with the best understanding, and without any apprehension as to further embarrassments."

The season of the year for tours was past, but now, as before, Dr. Wilson set the prudent fears of his friends at defiance, and resolved to spend the hot months in helping his Irish brethren to establish their mission at Rajkote, Porebunder, and Gogo. At all three places Dr. Wilson found that his former visit had borne fruit in the goodwill and intelligent interest of the native chiefs in the mission, and in the readiness of the leading inhabitants to send their boys to the English schools. The Rajkote Chief himself took part in a public discussion of the comparative merits of Christianity and Hindooism, propounding the question, "Why does not God Almighty, who created the world, annihilate sin at once in the heart of man, and thus instantly save him from evil?" This led to a statement of the principles of the moral government of God. Thus, as by some weeks' study of the missionary work in Bombay, were the new missionaries trained. And not only they, for the Parsee convert, Dhunjeebhoy, was, for the first time, on this tour the companion of the teacher to whom he was thenceforth as a son. Hardly had the mission been established in a house in Rajkote when Mr. Kerr was carried off by jungle fever, which prostrated Dr. Wilson at the same time. Captain Le Grand Jacob, afterwards a famous name in Western India, and then acting as Political Agent, removed his friend from the fatal house, and in the Residency Dr. Wilson was tenderly nursed by Dhunjheeboy, while deserted by some of his heathen servants who feared infection. In a letter to Dr. Brunton, written towards the close of 1841 from the sanitarium of Mahableshwar, Dr. Wilson thus refers to sorrow upon sorrow, after a pathetic eulogy of Mr. Kerr:—

"Though, when death presented itself to my view, and I called to mind my own waywardness under the teaching of the Lord, and my awful responsibility as a missionary of the Cross to this darkened and unholy country, 'my flesh,' in the first instance, 'trembled for fear of God's judgments,' there was soon imparted to me, through contemplation on the glory and stability of the covenant of grace, and the

freeness with which its blessings are bestowed on the humblest and most unworthy believer, a peace and joy the remembrance of which is calculated to excite most fervent and devout gratitude. After I had become in some degree convalescent I was called to experience a most unfavourable relapse. A change of climate affording the only hope of my recovery, I was conveyed, by bearers, from Rajkote to Gogo. I remained about a week at the latter place before the daily paroxysms of fever began to be mitigated ; but as soon as I felt them subsiding I sailed for Bombay, which I reached in safety on the 21st of September.

"Here it pleased the Lord, in his unerring wisdom and unswerving faithfulness, to visit me with other great and sore afflictions. During my voyage I had fondly indulged the hope that my beloved sister and endeared companion Miss Anna Bayne, would receive me with her usual affection, and attend to me in my weakness with her wonted care and tenderness. On my arrival at the mission-house, however, I learnt that she was with her sister, Mrs. Nesbit, in the most precarious, nay dangerous state of health. Her appointed days of suffering soon drew to a close ; and on the morning of the 4th of October her ransomed, and justified, and purified soul was called to enter into the joy of its Lord. The triumph of her faith during the whole of her last illness was most remarkable, instructive, animating, and encouraging. She proved a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Him that loved her.

"Miss Bayne, though not officially connected with the General Assembly's Mission, was actually much engaged in its service. To comfort and assist me in the work of the Lord, she and her sister Hay, now Mrs. Nesbit, left the land of their fathers. She was the life and charm of my household. To the Parsee converts, and Abyssinian and Native youth, whom I have received into my family, she was a tender and affectionate mother, as they themselves declare and feel, and will long remember. Her visits to the female schools proved very encouraging to the scholars ; and her instruction of the classes in her own room was highly promising of spiritual good. She zealously sought the improvement and conversion of the students of English who visit the mission-house ; and with some of them she regularly read and explained the Scriptures, while with others she regularly corresponded when they were removed from Bombay. In the Christian society in which she moved she was most exemplary and influential ; and both noticed and respected for her gifts and graces. All who enjoyed her friendship admired her kindness, faithfulness, and judiciousness. It was her request, when she came to India, that no mention should be made of her endeavours and exertions in any public report or letter."

The indomitable spirit of Dr. Wilson is apparent in every line of this letter, and was characteristically illustrated by his determination, even in the height of his fever at Rajkote, not to leave Kathiawar till he had again visited Porebunder, to procure for the General Assembly's Institution a supply of that fine oolitic sandstone which was long after re-discovered for the building of New Bombay. At Mahableshwar he devoted his returning health to the composition of *The Parsi Religion* and the renewed study of the aboriginal tribes of the Western Ghauts.

"I am at present sojourning on the most lovely spot which you can imagine. The scenery around is the grandest, the most beautiful, and the most sublime, which I have yet witnessed during my earthly wanderings, extensive though they have been. The Mahableshwar is part of the great Western Ghâts, and 4700 feet above the level of the sea,—a loftiness considerably surpassing the highest of Caledonia's mountains. The vegetation partakes of the magnificence of the tropics, but is enchanting to the dwellers in the climes of the sun, as in some respects resembling that of our beloved native land. The matériel of the heights is of the trap formation, which by its basaltic masses and columns, and precipitous scarps, affords the most wonderful and diversified specimens of nature's architecture, and by its valleys and ravines, of her gigantic excavation. The province of the Konkan, with its hills and dales, and exhaustless forests and fruitful fields, stretches below. At a distance the ocean is seen as a vast mirror of brilliancy, reflecting the glory of the sky. The clouds baffle all description. Their various and changing hues, and multifarious forms and motions, as they descend to kiss the mountain brow, or remain above as our fleecy mantle, or interpose between us and the luminary of heaven to catch its rays, and to reveal their coloured splendour, fill the mind with the most intense delight. The whole display forces us to praise God, and to exclaim, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul. O Lord my God, Thou art very great, Thou art clothed with honour and majesty.'

> 'If thus Thy glories gild the span
> Of ruined earth and fallen man,
> How glorious must the mansion be
> Where Thy redeemed shall dwell with thee'!"

"MAHABLESHWAR, *27th November* 1841.—You have, I suppose,

often seen Sátara. In my opinion it is the most lovely station in our Presidency. The valley of the Yená, with its abundant cultivation, and that of the Krishna, which partly appears, and the mountains to the west, and the hills to the north and south, presenting, with their basaltic masses and layers, and columns, and scarps, and towers, the most interesting specimens of nature's architecture, have a very striking effect on the eye of the spectator. The fort is curiously formed on the summit of one of the highest elevations, and it is associated with all the interest and romance of Maráthee history. The native town is spacious, busy, and regular, to a degree seldom seen in this country. The camp is very agreeably situated; and the Residency has a beautiful neighbourhood.

"We were introduced by Colonel Ovans to the Raja. His Highness was encamped, with an enormous suite, outside the town, having just arrived from a *pedestrian* journey to the shrine of Khandobá at Jejurí. When I intimated to him the fruitlessness of his pilgrimage by saying *Khandobá lakáchyá bokándín basto*, 'Khandobá seizes folks by the throat,' he laughed most heartily; but I have reason to believe that he is really very superstitious. He has no appearance of the dissipation with which his enemies have charged him; and he is noted by the Europeans at present at Sátara for his benevolence and good nature. Of his own accord he has abolished Suttee and the sale of children. He has lightened the burdens of his cultivators, and established for the benefit of his subjects an extensive hospital, all the expense of which—including Rs. 500 monthly to Dr. Erskine for supervision—he himself discharges. He has increased the efficiency of the school founded by his brother the ex-Raja, and it is now, as it should be, as much English as it is Oriental. He has greatly extended the roads throughout the country, and he is building two excellent bridges, which I went to see, over the Yená and the Krishná. I trust that he will be permitted to continue to occupy the throne, for of the guilt of his brother, for which he has been sent to Benares, there ought to be no doubt. You remember what Captain G. told us at Goa, about the horses on which the Capitão General and his suite were riding having been presented to them by the Sátárá State, when the Raja asked the co-operation of the Portuguese in turning the English out of the country. I have seen the letters of Don Manuel de Portugal e Castro, the former Governor of Goa, to the Raja, acknowledging his letters, and identified them by the signature, seal, and other marks. I have also seen the communications of the ex-Raja of Nágpore, and in a similar way identified them. Now, when it is kept in mind that Pratap Singh was bound over by the

treaty—on a breach of which his possessions were to be forfeited—to abstain from *all* correspondence with the different chieftains and States of India not sanctioned by our Government, it must be seen that he has justly been deposed. It is much to be regretted that so many benevolent and excellent men in England have espoused his cause, and seem determined to make it the subject of senatorial and popular agitation, instead of more worthy themes connected with the welfare and amelioration of this great country. In the number of the *Asiatic Journal* of August last you will see a very full report of the debates which have already taken place on the subject before the Court of Proprietors of India stock. Sir R. Campbell quotes a note which I sent to Major Jervis about the Goa affair; and Mr. George Thompson makes such an absurd and improper comment upon it, that, with my estimate of his Christian worth, I cannot conceive that he had heard the little document read, which he entirely perverts. If he wishes to establish for himself the character of a friendly advocate of the claims of India, he must speak from a perfect knowledge of facts, and not from vague impressions. He seems to insinuate blame against me for presuming to form any judgment in the case at all; but he ought to have observed that I was brought forward only as a *witness*, and to have remembered that if missionaries do not give notice of any treasonable movements which they may happen to observe, they are altogether unworthy of that protection which is extended to them by the British Government, which, with all its faults, is next to the offer of the Gospel itself—which it facilitates—the greatest blessing ever conferred on India. I have been extremely sorry to observe several speakers impeaching the motives and feelings of the commissioners sent to Sátárá to aid the Bombay Government in its investigations. Colonel Ovans stood in the most disinterested position which can be imagined; and Mr. Willoughby's benevolence, so well evinced by his most able and persevering efforts to abolish infanticide in Kathiáwár, not second to those of Walker himself, formed a good guarantee that the claims of mercy would be consulted by him as well as those of justice."

On his return to Bombay at the end of January 1842, he writes:—"I had a most cordial reception, not only from my Christian friends but from great numbers of the natives. The rush of the latter to bid me welcome, and their sincere greetings on my recovery and restoration I am disposed to consider as an indication that they are ready to avail them-

selves of such ministrations as I may be able to render." He at once announced a new course of lectures on the Parsee religion, to prepare the community for the appearance of his book. Dr. Murray Mitchell had vigorously conducted the Bombay Mission during his absence, a fact which he gratefully reports to Dr. Brunton. On the session of 1842 Dr. Wilson entered with such vigour that he wrote:—"I have seldom been able to do more in the mission than during the last three months." But the season proved to be one of those periodical years of cholera which was "most extensive and fearful in its ravages." One of the ladies at the head of the female schools was struck down by the pestilence; the other, the head of the boarding-school, soon followed her, and that when the loss of Anna Bayne was still fresh.

Dr. Hugh Miller and others so pressed on Dr. Wilson the duty of taking furlough after thirteen years of toil, that he agreed to make such arrangements "as will permit me, if I am preserved, to pay my promised visit to the land of my fathers." To Dr. Brunton he wrote thus on the 23d May, as if tempted to a prudent regard for his health and rest only by the prospect of a far more extended tour, through Syria and Eastern Europe, than he had yet made in India:—"I begin already to long to have the privilege of conferring with you and the committee about our wants and wishes in this place, and pleading with the public on behalf of this great country. I wish, however, to look at the Muhammadan delusion and the Jewish unbelief of Asia near the centre of their influence as I proceed to the West; and I know that you will not consider my movements as aberrations in a missionary point of view, even though they should prove somewhat extended and circuitous." At the same time he wrote to Mr. Archibald Bonar, who was treasurer of the General Assembly's Jews' Committee: "Unless some work be provided for me on the way, I shall have a mighty struggle

indeed before I can leave this great country." He was not to leave until enabled by Captain, now Sir W. Hill, to announce the supply of funds for another Scottish Mission in Nagpore, now the capital of the Central Provinces, and to plan the organisation of that mission which was established by Mr. Stephen Hislop a few years after. And he was summoned, in the last busy weeks of his preparation for his departure, to the counsels of the Bombay Government in the matter of Lord Ellenborough and the proclamation regarding the gates of Somnath. He had not long before visited the spot. He knew its history better than any man in India; he understood, because he loved, the natives, Hindoo and Muhammadan; he held familiar intercourse with the highest English officials. And, in the Satara case, he had just proved that his judgment on political questions was as cautious as it was guided by the principles of righteousness in every form.

When, early in the year 1841, Sir James Rivett Carnac ceased to be Governor of Bombay, the official nominated as his successor was Sir William Hay Macnaghten. Macnaghten was the Calcutta Secretary, whom Lord Auckland and Lord Broughton had found to be the most enthusiastic advocate of the evil policy of interference in Afghanistan. Blameless in life, accomplished as an Oriental scholar, for some time a judge of high repute from his knowledge of the natives, and a hard-working secretary, Macnaghten was sent to Cabul as the envoy to carry into execution the mad scheme he had encouraged. During the seven ill-fated weeks when his prepossessions cheated him, though not those around him, into the belief that that policy had succeeded, he was rewarded by the Governorship of Bombay, and he was arranging to leave Cabul for Western India when the catastrophe came. Sending for the three officers whom he always consulted, though he too often refused to be guided by them, he brusquely directed them to accompany him to a conference

with the hostile Akbar Khan, the favourite son of the supplanted ruler Dost Muhammad. Colin Mackenzie, bravest of all the heroes of that time, but the only one of them who, though a Lieutenant-General and C.B., still remains unhonoured by the country he has served so long and so well, remonstrated that it was a plot. "Trust me for that," said the envoy, who had hardly begun to talk when Akbar Khan himself shot him with one of the pistols for which the assassin had just thanked him; Trevor also was cut down; and Mackenzie and the third officer, now Sir George Lawrence, escaped alive with difficulty, past a line of excited fanatics.

A new Governor had to be selected, and he proved to be the amiable and useful Sir George Arthur, Bart., who was thus rewarded for services in the Colonies. As his private secretary the new ruler appointed a young civilian, who, eight years before, in 1834, had been admitted to Dr. Wilson's friendship on his presenting a letter of introduction to the missionary at Ambrolie. Henry Bartle Edward Frere had begun to redeem, by his ability and industry in the Revenue Department, the promise which he gave at Haileybury. Over him, as over so many young officers in both services, Dr. Wilson exercised a powerful influence, and hence few public men in high position have so fairly represented the nature and the importance of missionary work in India and Africa as he. In his case the intimacy became friendship honourable to both. When Sir Bartle Frere himself rose to be Governor, and with all the state of an Indian proconsul would sometimes call on the simple scholar to introduce some native prince and show the mission college, he used to recall the day when, as a shy youth, he first ascended the Ambrolie stair to present his letter to one who was even then beginning to be regarded with reverence.

The unhappy Lord Auckland had given place to Lord

Ellenborough, as the Governor-General sent out to avenge and retrieve the disasters of 1838-40. Lord Ellenborough, in the delirium of a heated and an equally unprincipled policy, had with the one hand directed Generals Pollock and Nott to "retire" without rescuing the noble men and women who were in captivity, and with the other to bring back the gates of the Hindoo temple of Somnath, which adorned Muhammad's tomb at Ghuznee, that he might declare, "the insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged.' On the 5th October the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Jasper Nicholls, saw the first draft of the precious document known as "The Proclamation of the Gates," and freely criticised it. Sir John Kaye, in his best book, *The History of the War in Afghanistan*, states that it was published in its English form on the 16th November. But it seems to have been first referred to the subordinate Governments for opinion, for it had not appeared in Bombay on the 2d December, as this note shows :—

"My Dear Dr. Wilson.—When you were in Kattywar did you visit the temple of Somnath Puttun, the gates of which are about to be restored by Lord Ellenborough, and in this case can you afford me any information on the subject of its present condition, and how it is managed? The notification that is about to be published regarding the gates of this pagan temple will astonish the whole Christian world.—Yours very sincerely, J. Willoughby.

"2d December 1842."

On the next day Dr. Wilson was officially asked for information to enable the Bombay Government to criticise it. The temple from which the so-called gates had been taken and to which they were to be restored, was in their jurisdiction. In spite of the two months that had passed, and of all the remonstrances and criticisms of those around him, it is evident that Lord Ellenborough knew nothing accurately about the temple, the gates, and their history. His ignorance was as profound as his conduct was pernicious.

Sir Bartle Frere thus confidentially wrote to Dr. Wilson. His reply was sent through Sir J. P. Willoughby, as chief secretary to Government, and was forwarded by Sir George Arthur, the Governor, to Lord Ellenborough. Like Carey when called on to translate the order suppressing Suttee, Dr. Wilson spent the greater part of a Sunday in meeting this urgent call in the service of religion and humanity. The text is from his draft only.

"PARELL, 3*d December* 1842.—DEAR SIR.—You are of course aware that among the trophies which have been brought away from Afghanistan by the British army are the 'Somnath Gates' of Sultan Mahmoud's tomb at Guzni; and you have probably heard that it is the intention of the Governor-General that, as a memorial of the triumph of our arms, they shall be restored to the spot whence they were taken by the Guznivide Sultan 800 years ago. As the Governor understands that, in the course of your late tour through Kattywar, you visited the site of Somnath Puttun, and made particular inquiries regarding the history and antiquities of the place, he will feel much obliged if you will let him know, for the information of the Governor-General, in what state you found the ruins of the ancient city. How many temples, and of what kind, are still in existence—which of them is the temple whence the gates are said to have been taken, and on what kind of evidence the conclusion of its identity rests—who has charge of or control over it—what is its condition—who are the 'Poojarees,' or persons who perform the usual ceremonies of worship, etc.—and of which castes and sects the worshippers are generally composed? If your inquiries established any other facts connected with the history or present state of 'Somnath Puttun,' which you think likely to be of interest to the Governor, he desires me to say he will feel much obliged by your communicating them.—Believe me, dear Sir, ever faithfully yours, H. B. E. FRERE."

DR. WILSON ON THE SOMNATH GATES.

"5*th December* 1842.—MY DEAR SIR.—I have much pleasure in replying to your letter of the 3d instant; and I beg you to assure the honourable the Governor, that any reference of a similar character will at any time meet with my promptest attention. It was in the year 1835 that I repaired to Puttun Somnath with a view to an investigation of its antiquities and traditions; and since that time I

have had many opportunities of comparing the result of my observations and inquiries with the notices which I have observed in the Muhammadan histories, and the narratives of other visitors. Mr. Westergaard, a learned Dane, who has been sent to this country on a literary mission under the auspices of his Sovereign, and who is at present staying under my roof, visited the place a few months ago; and I learn from his account that matters connected with the temples there remain nearly in the same state in which they were at the time of my visit.

"The town of Puttun is now in a condition very different from that in which it was when it was assaulted by Muhammad of Ghuzni. As mentioned by Sir John Malcolm, it is described by Persian historians 'as being a lofty castle,' 'on a narrow peninsula, with its three sides defended by the sea,' and it was famous as a stronghold of power as well as the seat of a celebrated shrine. The difficulties encountered by Muhammad in its attack clearly prove that this was the case. At present, however, there is nothing connected with it deserving the name of a fortification, though part of the town, which is very inconsiderable in point of size, is enclosed within a wall. Verâwul, in its neighbourhood, is a port where mercantile transactions are pretty extensive, and where a body of respectable Banyas and Jain merchants are to be found.

"There are only two temples belonging to the Hindoos of any consequence at Somnath. One of these is that built some fifty years ago by Alya Bâí, the famous Rânee of the Holkar family, of whom such interesting accounts are published in Sir John Malcolm's *History of Central India*. The other is that which is declared by all the natives of the place to have been the special object of the anti-polytheistic ire of Muhammad. The latter is now utterly forsaken by the natives as a place of worship. There was much filth accumulated in it when I saw it. It was traversed by the village swine, the common scavengers of India, which were attracted to it by its being occasionally a place of resort by the natives after their morning meal. The greater part of the building, which is of oolite sandstone, is still standing; and the remains of its external ornaments, though much defaced by the violence of the Mussulmans, bear witness to a respectable state of advancement in the art of sculpture at the time that they were formed. The name of the temple, as well as its construction, indicates its connection with the god Shiva. The idol destroyed by Muhammad is declared by the natives to have been a *linga*, and of this fact there can be no doubt entertained by any person who attends to the form of the temple. The principal notices of the destruction of the idol taken by the Mussulman historians are the following:—'The temple in which the

idol of Somnath stood,' says the *Rauzat-as-Safa*, 'was of considerable extent, both in length and breadth, and the roof was supported by fifty-six pillars in rows. The idol was of polished stone; its height was about five cubits, and its thickness in proportion: two cubits were below ground. Muhammad having entered the temple broke the stone Somnath with a heavy mace; some of the fragments he ordered to be conveyed to Ghuzni, and they were placed at the threshold of the old mosque.' In the *Tabkat-Akbari*, a history of the Emperor Akbar, we have the following passage agreeing on the point referred to with that now quoted:—

'Muhammad,' says Ferishta, who is evidently guilty of gross exaggeration in his general account of Somnath, 'entered Somnath accompanied by his sons, and a few of his nobles and principal attendants. On approaching the temple he saw a superb edifice built of hewn stone. Its lofty roof was supported by fifty-six pillars, curiously carved and set with precious stones. In the centre of the hall was Somnath, a stone idol five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. The king, approaching the image, struck off its nose. He ordered two pieces of the idol to be broken off and sent to Ghuzni, that one might be thrown at the threshold of the public mosque, and the other at the court door of his own palace. These identical fragments are to this day (now 600 years ago) to be seen at Ghuzni. Two more fragments were reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina.'

"In the second of these extracts it is declared that the temple was 'levelled with the ground.' The *Rauzat-as-Safa*, the more respectable authority, however, does not notice this circumstance. The unanimous testimony of the natives of Somnath, so far as I could read it, is in favour of the representations of those who say that Muhammad contented himself with the destruction of the idol and the partial injury of the shrine.

"Sir John Malcolm, I may here mention, attributes the destruction of the temple to Sultan Mahmoud Begoda, who came to the throne of Goojarat in the year 877 of the Hijra. 'He marched,' he says, 'against Somnath, razed the temple to the ground, and with the bigoted zeal of a Muhammadan conqueror, built a mosque on the spot where it stood.' He adds, 'The mosque has fallen into ruin, and Alya Bái, the widow of a prince of the Maratha family of Holkar, has lately erected a new temple on the exact spot where it stood.' This last statement appears to me incredible, for Somnath has remained in the hands of the Mussulmans ever since the days of Mahmoud Begoda, and for long they were so much addicted to obstruct the Hindoos in their worship that the British Government begged on their behalf the freedom of pilgrimage from the Joonagurh State, to which the town of Somnath belongs. The natives of Somnath, so far

as I could learn, universally declare that the site of Alya Báí's temple is *not* that of the ancient temple, and that the temple to which I have already alluded as forsaken *is* the ancient temple. In a case of this kind I am disposed to lay considerable stress on the local tradition. Alya Báí's misguided zeal for Hindooism could find many spots near the ancient Somnath where it could find its expression without its selecting the ruins of a mosque. The whole neighbourhood, indeed, is sacred, according to the Hindoo mythology. It is the reputed field of one of the most celebrated engagements mentioned in the Mahábhárata. The god Krishna, according to the Bhágawata, received his mortal wound at a spot not very far distant from its enclosure.

"In the course of my reading I have found no notice in any of the Mussulman histories of 'gates' having been taken from the temple of Somnath. If such articles formed part of the trophies of Muhammad of Ghuzni, it is probable that they were connected with the ancient *fort* of the town, for it is not likely that the Mussulmans would devote an article contaminated by idolatry to an *ornamental* purpose connected with either their mosques or tombs, though they might dispose of them for any purpose of degradation that might occur to them. The author of the *Rauzat-as-Safa*, as we have seen, says expressly that it was some 'fragments' of the idol which were ordered to be sent to Ghuzní, and that 'they were placed at the threshold of the great mosque.' The author of the *Tabkat-Akbari* speaks of one 'fragment' of stone having been sent to Ghuzni, 'where it was laid at the threshold of the principal mosque, and was there many years.' With these testimonies that of Ferishta agrees. The story of the *gates* has originated, it appears to me, with some of our late travellers; perhaps with erroneous information given to Mr. Elphinstone.

"The ancient temple of Somnath was devoted to *Shiva*. The distinctive followers of this god in Kathiawar are now few and uninfluential. There are no Brahmans in charge of the old temple to which I have referred. That of Alya Báí is under the care of the Sompada Brahmans, one of the smallest of the eighty-four sects into which the Goojarat Brahmanhood is divided, and who are seldom met with elsewhere than at Somnath, from which they derive their name. The great body of the pure Hindoos in the province are now Vaishnavas. It is the legends relative to *Krishna*, who is one of the incarnations of *Vishnoo*, that principally attract the Hindoo pilgrims to Somnath, and neither the celebrity nor supposed sanctity of the old or the new temple. The Sompada Brahmans exist principally by the practice of mendicity. They are the Poojarees of the temple.

"Somnath, as I have already hinted, belongs to the Mussulman State of Joonagurh. That State has claims for *zortalabi*, or black mail, recognised by us, upon most of the petty States of the peninsula. It is at present particularly well affected to the British Government, as I saw last year when residing in Kathiawar, but it is jealous of the Gaikwar and some of the British and Baroda Hindoo tributaries. I question if it will cordially welcome the gates should they ever enter its boundaries. The Mussulmans throughout India will, I believe, be not a little hurt in their feelings by their public exhibition on their progress, and they, of all classes of the community, require to have their feelings most conciliated on this occasion.

"On reflecting on the present circumstances of Somnath, I see not how the gates can be conveniently disposed of, even should they reach Somnath, unless it be by planting them in some triumphal arch or monument entirely disconnected with any of the sacred edifices of the Hindoos. The Hindoos, so far as they would make any interpretation of their being presented to any of their temples, would conclude that the gift is the voluntary homage of the British Government to their religion, and a token of our espousal of their cause against the Mussulmans, their former foes. This cannot be the design of the Right Honourable the Governor-General. His grand object is to consecrate the *spolia opima* to the commemoration of British and Indian valour. From what I have observed of the Natives during the most intimate intercourse with them for fourteen years, I am led to the opinion that his Lordship's desires of benefit from the disposal of the gates can be accomplished only by their being kept entirely distinct from the *temples*. From his Lordship's late exemplary recognition of divine Providence in connection with our successes in Afghanistan and the preservation of our troops, and the bounty of God toward our native subjects in general, I am sure that his Lordship would revolt from inadvertently originating any measure which would appear to him to be in any way derogatory to our holy Faith, or adverse to that gradual divorcement from superstitious observances which is now becoming apparent throughout the bounds of our Eastern Empire.

"I respectfully beg you to ask the Governor to pardon my venturing on a single allusion extending beyond the inquiries of your letter. It proceeds from one who has no common desire to witness the continuance of the distinguished prosperity of my Lord Ellenborough's administration—the blessing of peace which, under God, his Lordship has been so instrumental in earning for us, and his expressed determination nobly to consecrate the principal resources of India to its own improvement and social and moral elevation."

So early as October, two months before this, Lord Ellenborough had sent his proclamation privately to the Queen, in a letter filled with historical mistakes and baseless native gossip, which thus closed: "The progress of the gates from Ferozepore to Somnath will be one great national triumph, and their restoration will endear the Government to the whole people." Two months after, on the 19th February 1843, he announced to her Majesty, in similarly bombastic phrases, the arrival of the gates at Delhi under the escort of five hundred Sikh troopers. "All," he wrote, "consider the restoration of the gates to be a national not a religious triumph." His Excellency had been taught by remonstrances far less courteous than Dr. Wilson's, to abandon the religious argument which he had from the first paraded; while at home the storm was rising, and all the efforts of his personal friend, the Duke of Wellington, could not quell it. To the Governor-General himself the Duke could not write more strongly than this: "I say nothing of the Gates of Somnath, which is, I think, made a *cheval de bataille*."

The gates never got farther than the Agra arsenal, where they stand to point the sneer against Lord Ellenborough. Mr. Vernon Smith, three months after, faintly expressed public opinion in Europe, when he moved in the House of Commons a resolution condemning the conduct of the Governor-General in this matter as "unwise, indecorous, and reprehensible." The party of the accused, then in power, procured the rejection of the motion; but in spite of all the great Duke's influence, that proclamation soon after procured its author's recall.[1] We cannot altogether regret an act which was the occasion of Macaulay's most famous Philippic; his greatest, at once as a piece of eloquence and a vindication of the principles of religious liberty applied to India.

[1] For a fuller statement of the merits of the case see sketch of Lord Ellenborough in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

CHAPTER X.

1836-1842.

ORIENTAL SCHOLARSHIP AND SCHOLARS.

Sir W. Jones founds the Bengal Asiatic Society—Sir James Mackintosh and the Bombay Literary Society—The Early Orientalists of Western India—Dr. Wilson's first Address as President—Maps out the field of Asiatic Research—Subordinates his Scholarly to his directly Missionary Pursuits—A High Missionary Ideal—Member of the Royal Asiatic Society—The first to attempt Deciphering of the Fourteen Edicts of Asoka—Colonel James Tod at Girnar—James Prinsep's Enthusiasm—Dr. Mill—Dr. Wilson's Letter to Captain Lang acknowledging the facsimiles—Prinsep's tribute to Dr. Wilson—Girnar as it is—The Second and Thirteenth Edicts, and the early Successors of Alexander the Great—Letter from Prinsep to Dr. Wilson—Asoka the Humane—Correspondence with Burnouf, Theodore Pavie, Turnour, Westergaard, and Sir J. Emerson Tennent—Government Connection with Idolatry—Dr. Wilson consulted by Chief-Justice on Parsee Law and Customs—Congratulatory Letters on "The Parsi Religion" from Erskine, Burnouf, Lassen, and Garcin de Tassy—Dr. Wilson appointed Honorary President of the Bombay Asiatic Society—Society's Address to him and his Reply—Close of the first period of his Work in Western India.

" Willt Du die Blüthe des frühen, die Früchte des späteren Jahres,
Willt Du was reizt und entzückt, willt Du was sättigt und nährt,
Willt Du den Himmel, die Erde mit einem Namen begreifen,
Nenn ich, SACONTALA, Dich, und so ist Alles gesagt." GOETHE.

"If a man's fame can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honour, ASOKA is more famous than Charlemagne or Cæsar."

KOEPPEN.

"In past times, during many centuries, attacking animal life and inflicting suffering on the creatures, want of respect for Brahmans and Sramanas have only grown greater. But now, when King Devanampriya Priyadarsin practises righteousness, his kettledrum has become a summons to righteousness, while apparitions of chariots of the gods, and apparitions of celestial elephants, and fiery balls, and other signs in the heavens showed themselves to the people. In such a manner as has not been the case in many centuries previously, now through the exhortation of King Devanampriya Priyadarsin to cultivate righteousness, has the sparing of animal life, the gentle treatment of creatures, respect for relatives, respect for Brahmans and monks, obedience to father and mother, obedience to an elder, grown greater. This and many other kinds of virtuous practices have grown greater, and King Devanampriya Priyadarsin shall cause this practice of virtue to increase still more, and the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Devanampriya Priyadarsin shall also cause this culture of virtue to increase; standing steadfast in righteousness and morality until the destruction of the world, they shall exhort to righteousness; to exhort to righteousness is surely a very excellent work, while from him who is immoral no practice of righteousness is to be expected. Increase, therefore, in these things, and no diminution, is good; for this end has this been written; may they attend heartily to the increase hereof, and not aim at the diminution of it! King Devanampriya Priyadarsin has caused this to be written twelve years after his inauguration."

ASOKA: *Fourth Edict.* Translated by Kern.

CHAPTER X.

WHEN, not yet forty years of age, Sir William Jones was sailing across the Indian Ocean, India itself before him, Persia on his left, and a breeze from Arabia blowing him on, he tells us that "in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, encircled by the vast regions of Asia," he resolved to found that greatest successor to the Royal Society, and the parent of many others—the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1784, encouraged by Warren Hastings who declined the office of first President in his favour, Sir William Jones instituted the first "Society for inquiring into the history, civil and national, the antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia." His translation of *Sakoontala* had revealed to Europe the virgin mine of Hindoo literature, as Goethe sang. His greater successor, Henry Thomas Colebrooke, on finally returning to England, founded the Royal Asiatic Society, as well as the Astronomical Society.

It was not to be expected that Western India, when it grew into importance as a Presidency by conquest and diplomacy, would be allowed by men like the Governor Jonathan Duncan, and Mountstuart Elphinstone and Malcolm afterwards, to remain unrepresented in the republic of letters. What Sir William Jones, with his fresh English energy and Oxford zeal did for the accomplished officials who surrounded Warren Hastings, Sir James Mackintosh as happily effected among the few who were associated with Jonathan Duncan. An Inverness boy, a medical graduate of Aberdeen, an ethical philosopher, a constitutional lawyer, and a keen politician,

Mackintosh leaped into the front rank of the Liberals as they were at the close of last century. He became the worthy adversary of Burke, the warm friend of Robert Hall, the advocate of Peltier who, charged with libelling Napoleon Buonaparte, found in the impetuous Scot a defender whose oration the first Lord Ellenborough pronounced the most eloquent he had ever heard in Westminster Hall. The East India Company's Law Professorship at Haileybury was a poor resource for a man who had squandered a paternal estate of £900 a year. And so, like Macaulay afterwards, who resembled him in many respects, Mackintosh went out to Bombay as Recorder, was knighted, and remained there for eight years, till his friends thought he had saved enough besides earning a pension. The simple bachelor habits of Jonathan Duncan led him to make over to the new Judge and his family the principal Government house in the island, formerly a Jesuit College, known as Parell. Sir James had not been many months there when, on the 26th November 1804, he summoned a meeting of friends who established the Literary Society of Bombay. His *Discourse* on that occasion mapped out the field of knowledge, moral and physical, which the observers of Western India were called to cultivate. He himself, as President, suggested the first philological and statistical inquiries on a uniform scale, which were not systematically carried out till, in 1862, Lord Canning directed the adoption, for all India, of the extended scheme drawn up by Mr. Claude Erskine, the grandson of Sir James Mackintosh, and by the present writer. That has culminated in the decennial census, the uniform annual *Administration Reports*, and the *Gazetteers* of the whole Empire of India.[1]

The Literary Society of Bombay soon established a repu-

[1] When Mr. Claude Erskine represented Bombay in Lord Canning's Legislative Council, we issued privately proposals for the formation of a Statistical Society. These resulted in my submitting to Government a scheme of uniform tables for the annual Administration Reports, adapted to the

tation from the researches of such members as Mr. William Erskine; Colonel Boden, founder of the Sanscrit Chair at Oxford; Colonel Briggs, who succeeded Captain Grant Duff as Resident at Satara; Colonel Vans Kennedy, and Captain Basil Hall; besides Elphinstone and Malcolm. Of these Mackintosh became the literary adviser, for to his encouragement we owe such classical works as Wilks's *Mysore*, Elphinstone's *Cabul*, Briggs's *Ferishta*, Dr. John Taylor's *Lilawati*, and Malcolm's *Political History of India*. Moor, Drummond, Price, Salt, Colonel Sykes, Sir Charles Forbes, Joseph Hammer, and the erratic Lord Valentia, also adorned that early group, each in his own way. Sir James urged on the President of the Bengal Asiatic Society that co-operation for the publication of translations from the Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian, which, in another form, subsequently issued in the "Oriental Translation Fund," the *Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, and most fully of all, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

But his greatest immediate service was the creation of a Library which, from the nucleus sent out on his return to England, has grown to be the most useful, alike for the scholar and the general reader, in all Asia. That Library gave the Literary Society a new impetus. Besides the papers which its members contributed to the Bengal and Royal Asiatic Societies, it published three volumes of *Transactions* in 1819-1823, and these have recently been reprinted.[1] In 1830 it was incorporated as the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and in 1841 it issued independently the first quarterly number of its *Transactions*, now a goodly series of volumes. When Dr. Wilson settled in Bombay he thus

statistical systems of Europe. An official committee reported on these tables, added commercial and judicial forms—the latter prepared by Sir George Campbell—and recommended the Census and Gazetteer arrangements now in force.

[1] By Mr. Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik, in an octavo edition, with interesting introductory information and notes. Bombay, 1877.

found a literary and scholarly home, to which in a few years he managed to add a museum. Long after, in 1870, he thus expressed his gratitude:—"I feel that I am under very great obligations to this Society. I never could have prosecuted my studies, such as they have been, without access to such a Library as that which we here possess. I have often had a hundred volumes from this Library at the same time in my possession, and though I have now accumulated a very considerable Oriental library for myself, I have still frequently to refer to these shelves in order to get my inquiries satisfied. . . . . I have also been much sustained by the literary communion we have here enjoyed. This is not merely the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, but a sort of literary and scientific club."

But in truth Dr. Wilson had not been a year in Bombay when he came to be recognised as the most zealous member of the Society, and soon to be identified with it as almost the Society itself. In 1830 Sir John Malcolm proposed him as a member, and from that day his activity was such that, in 1835, the young Scottish missionary was unanimously elected President in succession to so ripe a scholar as Colonel Vans Kennedy. Every tour that he made year by year, every manuscript that he purchased, every oriental book that he read, contributed material to the Asiatic Society, which Government royally accommodated in the fine suite of rooms surrounding the Town Hall of Bombay. Nor did he, in all this intercourse with scholars, non-Christian as well as Christian, veil for a moment the earnestness of his own convictions, or restrain his duty as a missionary. With the then distinguished Orientalist whom he succeeded as president, he had for years conducted a public controversy. In his *Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, and in his *Treatise on the Vedanta*, Colonel Vans Kennedy had appeared as something like the apologist of Vedic and Brahmanical beliefs. While

admitting and even eulogising the ability of these disquisitions as the most learned up to that time, Dr. Wilson exposed views which he proved to be as superficial as they were hostile to the work he had come to India to do. But if his hand was the hand of iron, he ever used the glove of silk. His courtesy, even in the impetuosity of youth, was as remarkable as his gentle chivalry towards all when years and toil began to weaken his arm.

Dr. Wilson's first address as President on the 27th January 1836, reviewed the work of the Society and the desiderata of research, from the similar discourses of Sir James Mackintosh in 1804 and Sir John Malcolm in 1828, up to that time. He showed that it had failed to realise the anticipations of the founder as to Natural History and Statistics. He declared the condition of the people in the different provinces, as to language, religion, literature, science, art, means of support, and manners and customs, to be the paramount object of the Society's investigation. Beginning with the Parsees, he reviewed the contributions to a study of them made by Malcolm, Kennedy, Erskine, Rask, Mohl, Shea, Neumann, and Atkinson, arguing that "Should any of the Parsees, of competent attainments, and real and respectable character and influence, ask membership of this Society, it should be readily accorded." Such advocacy of the claims of native inquirers and scholars was characteristic of Dr. Wilson, and it soon bore fruit. He pointed to Burnouf as the *savan* best fitted to translate faithfully the Vandidad Sadé, but plainly hinted that the work might be done in Bombay should that great scholar fail from the disadvantages of his situation in Europe. As to Muhammadanism, he desiderated that fuller account of the state of Arabia at the time of its origin, which Muir and Sprenger soon after gave, and of the Bohoras and other sectaries whom he himself was studying. His observations on researches into Hindooism may be read with profit

even after the forty years' scholarship of Anglo-Indians, Germans, and Italians. To Horace Hayman Wilson, who had not long been transferred from Calcutta to Oxford, he looked for a complete translation of the *Rig Veda*, much of which had appeared first in Bombay; and of the *Bhagavata Purana*, the greatest practical authority in the West of India. On the various Hindoo sects, and on the Jains, he sought for much light, such as he himself afterwards gave. The despised aborigines, downtrodden by Hindoo and Muhammadan, and ignored by the ruling class, save by civilians like Sir Donald Macleod and missionaries, Dr. Wilson pronounced "Particularly worthy of observation by all who desire to advance their civilisation, and to elevate them from their present degradation. Description must precede any considerable efforts made for their improvement—perhaps leading to important conjectures as to the ancient history of India." Many of these "have had no connection with Brahmanism except in so far as they may have felt its unhallowed influence in excluding them from the common privileges of humanity."

He enlarged on the duty of collecting Sanscrit MSS., a work not undertaken by Government till a much later date, but now prosecuted with great zeal and liberality in almost every province. Such manuscripts, he said, are to be found in a pure state in the Dekhan more than in any other part of India, and the poverty of the Brahmans leads them readily to part with them. After eulogising the work of Mr. William Erskine, and his own old missionary colleague, Dr. Stevenson, in their researches into the architecture and inscriptions of cave temples, Dr. Wilson said:—"We require information as to the time at which, and the views with which, they were constructed; an estimate of them as works of art, or as indicative of the resources of those to whom they are to be ascribed; and an inquiry into the religious rites and services for which they have been appropriated, and the moral impressions

which they seem fitted to make on those resorting to them. Grants of land, engraven on copper plates, are next to them in importance in the advancement of antiquarian research. Dr. Taylor translated one, Mr. Wathen others."

We find the key-note of Dr. Wilson's scholarship and erudition in this reference to "The systems of faith which have so long exercised their sway in this country, and the various literary works which, though unlike those of Greece and Rome they are of little or no use in the cultivation of taste, are valuable as they illustrate the tendency of those systems in their connection with social and public life; and as they explain a language the most copious in its vocables and powerful in its grammatical forms, in which any records exist. Destitute of a knowledge of these systems, and the works in which they are embodied, the native character and the state of native society will never be sufficiently understood, a right key obtained to open the native mind, and all desirable facilities enjoyed for the introduction among the people of a body of rational and equitable law, and the propagation of the Gospel, and the promotion of general education. . . . While divine truth must be propagated with unwavering fidelity, and all hopes of its ultimate success rest on its own potency, its suitableness to the general character of man, and the assistance of divine grace, judgment ought to be employed in the mode of its application to those who vary much in their creeds and differ much in their moral practice. Though the great truths proclaimed by the Apostle Paul were the same in all circumstances, they were introduced in very different ways to the Jewish Rabbis and people and to the members of the Athenian Areopagus. I must hold that there is no little unsuitableness in India in addressing a pantheist as a polytheist and *vice versa;* in speaking to a Jain as to a Brahman, in condemning that at random which the natives may suppose to be unknown, and in using theological terms

and general phrases without any very definite sense of their application by the natives themselves. The more a knowledge of Hindooism and of Hindoo literature is possessed by any teacher, the more patiently and uninterruptedly will he be listened to by the people, and the more forcibly will he be enabled, and principally by contrast and concession, to set forth the authority and the excellence of the doctrines of Christianity." The address concluded with a reference to the many Armenians in India, of whom Dr. Wilson remarked, in allusion to Mr. Dickinson's dissertation on the antiquity of their language in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, "There cannot be a doubt that the Armenians can fill up important blanks in Church history which, to the undue neglect of the Orientals, is principally formed on the authority of the Roman and Byzantine Fathers."

The new President's Address called forth a request, proposed and seconded by Mr Bruce and Mr. Farish, that it should be printed. Mr. James Prinsep republished it in the fifth volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, with this introduction—"We make no apology, but rather feel a pride, in transferring it to our pages entire." It must be taken as a directory to Dr. Wilson himself of much that he meant to overtake, and did more than overtake in the wide area of Orientalism. The immediate effect of the Address, when it reached Europe, and of the position in which the young missionary had been placed as the successor of Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. William Erskine, Sir John Malcolm, and Vans Kennedy, was his election as a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 18th of June 1836.

We are now in a position to estimate the exact value of Dr. Wilson's contribution to the deciphering of the fourteen edicts graven by the Buddhist Emperor Asoka on the rocks of Girnar and other places in India, north and east,

as well as west. We have seen from his journal, on page 205, that on the 13th March 1835, Dr. Wilson, hurrying down from the peak of Girnar before the darkness of the night should come on, examined "the ancient inscriptions which, though never deciphered, have attracted much attention." In 1822 Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod had been the first to notice[1] the antiquities of "the old fort," which Joonagurh means, and "the noblest monument of Saurashtra, a monument speaking in an unknown tongue of other times, and calling to the Frank 'Vedyavan' or *savan* to remove the spell of ignorance in which it has been enveloped for ages." But Colonel Tod had contented himself with directing his old Gooroo, or pundit, to copy two of the edicts, and a portion of a third, while he speculated quite in the dark as to the author of the inscriptions. Nothing more was heard of the most interesting historical rock-book in all southern Asia for the next thirteen years, till Dr. Wilson stood before it. "After," he says, "comparing the letters with several Sanskrita alphabets in my possession I found myself able, to my great joy and that of the Brahmans who were with me, to make out several words, and to decide as to the probable possibility of making out the whole. The taking a copy of the inscriptions I found from their extent to be a hopeless task, but, as Captain Lang had kindly promised to procure a transcript of the whole for me, I did not regret the circumstance." He subsequently wrote thus to James Prinsep:—

"I suggested to Captain Lang a plan for taking a facsimile of the inscriptions. I recommended him to cover the rock with native paper slightly moistened, and to trace with ink the depressions corresponding with the forms of the letters. The idea of using *cloth*, instead of paper, was entirely his own; and to that able officer, and his native assistants, are we indebted for the very correct facsimile which he presented to

[1] See his *Travels in Western India*, p. 369. His *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* was published in 1829, and reprinted in Madras in 1873.

me, and which I forwarded to you some months ago for your inspection and use. During the time that it was in Bombay it was mostly with Mr. Wathen, who got prepared for yourself the reduced transcript, and with a native, who, at the request of our Asiatic Society, and with my permission, prepared a copy for M. Jacquet of Paris. I had commenced the deciphering of it when you kindly communicated to me the discovery of your alphabet; and I at once determined that you, as was most justly due, should have the undivided honour of first promulgating its mysteries. Any little progress which I had made in the attempt to forge a key, was from the assistance which I had received from the alphabets formerly published in your transcendantly able work, Mr. Elliot's Canarese alphabets, and the rigid deductions of VISHNU SHASTRI, my quondam pundit, to whom Mr. Wathen has expressed his obligations in his paper on some ancient copperplate grants lately sent by him to England. VISHNU'S palæographical studies, I may mention, commenced with Dr. Babbington's paper, which I showed to him some years ago; and they were matured under Mr. WATHEN. I mention these facts from my desire to act according to the maxim *suum cuique tribue.*

"The rock containing the inscriptions, it should be observed, is about half a mile to the eastward of [the present town of] *Junágárh*, and about four miles from the base of *Girnár*, which is in the same direction. It marks, I should think, the extremity of the *Maryádá* of the sacred mountain. The Jainas, as the successors of the Buddhas, greatly honour it. They maintain *pinjarápurs*, or brute hospitals, like the Banyás of Surat, in *many* of the towns both of the peninsula and province of *Gujarát;* and practise to a great extent the *philopsychy* of the long forgotten, but now restored, edicts of ASOKA."

Dr. Wilson was thus not only the first scholar to report intelligently on the inscriptions, and to cause a copy of them to be carefully taken, but to translate "several words" at first sight, to "commence the deciphering," and to satisfy himself that he could probably make out the whole in the leisure of his study. This his knowledge of Sanscrit, and his toilsome study of "several ancient Sanskrita alphabets," lists of which we find in his rough note-books, enabled him to do. To the last, more brilliant discoverers devoted to this one work, like James Prinsep and Colonel Mackenzie, were igno-

rant of Sanscrit. Prinsep modestly confesses that he had long despaired of deciphering the famous Samudra Gupta's inscription on the Allahabad pillar, from "want of a competent knowledge of Sanscrit."[1] Priority in time and mastery of Sanscrit characters and literature gave Dr. Wilson an advantage over all the scholars of that day in India; for Horace Hayman Wilson had left Bengal in 1833, and Dr. Mill, on whom his mantle fell, though translating what General Cunningham calls "several important inscriptions," resigned the position of head of Bishop's College, Calcutta, in 1837, and in his departure Prinsep bewailed an irreparable loss. General Cunningham ascribes to Professor Lassen the honour of having been the first to read "any of these unknown characters," on coins at least. A letter from him to James Prinsep, shows[2] that in 1836 the greatest German Orientalist of his day had read the Indian Pali legend on the square copper coins of Agathokles, as *Agathukla Raja*. But Dr. Wilson's papers prove that he was even then familiar with the characters on coins, while this letter does not affect the credit due to him in the matter of the rock inscriptions. Captain Lang seems to have delayed for a year the transmission to him of copies of the Girnar inscriptions.

"Bombay, 15*th June* 1836.—My Dear Captain Lang.—A few days ago I received by your servant the facsimiles and copies of the Girnar inscriptions. You have succeeded in getting them executed in a style, and with a minute accuracy, far exceeding my expectations; and I cannot sufficiently express to you the gratitude which I feel for all your trouble, and for a present which I so highly value. My time does not at present enable me to do much in the attempt to decipher them, as all my leisure is generally employed in preparing for the press a Memoir of my dearest wife for publication in Edinburgh; but I shall

[1] Compare p. 117 of Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society for 1834, with p. 452 of that for 1837.

[2] Volume I. of Reports of Archæological Survey of India, p. xii.

in a few months, I hope, be able to give my attention to them, and to prepare a paper connected with them for the Asiatic Society, in which I shall do justice to the liberality and kindness which have put me in possession of them. Every person who has seen them here is much interested in them. I exhibited them the other evening to a considerable number of European and Native gentlemen.

"I shall attend to what you mention in reference to Mr. Wathen. I got from him a few days ago a copy of the inscriptions at Karadí on Salsette. They appear from the termination of the genitive case to be in *Páli*. As they are very imperfect, owing to the softness and decay of the rock, I fear that nothing can be made of them. Most of the letters which are distinct we know.

"You will doubtless have heard of the fossil bones discovered in the island of Perim. The Baron Hugel, who has sent me a large box of them for the Asiatic Society, says that he thinks that similar specimens may be got on the mainland in Kátyawar, which I think not unlikely. The bones in the box here are chiefly of the *Mastodon Gigas*, of *Bos*, and of *Cervus*. They are very curious. The fragment of the horn of a stag indicates about the same size to that animal, as is seen in the fossil stag from the Isle of Man in the Museum of the University of Edinburgh.

"The rains have set in here very pleasantly, though not as yet very abundantly.

"There has been a good deal of conversation here from first to last about the Morvî business. I suppose that you will have got it now all satisfactorily settled. You must see much of the workings of corrupted human nature in the quarrels which you have to settle. It is well for the natives that they have got European gentlemen of honour to whom they can appeal. Truth and justice are not much regarded by themselves when their own interests are involved. The minds which appear to be as placid as the waters of a tank which have never been ruffled by the wind, have only to be a little agitated to discover the most noxious putridity, increased by their former stagnancy.

"Will you remember me in the kindest manner to Dr. Graham, and also to Mr. Dickinson, and believe me to be, my dear Captain Lang, yours most sincerely, JOHN WILSON.

"CAPTAIN W. LANG, First Assistant
Political Agent, Rajkot."

This delay, coupled with Dr. Wilson's unselfish regard for others, his devotion to truth in all its forms, and the fine

enthusiasm of the young scholar of Bengal—though five years his senior—led to the despatch of the facsimiles to Prinsep. He was already partially making the Arian Pali legends of the Bactrian Greek coins tell their historical tale, and was poring over the Indian Pali legends of the coins of Surashtra, Mr. Masson had given him the clue through the Pahlavi signs for *Menandron Apollodoton, Erinaion, Basileos,* and *Soteros.* as he acknowledged in 1835. General Cunningham, his correspondent and friend even in those early days, admits that "in both of these achievements the first step towards discovery was made by others." That clue led him successfully to recognise sixteen of the thirty-three consonants of the Arian alphabet,[1] and to give a provisional translation of the rock inscriptions, before, in April 1840, illness induced by over-work deprived oriental scholarship of its most promising ornament.[2]

Now what does James Prinsep himself say of Dr. Wilson in this matter of the Girnar inscriptions? The admission of

[1] In his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* vol. i. (Calcutta, 1877), Cunningham, who at page 14 confounds the transcriptions of the Asoka Edicts "made by Captains Lang and Postans," and so unconsciously does injustice to Dr. Wilson, has an interesting chapter on the Pali vernacular of the empire of Asoka, in which the Edicts are written. He recognises three distinct varieties, which he terms the Punjabee or north-western, the Ujjenee or middle, and the Magadhee or eastern dialect. He endorses the opinion of Thomas that the Indian Pali alphabet is an independently devised and locally matured scheme of writing, as much as the hieroglyphics of Egypt were. Thomas quotes the opinions of Dr. Wilson, "that Asoka's Buddhists derived their letters from Greek and Phœnician models;" of Weber, who holds that they "are emanations from a Phœnician stock," and of Mr. Max Müller, who "will not admit that the Indians acquired the art of writing till a comparatively late period." See also Weber's *History of Indian Literature* (1878), p. 295.

[2] In the popular account of the Buddhist inscriptions of Pooree, given in vol. xix. of *A Statistical Account of Bengal* (1877), James Prinsep is incorrectly described as "Mr. Prinsep, C.S." The Civil Service of India, which has given and continues to give not a few distinguished names to oriental scholarship, can afford to admit that James Prinsep was one of the many workers in India, who, belonging to neither Service, have borne a share in the civilisation of British India never recognised by the Company's and hardly acknowledged by the Queen's Government.

the missionary scholar's merit, previously made when republishing his address as President in the Bengal *Journal*, is almost as modest and courteous as Dr. Wilson's action had been. It affords a fine example to those orientalists of the present day who, in Germany, in America, and in England, have sometimes proved themselves vain controversialists. In 1837 Mr. Wathen had sent to him, and also to M. Jacquet of Paris—a young orientalist of promise—the reduced copy of the facsimiles, "which had been taken on cloth by the Rev. Dr. Wilson." On 7th March 1838 Prinsep read his paper on the "Discovery of the name of Antiochus the Great in two of the Edicts of Asoka, King of India," nearly three years after Dr. Wilson's first partial translation. But he uses this honourable language[1]—"I should indeed be doing an injustice to Captain Lang, who executed the cloth facsimile for the President of the Bombay Literary Society, and to Dr. Wilson himself, who so graciously placed it at my disposal when, doubtless, he might with little trouble have succeeded himself in interpreting it much better than I can do, from his well-known proficiency in the Sanscrit language—it would, I say, be an injustice to them were I to withhold the publication of what is already prepared for the press, which may be looked upon as their property and their discovery, and to mix it with what may hereafter be obtained by a more accurate survey of the spot."

Prinsep's enthusiasm, as he worked his way through these rock inscriptions in the weeks of February and March 1838, and occasionally stumbled over the mutilated portions of the facsimiles, led him to petition the Governor-General to order another rubbing to be taken, and the Governor of Bombay despatched Lieutenant Postans to the spot. That officer "took

[1] *Essays on Indian Antiquities* of the late James Prinsep, F.R.S., etc. Edited by Edward Thomas, vol. ii. page 56. This book has had a curious history, and is now so rare as to sell for eight guineas and more.

infinite pains to secure exactitude, aided by Captain Lang, who was with him," according to Captain Le Grand Jacob's account. But, alas! Prinsep was no more when the MSS. and cloth copies reached Calcutta. Not till 1870 did General Cunningham stumble upon the neglected treasures there, although duplicates had been sent to the Royal Asiatic Society. Captain Jacob and Mr. Westergaard made fresh copies to secure complete accuracy. The Government of Bombay has of late shown an intelligent interest in the priceless antiquities of Western India by appointing an archæological surveyor and reporter so competent as Mr. J. Burgess, M.R.A.S., and long Dr. Wilson's friend. His examination of the Girnar antiquities and his *estampages* of the inscriptions, as described in his second report, were the most careful and thorough of all, and may be regarded as final. He sets at rest the remaining doubts of Professor Weber. After referring to Dr. Wilson's first transcript, he thus describes the stone:—

"The Asoka inscription at Girnar covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base. It occupies the greater portion of the north-east face, and, as is well known, is divided down the centre by a vertical line; on the left, or east side, of which are the first five edicts or tablets, divided from one another by horizontal lines; on the right are the next seven, similarly divided; the thirteenth has been placed below the fifth and twelfth, and is unfortunately damaged; and the fourteenth is placed to the right of the thirteenth."

We reproduce Westergaard's accurate transcript of the Second Edict, that our readers may see the characters on which first Dr. Wilson and then James Prinsep worked. The Thirteenth Edict follows, in a transliterated form, and as mutilated by what Tod calls "the magnificent vanity of Sun-

darji, the horse merchant," whose people, when making a causeway to the spot from Joonagurh, seem to have used a part of the fifth as well as of the thirteenth tablet. Mr. Burgess, in 1869, found the precious Rock occupied by "a lazy, sanctimonious, naked devotee, whose firewood lay against the sides of the stone, whilst fragments of broken earthenware covered the top of it." The engraving is from a photograph, taken under his direction, from the wall of the causeway. The Joonagurh chief, a Muhammadan, has, at the request of Government, now protected the stone by a roof.

The latest rendering of the Second Edict, by Professor Kern of Leyden, is this:—

"In the whole dominion of King Devânâmpriya Priyadarsin, as also in the adjacent countries, as Chola (Tanjore), Pandya (Arcot), Satyaputra, Keralaputra (Malabar), as far as Tâmraparnî (Ceylon), the kingdom of Antiochus the Grecian king, and of his neighbour kings, the system of caring for the sick both of men and cattle, followed by King Devânâmpriya Priyadarsin, has been everywhere brought into practice; and at all places where useful healing herbs for men and cattle were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; and at all places where roots and fruits were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; also he has caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted on the roads for the benefit of men and cattle."

THIRTEENTH EDICT OF ASOKA, TRANSLITERATED.

1 . . de patasa pasamâtam etâhatam baha tâvata kammata tatâ pachhâ adhunâ ladhesu kalingesu tivo dhammavâyo

2 . . . . vadho va maranam va apavâho va janasata bâdham vedana matacha ganamatacha Devâ

3 . . . . . sâ mâtâ pitari susumsâ guru sumsumsâ mita-samstata sahâya sa dâsa

4 . . . . . ya ñâtika vyasanam pâpunoti vata sopi tesam upaghâto patipati bhago vâsâ sava . . .

5 . . . . . mi (?) yato nâsti manusânam ekataramhi pâsamdamhi na nâma pâsâde yâvakâto jana tada

6 . . . . . na yasaka va mitaveyâ vapi ataviyo Devânampiyasa pijite pâti

7 . . . . . sava bhûtânam achhatim cha sayamamcha samam (?)
. . . . cheram chà mâdava cha
8 . . . . . Yona râjâ paramcha tena chattâro râjano Turamâyo cha
Antakâna cha Magâ cha
9 . . . . . idhe pârimde savata Devânampiyasa dhammânusastim
anuvatareyata piduti
10 . . . . . vâjayo savathâ puna vijayo pîti raso sâ ladhâ sâ pîtî
hoti dhamma vîjayammhi
11 . . . . . yam vijayammâ vijatavyam mam ñâsarasake eva vijay-
echhâti cha
12 . . . . . ilokîka cha pâralokikâ cha

This is so mutilated that Professor H. H. Wilson did not venture to propose a rendering of it while criticising James Prinsep's. We select these two out of the fourteen Edicts for purely English readers, because they form the historical links which connect India with Greece. It is in the Second Edict that the name of the Yona, Yavan, Ionian or Greek king Antiochus occurs, that Antiochus II. who died B.C. 247, in the twelfth year of Priyadasi's or Aśoka's reign. Still more reliable is the Thirteenth Tablet, damaged though it be, for it gives us the names of other Greek kings in the eighth line—Ptolemaios, Atigonus, and Magas; and of a fourth to whom Asoka sent embassies which "won from them a victory not by the sword but by religion."[1]

Until the last Dr. Wilson continued to exchange with Prinsep coins and inscriptions, and a very learned correspondence so covered or interspersed with Pali alphabets and readings that we cannot reproduce it. In one letter without date, but referring to the above edict, Mr. Prinsep writes thus to Dr. Wilson: The letter is prefaced by a copy of the Arian alphabet and its English translation:—

"My Dear Sir.—I was much pleased at the receipt of your letter and at the promise (this day fulfilled) of following it up with the coins.

[1] For an accurate account of Asoka, whose name is not given in the Encyclopædias, see a little book on *Buddhism*, by T. W. Rhys Davids.

They are pure specimens—but not better or so good as those taken home by Mr. Stewart, if I may believe his plate. One enables me to correct a reading. . . . My other discovery now engrosses my attention, it is so fraught with consequences in every direction. Without facsimiles it would be impossible to venture on a correct reading—and I therefore leave all these and the Girnar inscriptions to your and Mr. Wathen's great zeal and knowledge. Mr. Stevenson was wrong in many letters—but I long since felt certain of almost all but this. . . . I should like much to know the degree of authenticity attachable to your version of the Goojarat inscription. A facsimile would be invaluable at this moment; there are so many evidently bad copyings that I dare not trust myself with it, moreover there are some letters not found in the Delhi pillar. In other respects the Goojaratee version is much more orthographically correct than the Delhi.

"In many other places your Pali is much more pure than our Magadha; but I am anticipating what I hope to give you in a month in print. I shall be most happy to exchange periodicals, and the post-office will soon enable us to do so with little cost. Pray let Mr. Wathen read this as my time is of the (illegible). *Now* we may commence upon the palæography of India—before it would have been premature; we require your cave variation of our oldest standard. Thank Mulla Fíruz, only in my name, for his great kindness in sending on his two coins which I will faithfully return by and bye. I should like to engrave them first. Believe me, my dear Sir, yours sincerely, J. PRINSEP."

PART OF DR. WILSON'S JOURNAL.

"3*d January*.—We arrived at Karli in the morning; and after breakfast we proceeded to the Buddh caves, in which we spent the greater part of the day. We succeeded in taking a facsimile on cloth of more than half the inscriptions. Our success was very gratifying, particularly as no copy of them which I have yet seen is tolerably correct. I have no doubt of my ability to read them by the help of Mr. Prinsep's alphabet. His conjectural emendment of the copy of that on the large outer pillar furnished by Lieutenant Jacob to my friend Dr. Stevenson I found to be correct, the last word terminating with an *n* or ⊥, instead of '|, as printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society. The point marking the *am*, or termination of the neuter gender, I also found in its place, making the final word very plainly to be *dánam*.

"The Brahmans, who hold possession of the little temple of Bhaváni lately erected near the mouth of the caves, seemed to take a particular

interest in all that was going on. When I read to them the inscription now quoted, they said to one another, 'So they are not the work of the Pándavas?' 'The Pándavas!' said I, 'Did it never strike you before that these caves had no connection with Hindooism?' They confessed that they had long had strong suspicions of their not having a Hindoo origin. I got them, and several Kunbees (peasants) who came to see the caves, to sit down and listen, when I discoursed to them on the errors both of the Buddhas and Brahmans, and unfolded to them the religion of Christ which, while it commends itself to the most enlightened intellect, speaks both peace to the conscience and purity to the heart. They heard me most attentively, and not with the less interest that they found their own systems correctly stated, at the same time that they were decidedly condemned. I gave them a few little books calculated to explain and enforce the new doctrine which had been brought before their notice, which they very readily received.

"The letters which Dr. Stevenson supposed to be numerals representing the date of the excavations are rather indistinct, but not of the form which he supposed. I hope to-morrow to be able to take a facsimile of the part of the inscription which contains them."

In the address of the Bombay Asiatic Society to Dr. Wilson, before his departure for Syria, he was thanked by his colleagues "for facsimile inscriptions on the Cave Temples at Karli, of which, aided by Prinsep's monumental alphabet, it was reserved for your learned associate Dr. Stevenson and yourself, to be the first decipherers." As Sir William Jones was the first to introduce into the chaos of Hindoo literature and history the magical but very real drop of chronological truth which developed from the Chandragupta of the Mudra Rakshasa, the Sandrocuptos of Athenaeus, or Sandracottus of Arrian, so Dr. Wilson brought to light the inscriptions, in which the greater grandson of Chandragupta had engraved on the rock, twenty centuries before, the names of the successors of Alexander in Egypt and the East. The Girnar rock must rank in historical literature with the Rosetta stone, the the Behistun inscription, and the Accadian brick-libraries of Assyria. Apart from that, in purely Indian literature it reveals to us, in letters as real and vivid as the printed page,

the character of the great and good Asoka, who, when ruling over the most extensive empire Hindooism ever saw, from the eastern uplands of Behar to the Indian Ocean, and from the snows of Himalaya to the coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon, was driven by disgust at the sacerdotal tyranny of the Brahmans to profess and to propagate Buddhism in the eleventh year of his reign. Tolerant and enlightened, his edicts alone, as we find them graven on the rocks from Girnar to Cuttack and the Punjab, justify the title, happily given to the Constantine of Buddhism by Professor Kern, of Asoka the Humane.

From the time that he was nominated President of the Bombay Asiatic Society, Dr. Wilson kept up a somewhat constant correspondence with the scholars of France and Germany, who looked to him in India for new facts and materials. Greatest of them all in France, if not throughout Europe, was the accomplished and accurate Eugène Burnouf, Professor of Sanscrit in the Collège de France, who for the first half of this century was without a rival in the department of Zand. He was the friend, also, of Mr. Brian Hodgson.

Dr. WILSON to Professor E. BURNOUF.

"*Bombay, 21st May* 1838.—MY DEAR SIR.—I intended long ere now to have personally acknowledged your very highly valued letter of the 13th October 1836, which I had the pleasure of duly receiving. I took the liberty of communicating its substance to our Asiatic Society previous to proposing you as an honorary member of our body, and it afforded the members present the highest satisfaction. In this quarter the highest respect is entertained for your distinguished talents and accomplishments, and your splendid literary labours; and we felt that we were taking honour to ourselves, and not dispensing it to another, when we invited you to allow yourself to be associated with our fraternity.

"Mr. Mánakjí Kharshedjí (who, I am happy to state, has now received a respectable situation from the Government) conversed with me respecting the oriental works which you wished to procure; and I gave him the best advice in my power. I got six copies put up for you of

the specimen of the *Rig-Veda*, translated by my friend Dr. Stevenson and a native pundit, but I am sorry to say that owing to some mistake they have not yet left Bombay. They shall be forwarded to you by the first opportunity. The translation, you will see, is founded on the Bháshya, more than on the text of the Veda; and on this account, as well as the haste in its preparation, it requires many allowances. We are always here too much dependent on native aid; and there is often as much blame to be attached for our too blind reliance upon it as regret to be cherished for your absolute want of it in Europe.

"Your progress with the *Bhágavata* is most encouraging. I trust that you will soon have the pleasure of laying it before the public. It will, I doubt not, get much beyond the circle of the orientalists, and do much to inform the mind of Europe on practical Hindooism, which is so little understood. I am at present perusing your comment on the *Yaçna*. It is a most learned and elaborate work. Perhaps you have treated Anquetil du Perron's version with too much respect. Had you given as the basis of your remarks an *original* translation, which you are so competent to do, and fortified it with critical notes where necessary, your labour would have been much abridged; this I mention with all deference. You will, I suppose, close with a translation. I have got from my bookseller the first two parts of your work; and I shall get from him those which may follow. Mulla Rustamji, the successor of Mulla Firuz, the author of the *George-Namáh* desires me to say that he will be happy to allow you to have copies of the Persian or Goojaratee translations, etc., with comment of the *Yaçna* of Frámjí Aspandiárjí. He calculates the price of transcription at £25. If you have not already a copy of the work it will be very serviceable to you. The translations are interlinear with the original and verbal. Similar translations of the other religious works of the Parsees can be procured.

"As you have done so much to bring the Pálí into notice, you will be greatly gratified at the results of the Honourable Mr. Turnour's researches, and Mr. Prinsep's most fortunate discovery of the monumental alphabet. The latter I am applying to the Kárli inscriptions. Mr. Prinsep, I suppose, will have informed you as to his finding the name of Antiochus, etc., on the Girnár inscriptions which I visited three years ago.

"I shall be delighted to be called upon to make any exertions in aid of your inquiries in this country. I have such an estimate of their importance as connected with the work in which I seek to be engaged, —the instruction of the Eastern mind in the glorious truths of Heaven's own revelation, that I shall view any little service which I can render

to you or your associates as a privilege.—With the highest respect and most sincere esteem, I am, most truly yours, JOHN WILSON, D.D."

Prof. BURNOUF to Dr. WILSON.

"PARIS, 13 *Juillet* 1838.—MONSIEUR.—Jái reçu avec une bien vive satisfaction la lettre en date de Mai 1838, que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser. Elle est pleine des marques d'une bienveillance qui m' est tres précieuse de la part d'un homme de votre caractère et de votre position. Mon plus vif désir est de chercher à meriter l'estime des hommes qui aiment la vérité, et qui voient dans la science non pas un vain exercise de l'esprit, mais un moyen de connaître mieux l'homme pour l'élever par l'instruction là où l'appellent des grandes destineés.

"Vous apprendrez sans doute avec beaucoup de peine la perte que notre Société vient de faire dans la personne de M. Jacquet, jeune homme de grande espérance, qui vient de mourir le 8 Juillet dernier, à l'age de 28 ans. Ce jeune homme, qui vous était sans doute connu de nom, s'occupait avec succés de l'explication des médailles et des inscriptions indiennes. J'étais fort intimement lié avec lui, et dans le vaste domaine qu'onère l'étude de l'Inde, nous avions fait un partage d'amis, il avait pris les monuments figurés et épigraphiques, tandis que je m'etais livré à la lecture des textes. Il est mort au milieu des médailles qui M. Court vient d'envoyer en France.

"Je n'ai pas reçu de lettre de M. Prinsep qui me fasse connaître le fait curieux et capital de la lecture du nom d'Antiochus, sur le rocher de Girnar. Mais je le crois bien possible non seulement à cause de la rare sagacité dont est doué M. Prinsep, mais encore à cause de la richesse des documents contenus dans ces anciens textes. Je crois que Jacquet avait dans ses papiers, un fort beau facsimile sur plusieurs feuilles de l'inscription de Girnar. Lorsque la vente de sa bibliothéque aura lieu, je ferai tous mes efforts pour acquérir ce monument que je desirerais vivement posséder.

"Je serais également trés empressé de faire l'acquisition d'un exemplaire du *Yaçna* traduit en Guzarati et en Persan. Mais la somme de £25 que demandent les copistes parses pour le seul ouvrage, me paraît beaucoup trop considérable, du moins elle dépasse de beaucoup mes moyens. Ainsi je renonce à cette acquisition. Il me semblait que pour 29 louis on aurait pu se procurer la copie de tout ce qui existe de Zend. Je trouve en géneral qui les frais de copie sont beaucoup moins élevés à Benares que dans l'ouest de l'Inde.

"Je vais, cet automne, commencer l'impression de ma traduction du *Bhâg. Purâna*. Je compets qu'un volume (le 1er) pourra etre terminé

vers la fin de 1839, à cause de l'inexpérience des ouvriers imprimeurs qui ne sont par trés habituées encore à composer du Sanscrit.

"Je recevrai avec une bien grande satisfaction les six exemplaires du *Rig-Veda* de M. Stevenson, que vous voulez bien m'adresser. Je regrette seulement qui vous ne m'ayez pas indiqué à Londres la personne à la quelle je doit payer le montant de cette acquisition. Peutètre le paquet sera-t-il accompagné d'une note relative à ce point. Au reste j'ai déjà d'avance distribué ces six exemplaires entre mes amis.

"Adieu, Monsieur, croyez bien qui j'apprecie hautement l'honneur que m'a fait votre Societé de m'admettre dans son sein, je lui en ai déjà exprimé ma vive gratitude par une lettre. Je serai bien heureux si vos importantes occupations vous laissent de temps en temps quelques moments de loisir pour me donner des nouvelles indiennes. Agréez Monsieur l'assurance de tous mes sentiments respectueux.

"EUG. BURNOUF."

"MONSIEUR ET RESPECTABLE AMI.—Je vous prie de vouloir bien accepter pour vous et offrir de ma part à la savante compagnie dont vous êtes le digne chef, le 1er volume de ma traduction du *Bhâgavata Purâna*. Vos conseils, et l'interét que vous avez publiquement exprimé pour une traduction Européenne de ce poême estimé dans l'Inde, ont certainement beaucoup agi sur la détermination que j'ái prise d'en continuer la publication. J'espère que d'autres études non moins intéressantes ne me détourneront pas et que je pourrai continuer un travail qui doit m'intéresser, puis qu'il a quelque prix aux yeux d'un homme aussi éclairé et aussi savant que vous. Veuillez recevoir ce travail avec indulgence et voir dans l'hommage que je vous en fais, la preuve des sentiments de haute estime dont je suis heureux de pouvoir vous renouveller l'expression. Agréez, Monsieur et respectable ami, l'assurance de mon entièr dévouement, votre très humble serviteur, EUG. BURNOUF.

"25 *J.* 1840."

In 1840 another French scholar, M. Theodore Pavie, of L'Ecole des Langues Orientales in Paris, visited Bombay, passing on thence to Madras and Calcutta, from which, in imperfect English, he addressed to Dr. Wilson a letter of gratitude for learned counsel and the gift of a MS. of one of Kalidasa's dramas. About the same time, according to a letter with incomplete date, Mr. Turnour, the greatest Pali scholar in the East, and afterwards translator of the *Maha-*

wanso, "The Genealogy of the Great," was introduced to Dr. Wilson. They must have had much to talk of, for it was Turnour who first identified the Priyadasi of the Edicts with Asoka, by "throwing open the hitherto sealed page of the Buddhist historian to the development of Indian monuments and Puranic records," as Prinsep expressed it.

No Government, not even that of the country which rules India, has shown so enlightened an interest in its literature and religions as that of Denmark. It was the first to send Protestant missionaries to the Hindoos, the first to protect the English missionaries whom the East India Company persecuted at the end of last century, and the first to despatch its scholars to the East. Thus Rask had taken from Bombay the rich collection of MSS., Zand and Pahlavi, which he deposited in Copenhagen. And in 1841, after mastering these, Professor Westergaard prepared himself for his critical edition of the *Zand-avasta* by visiting Bombay where he was Dr. Wilson's guest, and exploring both Western India and Persia in a literary sense.

Prof. WESTERGAARD to Dr. WILSON.

"BROACH, 8*th February* 1841.—MY DEAR DR. WILSON.—So far am I come on my journey, and that is shortly told. I stayed at Satara three days, at Colonel Ovans', who received me with the greatest hospitality, and showed me all things worth seeing — the Raja and his palace, etc. If you have not already seen it I advise you to see a curious cave excavation under the surface of the earth, about two miles from Poona. At Junir I took copies of all the inscriptions except one, which was too much defaced. At Nasik I found a Sanscrit inscription in the old Cavè character, and the king, a son of a Patrassa, is praised for having bestowed 300,000 cows and 26 villages to the Brahmans. All the sculptures were Jain. Being ill there I was afraid for crossing the jungle, therefore I went over Malligaum Novapoor to Surat; and I am sorry not to have seen your Parsee friend at Daman. At Surat there were very few books, and still less knowledge amongst the Parsees. I asked them about the passage in the B. Fargard about abortion or infanticide, but they did only translate for me the Persian translation."

"EDUR, 25*th May* 1842.—I was quite delighted with the whole of

Abu. I spent there a week, and did enjoy it very much to my heart's content. The temples of Dilwara or Devalvara are worth seeing, and even a journey of a thousand miles is not too long for such a view. What is the etymology of the name Abu? and why is here a temple and dharmsala for Vasishtra Muni? Was this the place where he lived, and the scene of the fiery struggle between him and Arivamitra—between the clergy and the king? I have no Ramayana at hand, so I cannot decide it; but being too on the frontier of India, it is perhaps not unlikely. There is no date in all the temples earlier than the end of the twelfth century, Samvat (era); but it must have been considered a holy place, otherwise the wealthy Banyans would not have chosen it for building such magnificeut temples. But we will talk this matter over. I hope, if you should not be at Bombay, you will allow me to put up in one of your houses, either at Ambrolie or Malabar Hill.

"What we want is a critical edition of the whole Zand and Pahlavi literature, on the authority of the oldest and best MSS. existing, together with grammar and dictionary of the languages; first, when that is done, will it be possible to give a good and correct translation of the texts, either it be in English or any other language. The first I intend to do when I should return to Copenhagen, where we have at least the oldest Zand MSS., two of them more than 500 years old. At any rate I would beg you to give the texts in the old Zand character."

Colonel Dickinson, one of his colleagues in the Asiatic Society, and a valued servant of the State, offered generous aid to Dr. Wilson in the purchase of Oriental MSS., while he himself, in letters to his Edinburgh publisher and to Dr. Brunton, was planning new literary undertakings in aid of or arising out of his missionary work. These were—'The Conversion of India and the Means of its Accomplishment;' 'The Tribes of Western India, with Notices of Missionary Labour;' 'Poetical Pieces by Anne Bayne, with a Biographical Sketch of the Author;' 'Memoir of R. C. Money, Esq.' To Dr. Brunton he thus wrote on 19th July 1842, of a scheme afterwards taken up by English biblical scholars and travellers:—"I have long been talking to our friends here about the propriety of our attempting to found in Britain a society whose express object shall be to collect Oriental illustrations of the Scrip-

tures, and to render available to Europeans the treasures of Church History which are to be found in the Syriac, Armenian, and other Eastern languages. Had leisure permitted me, you might ere this have received from me a short memoir on the subject, directing your attention to what has occurred respecting it, and offering you a few remarks on the intimations of an international communication between the Jews and ancient Persians, which are contained in the writings in the possession of the Zoroastrians of India and of Yezd and Kerman."

"BOMBAY, 27*th July* 1842.—MY DEAR DR. WILSON.—Viewing as I do the arduous task in which you are engaged as one that will confer on this benighted land such unspeakable benefits, and not less hopeful than yourself that such an *exposé* will operate as a more powerful lever than any which has been yet applied for the subversion of Parsee and with it Hindoo idolatry, you will, I venture to hope, pardon me for requesting to contribute the enclosed towards the procurement of manuscripts and translations in aid of your very learned researches, or for contributing in any other way to alleviate that not less bodily than mental fatigue unavoidably attendant, in this country, on passing through the press a work the printing of which is attended with such almost insurmountable difficulties. That you may, without further injury to your health, soon bring your benevolent labour to a close, is among the uppermost wishes of yours very sincerely, J. DICKINSON."

On a subject nearer Dr. Wilson's heart than even Oriental MSS. we find Sir J. Emerson Tennent, M.P. for Belfast, and since known for his works on Ceylon, corresponding with him:

"BEECH PARK, BELFAST, *October* 9, 1839.

"MY DEAR SIR.—You will allow me to address you so, because, although personally unknown to you, you are not by reputation unknown to me; and the object which now serves as my introduction will, I trust, lead to a more matured acquaintance. The few 'superficial inches' of a letter to India forbid a long preface, and I must at once open my subject. As a member of the House of Commons I have repeatedly presented petitions praying for the exemption of British soldiers from taking a part in the idolatrous ceremonies of India, and also others calling on the British Legislature, if not to suppress at least

to withdraw its countenance and encouragement, its pecuniary support or its official patronage from them. . . . These are considerations which, apart from my individual responsibility as a man, enlist all my feelings as a legislator, and have brought me to the resolution, early in the next session of Parliament, to collect what support I may around me, and to break ground in this momentous question by a motion to put an end to this system. By a recent order of the Commander-in-Chief, Roman Catholic soldiers are *specially* exempted from attendance on Protestant worship in England, and yet the same soldier or his Protestant fellow would be compelled to unite in the worship of the Host at Malta, or throw the cocoa-nut in Hindoostan! Now only let us extend the principle; I ask not to proselytise or to coerce, but to cease to countenance and to maintain idolatry. But I want aid from you. I have lately been spending a few days near two of my earliest and dearest friends in the world—Mrs. R. C. Money and Mrs. Webb—and they have both begged me to write to you on the subject. I want *materials*, and *facts*, and *details*, and they tell me you can send me abundance. May I beg of you to do so?"

"BOMBAY, 31*st December* 1839.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have seldom received a letter from Europe which has afforded me more intense delight than yours of the 9th October, which has lately come into my hands. The subject to which it refers is one connected with which my soul has often been agonised to a degree which I cannot express; and it rejoices my heart to learn that you are about to devote to it your earnest attention and untiring exertion. You cannot consecrate your admired talents and eloquence to a more important cause, for it is directly connected with stopping the course of overwhelming iniquity, displaying the glory and grace of Jehovah, and advancing the moral regeneration of the most important country in the world committed to the sovereignty of our Christian nation by the most wonderful providences which the page of history can unfold. It is not, as it respects the guilt to be removed, the evil to be prevented, or the good to be effected, secondary to the abolition of the horrid trade in the sinews, and the flesh, and the bones of the children of Africa. May God himself direct you and all your coadjutors; and may we see a speedy, a glorious, and a complete victory! I am sorry that the short few minutes which intervene between the moment of my thus taking up the pen and the departure of the steamer prevent me from giving that suitable reply to your communication which, if God spare me, shall not long be wanting. I

must content myself by simply throwing out a few hints, and these in a very abrupt form :—

"I. You will find a good deal of information on the subject, particularly as connected with the *Madras* Presidency, in a pamphlet entitled 'The Connection of the East India Company's Government with the Superstitious and Idolatrous Customs and Rites of the Natives of India,' published by Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly. The compiler, J. M. Strachan, Esq., late of the Madras Civil Service ; Mr. Poynder, of whom you must often have heard ; J. T. Thomas, Esq., Brunswick Terrace, Brighton ; and Peter Cator, Esq., will be able and willing to give you much important information connected with the proceedings in the south of India. I have just put into the hands of Mr. Murray, one of our merchants, who leaves Bombay by the steamer of this day, several numbers of the *Oriental Christian Spectator,* which I edit, containing *informal* statements of the doings in other parts of India. My first leisure hour will be devoted to the arrangement and exposition of the unpublished documents which are in my possession; and the result will be communicated to you next month.

"II. In reading on the general subject of the countenance and support of idolatry, and degradation of Christianity in India, it may be of use to you, for the sake of arrangement in your own mind, to have before you the following Note—comprehending all the evils of which I know—which I composed a few months ago :—

"We must never rest satisfied till the Government—1. Cease to *administer* to the chartered endowments of the temples. 2. Decline to continue such grants of the native princes as were merely *discretional* on their part, or ready to be recalled whenever they might see cause. 3. Withdraw its own grants which are legally recoverable, and cease to levy taxes on every village, as is done throughout the Dekhan, for the support of the temples. 4. Decline all official management of the temples, either by Native or European functionaries. 5. Forbid the official interference of its officers in the direction of the festivals. 6. Cease to honour the heathen and Muhammadan festivals with honorary processions and salutes. 7. Cease to employ or pay the Brahmans to make incantations for rain and fair weather. 8. Destroy the pilgrim-tax. 9. Forbid the compulsory dragging of the idol-cars. 10. Forbid the consecration of the public records to Ganesh and the inscription to his honour on official documents issued by its own authority. 11. Exclude from the courts of justice all idolatrous cases in which civil rights are not concerned. 12. Cease to degrade certain castes by excluding them from particular offices and benefits not connected with

religion. 13. Cease to pension Brahmans, Moollahs, and others, because of their connection with the heathen and Muhammadan priesthood. 14. Abolish heathen oaths in courts of justice, and adopt a form of swearing to which none can object. 15. Withhold support from all heathen and Muhammadan schools and colleges.

"III. Your motion in Parliament, I think, should not be to produce this and that despatch of the Directors, but to appoint a Select Committee to investigate the whole extent of the evil, by calling for documents, instituting correspondence, and examining gentlemen from India. JOHN WILSON."

In 1836 there seems to have been made to Dr. Wilson the first of those references by the Judges of the Supreme Court as well as the Executive Government, which afterwards became so frequent and honourable to both, as well as conducive to the good administration of the country. The Parsees in India believe that, on their expatriation, their ancient code of laws as well as their other religious books were lost. They were governed internally by their own Punchayat, under rules recognised by the Government in 1778, which gave that committee the power of beating offenders with the shoe. But as sectarian divisions spread, and as civil suits involving religious questions came before the Supreme Court, the necessity for legislation by the British Government became apparent. Not till 1865 could all parties agree to such a civil code of marriage, divorce, and inheritance at least as would be satisfactory. In one of the numerous disputes in 1835 Dr. Wilson's knowledge of the Parsee literature and customs was appealed to by the Chief Justice, who directed the thanks of the Court to be conveyed to him "for the clear, concise, and lucid manner in which you have framed your answers to the queries submitted to you."

"BOMBAY, 11*th February* 1836.— . . . . The only book of authority among the Parsees which refers either to morality or municipal law is the *Vandidâd Sâdé*, alleged to be a fragment of the writings of Zoroaster. It was almost a dead letter with the Parsees for a long time after their arrival in India; and it contains no aphorisms on the subject

of adoption. There are no written laws of authority among the Parsees respecting adoption. Their traditions, which are their guide, are founded partly on the Muhammadan law and partly on the Hindoo law. Dharmaputra and Pálak beta are equivalent in conventional use, though not in etymology. They both designate an adopted son. There is no prescribed form of adoption recognised among the Parsees. Adoption invariably originates in a religious motive. It is the duty of the adopted son to perform the Krija or funeral ceremonies of him who has adopted him. It is with a reference to the discharge of this duty that he is adopted. The adopted son stands on the same footing with regard to property as the only son of a family. I have considerable confidence in the accuracy of these statements. As I am entirely ignorant of the object of the Chief Justice in the inquiries which he has made, I cannot be supposed to have framed my replies with a view to meet any existing practical case. It will afford me much pleasure to be of the slightest service to the dispensers of justice in throwing light on the native customs in the country. JOHN WILSON."

The close of 1842 saw the fruit of Dr. Wilson's researches in the publication of his greatest work, *The Parsi Religion*. He now began to prepare for his homeward tour; for new duty in the midst of holiday recreation. We may here, most appropriately, give some of the letters of congratulation addressed to him by the greatest Orientalists of the day. The learned and amiable William Erskine, who had translated the *Memoirs of the Emperor Baber*, and was engaged on that *History of the House of Taimur* which he was not to live to complete, thus wrote to him, linking on the foundation of the Bombay Literary Society, in which the son-in-law of Sir James Mackintosh took a part, to the more brilliant days of the Asiatic Society :—

"(EDINBURGH), 13 *St. Bernard's Crescent*, 14*th November* 1843.—MY DEAR SIR.—I received with many thanks your valuable researches and remarks on the Parsee religion. Your knowledge of the Zand and Pahlavi, with their cognate languages, has enabled you to do much more, and more correctly, than any of your predecessors, and no person is so well qualified to solve the question of the date of the sacred books of the Parsees and the mode of their composition. You speak more kindly of my surface investigations than they probably deserve. As to the pro-

duction of Ormuzd by Zerwen, you are no doubt right. Go on and enrich the world of letters, while you think chiefly of the religious world and the religious benefit of the human race.

"One of the greatest difficulties with Orientals, and especially with close religions like the Hindoo and Parsee, you have in a great measure overcome—that of making them appeal to reason and reasoning. I consider their entering the field of controversy, to fight foot to foot, as the great difficulty overcome. It has always hitherto been the grand obstacle. They have rested in ignorance, regarding even doubt as criminal.

"The address of the Literary Society of Bombay does honour to you and to them. I think, at its first meeting, the present Governor, then Lieutenant Arthur who was with his regiment in India, was made a member, on the motion of Lord Valentia then at Bombay. Believe me, with much esteem, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

WM. ERSKINE."

"PARIS, 2 *Juin* 1844.—MONSIEUR LE REVEREND.—Je m'impresse de vous remercier de la bonté que vous avez eue de m'envoyer un exemplaire de votre admirable ouvrage sur la Religion des Parsees, qui fait autant d'honneur à votre savoir qu' à votre zèle pour le Christianisme. J'ai aussi reçu dans le temps, le Nos. des journaux Hindoustanis, que vous avez eue la bonté d' m'adresser et je vous en suis bien obligé. Je recevrai de même avec beaucoup de plaisir les '*Refutations* of Muhammadism' que vous avez l'obligeance de m'annoncer. J'ai déjà *l'Address to Mussulmans* en Hindoustani, et la réponse. Je suppose que Alajji Muhammad Kashmiri en est l'auteur. Je tâche de former une collection complette de tout ce qui à paru en Hindoustani. Si vous avez l'occasion de voir Mr. W. Erskine je vous prie de lui presenter mes salutations respectueuses. Je desirerais aussi être rappelé au souvenir de Mr. J. Ballantyne. GARCIN DE TASSY."

"30 *O'br* 1844.

"MONSIEUR.—J'ai bien longtemps tardé à répondre à votre aimable envoi ; mais dans le temps que votre volume m'a été remis, mon père était atteint d'une maladie aigue de la poitrine, laquelle l'a enlevé à nos respects et à notre affection. Ce coup aussi funeste qu'imprévu m'a plongé dans un découragement profond, et sans parler des soins de tous genres qui suivent, d'ordinaire dans les familles unies autour d'un chef vénéré, cette séparation inévitable mais toujours cruelle, je n'ai pu pendant plusiéurs mois retrouver la force nécessaire pour me livrer à aucun exercise intellectuel. Le premier usage que j'ai fait du travail à été de lire votre ouvrage qui touche par tant de pointe à mes

études habituelles. Vous avez certainement terrassé vos adversaires et vous ne leur avez laissé d'autre ressource que de s'avouer vaincus ; mais il est bien à craindre qu'ils n'y aient pas recours, tant l'esprit est rebel au sens commun. La ténacité est presqu' invincible, lorsque comme chez les Parsees et les Juifs, il s'appuye sur une tradition antique, et qui eut un temps sa gloire et une supériorité incontestée sur les autres croyances contemporaines. Aujourd'hui le Parsésme à joué et terminé son rôle ; et n'a plus rien à fairé qu' à disparaitre de la scène du monde. Vous l'éconduisez victorieusement et tout le monde en conviendra, avec une modération qui fait le plus grand honneur à votre caractère ; il est beau d'être indulgent quand on est fort.

"Permettez moi, de vous remercier, monsieur, de la manière bien flatteuse dont vous avez été assez bon pour placer mon nom dans votre savant ouvrage, et agréez avec l'expression de ma gratitude, celle de la sincère estime avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, votre trés humble et obéissant serviteur, EUG. BURNOUF."

"BONN, 1*st of September* 1845.—DEAR SIR.—I have had the gratification of receiving the valuable present of your learned and important book on the Parsee Religion, and beg to offer you my sincere thanks for this token of your attention. Having devoted much time and labour to the study of the Zand language and the remains of its literature, I need hardly assure you that I have taken a deep interest in your discussions with the Parsees. I trust that your labours will mainly contribute to enlighten the descendants of an ancient people that at present are sunk into such a deep ignorance of their religion. Believe me, dear Sir, your most obliged and obedient servant, CHR. LASSEN."

On the 30th December 1842 Dr. Wilson gave in his resignation of President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he had filled for seven years. He presented it with a copy of *The Parsi Religion*, which he dedicated to its office-bearers and members in token of gratitude "for the warm interest which many of them individually have taken in my labours to disseminate useful, but more especially divine, knowledge among the natives of this great country, whose present social and moral condition, as well as past history, it is one of the principal objects of this Society to investigate and unfold." His letter reviewed the researches of the more prominent members of the Society.

He gave it also the two octavo volumes of the *Vandidad* in Zand, with Goojaratee translation, lithographed from his own MS., as containing the doctrinal standards of the Parsees, two Cufic inscriptions from the south of Arabia, and other works. "It is not without emotion," he wrote, "I sever this link which has bound me to office with the Society."

"To The Reverend J. Wilson, D.D., M.R.A.S.,
President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

"Sir.—At a special meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which was yesterday convened to consider of the most suitable mode of testifying the high respect which it entertains for your character, and of its equally high sense of the valuable services rendered by you to the Society during the seven years you have filled the office of President, it was unanimously resolved that a committee be appointed to draw up and present to you an Address embodying the above resolution, and expressive of its deep sense of the loss which will be sustained as regards many of the best interests of the Society by your departure from Bombay.

"To mark the high sense entertained by the Society of your eminent exertions in the cause of oriental learning and research, it was on the same occasion resolved that you should be requested to accept of the office of Honorary President of this Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It having devolved upon us to become the organ of this gratifying communication we cannot but greatly regret our incompetency to the satisfactory performance of such a task, and the great inadequacy both of time and means at our disposal for entering on more than a brief enumeration of those contributions in the cause of oriental literature for which the Society is indebted to you—the earliest of which consists of a brief but most able and interesting review of the proceedings of the Society since its institution in the year 1804, up to the end of the year 1835. Your other learned productions during the same year, consisted of 'Refutation of Muhammadanism in Persian;' 'Observations on Dr. Gibson's Notes on the Inscriptions of the Cave Temples of Junar and Nasik;' an 'Analysis of the late Sir A. Burnes' Statistical Papers on Kutch;' and 'Notes on the Figures and Inscriptions, in an unknown character, from Morab in Arabia, illustrative of the supposed connection with the characters of the Phœnicians and with the ancient Alphabet of Greece.'

"In the following year we find that the Society is indebted to you for 'Notes on Dr. Stevenson's paper on the Worship of Velal;' for an account, from personal observation, of the 'Falls of the Sherawutte, near Gairsoppa, in Canara;' also for facsimile 'Inscriptions on the Cave Temples at Karli,' of which, aided by Prinsep's monumental alphabet, it was reserved for your learned associate Dr. Stevenson and yourself to be the first decipherers; since which period Oriental literature has been further enriched by your historical account of the Beni-Israel of Bombay, as presented at the annual meetings of the Society of 1838 and 1839; by your first and second 'Exposures of Hinduism;' by your 'Statistical Accounts of the Brahmans of Bombay;' by your interesting paper on the 'Waralis and Katodés of the Northern Konkan;' and by your numerous translations and commentaries of works connected with the religion of the Parsees, ending with your comprehensive and very learned work on the same subject, presented to the Society at yesterday's meeting, and dedicated to the body of which you have so long been the chief ornament; upon the merits of all which contributions to the antiquarian, philological, and statistical departments of literature and science, we have the satisfaction of knowing that more competent judges than ourselves have highly pronounced.

"Upon the occasion of your departure from this fruitful field of your indefatigable labours, hastened as we lament to know it is by that impairment of health inseparable from the bodily exposure and mental application you have for so long a period without intermission undergone, it remains for us to notice that to your excellent and impartial judgment, to your great conversancy with the details of whatever subject has engaged discussion at the numerous meetings of the Society which have had the benefit of your presence, and to your conciliatory deportment while discharging the important and oftentimes very delicate functions of the chair, is mainly to be ascribed the continued welfare of the Society, and that harmony which has so long subsisted among its members; many most able productions before the public, which have emanated from your pen in addition to those above enumerated, evincing the unexampled degree in which you have dedicated your stores of knowledge and varied attainments in furtherance of the professed objects in view by such an institution.

"With claims of such a nature to the admiration and lasting gratitude of the Society, resting as they do, like those of an Erskine, an Elphinstone, a Malcolm, and a Kennedy, not so much on the undisputed possession of high attainments, as upon the more legitimate grounds of their uniform application to the advancement of Oriental

literature, it was a source of the highest gratification to us to witness the unanimity with which the proposition was received by so numerous a meeting, that a gentleman who had done so much to uphold the reputation of this branch of the Asiatic Society, should not be allowed to quit the chair without a tender of the homage so justly due to his great learning and acknowledged abilities, and without some special mark of the estimation in which the eminent services which he has rendered to the Society and to Oriental literature are held; and although any satisfaction to yourself arising from such a source must fall far short of that purer gratification which you will never cease to experience from the sense which has been recently manifested by other large and influential bodies, both European and Native of this community, of the great benefits which have resulted from your exemplary exertions in the great cause of religious and moral enlightenment, we are willing to hope that you will not be indifferent to the value of those expressions of the Society's esteem and respect which we have been made the channel of so inadequately conveying to you.

"It only remains for us to solicit that you will permit the manuscripts of the *Yaçna* and *Vispard* to be retained in this country, with the view of their being immediately lithographed, in the same manner as has been done with the *Vandidad*, at the expense of the Society, with a view to their being placed in the principal libraries of India and Europe.

"With every fervent wish for the early restoration of your health, we remain, dear and honoured Sir, yours very faithfully and sincerely, J. DICKINSON. K. HARTLEY-KENNEDY. JOHN LLOYD PHILIPPS. C. MOREHEAD. JOHN G. MALCOLMSON.

"BOMBAY, 31*st December* 1842."

"GENTLEMEN.—The call to me to occupy the chair of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, was so unexpected and undesired by me, that nothing but my respect for the quarter in which it originated, and the unanimity with which it was pressed on my attention, and the belief that it might be overruled for the extension of my influence among the natives of this great country, overbore the doubts about my competency to discharge its duties, which my youth and inexperience, and want of patronage, and limited attainments, compared with those of my distinguished predecessors, suggested to my mind. That I have been able so to conduct myself since I accepted that call as to escape censure, I reckon a happy circumstance. That I have received the approbation of the Society, and conveyed in terms so expressive of per-

sonal regard as those which you have chosen to employ, is most gratifying to my feelings, notwithstanding the fact that they are greatly oppressed by my consciousness of my unworthiness of the tribute which you have offered. To the kind consideration, liberal indulgence, and gentlemanly feeling of the members of the Society, and to the support, and judicious assistance, and valuable co-operation which I have uniformly received from my associates in office, we are greatly, if not altogether, indebted for the harmony and goodwill and agreeable fellowship which have so long characterised our meetings and conferences. I shall never forget the profitable intercourse which I have been privileged to hold at our table with the most honoured members of the European community in the West of India, nor overlook my great obligations to their charitable and liberal interpretation of my motives and endeavours.

"That I should be associated with Major-General Vans Kennedy, as an Honorary President of the Society, and thus receive a designation formerly limited to its illustrious founder Sir James Mackintosh, I feel to be a distinction from which I cannot but naturally shrink. Knowing, however, the sincerity with which this honour is offered to me, and viewing it as a proof of that personal affection on which I have ever laid the greatest stress, I do venture to accept it, and to look to it as a demand made upon me for continued exertion in behalf of the important objects which the Society is formed to promote. Wherever I may be carried in divine providence, and with whatever engagements I may be connected, I shall not overlook the obligation which rests upon me in particular to do all in my power towards the further investigation and exposition of the systems of faith prevalent in this great country, and the intellectual, moral, and economical condition of the numerous and diversified tribes which inhabit its oceanic plains, its gigantic mountains, and its exhaustless forests, and the consideration of the monuments and records which testify to its past greatness and illustrate its chequered history. The pursuits in connection with these matters, to which, if I am spared, a sense of duty will urge me, I find to be in strict harmony with, and greatly auxiliary to, the paramount work which I have undertaken, of seeking the enlightenment of the natives of India, their conversion to our holy religion, and their acceptance of all the privileges and blessings which, as Christians, we enjoy. The great Apostle of the Gentiles, whose spirit was stirred in him when he saw the city of Athens wholly given to idolatry, took his text before the Areopagus from an inscription which he observed on an altar, and quoted, *ex concessu*, a heathen poet who had set forth a funda-

mental truth. Instruction must be adapted to prevailing errors, and a commencement must often be made by adverting to the remnants of a pure tradition, the workings of natural conscience, and the vain attempts of men destitute of revelation to solve the grand questions connected with the moral administration of God, and the destiny of our species.

"The manuscripts of the *Yaçna* and *Vispard* to which you refer, are at the disposal of the Society for the purpose you mention. Any Oriental document which I may possess will be forthcoming whenever a call is made upon me for its use.

"I beg you, in conclusion, respectfully to convey to the Society the great gratification which I have derived from the expression of its high approval, and for the channel through which it has been conveyed. For you, gentlemen, I entertain the highest regard. To Colonel Dickinson's friendship, and kindest sympathy and countenance, and able advice, I have been from the first greatly indebted. A more worthy head the Medical Service in this Presidency could not have than Dr. Kennedy, our present Physician-General, whose attainments and doings in polite literature do not require to be brought to notice. In my friend Mr. Philipps I observe a distinguished alumnus of our English Universities, on whose forensic eloquence I had once occasion to make a demand. Dr. Morehead was for some time my companion in study at Edinburgh; and happy am I to observe him here occupy such an influential office as that which he now holds in connection with the Government scheme for native education. Dr. Malcolmson is the honour and hope of our Society as to all that pertains to the science of nature in its diversified forms. The hour of my leaving the shores of India has arrived, and I must bid you adieu.—I am, my dear Sirs, yours most respectfully and gratefully, JOHN WILSON.

"2*d January* 1843."

The Parsee editors and controversialists were not soothed by the publication of Dr. Wilson's book. His almost simultaneous departure gave them full scope for criticism without fear, and for attack without the possibility of rejoinder. The editor of the *Durbin* promised his readers to answer it, but in his next number announced that the subject was unsuited to a newspaper, and that he would speedily publish, in an independent work, a long and copious reply. In his edition of Dr. Haug's *Essays*, Dr. E. W. West correctly

states that "any personal ill-feeling which Dr. Wilson may have occasioned by his book soon disappeared; but it was many years before his habitual kindliness and conscientious efforts for the improvement of the natives of India, regained the confidence of the Parsees. On his death, however, in 1875, no one felt more deeply than the Dastoors themselves that they had lost one of their best friends, and that in his controversy with them he had only acted as his duty compelled him."

The controversy, and the political, educational, and social influences that preceded it, had done much to teach the whole community such lessons of toleration, free discussion, and public virtue, as were embodied and recognised in Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, who was created a baronet in 1857. The day after Dr. Wilson sailed from Bombay, all the worthy of the island, Native and European, united to lay the foundation of the noble hospital, which bears this inscription:—"This Edifice was erected as a testimony of devoted loyalty to the Young Queen of the British Isles, and of unmingled respect for the just and paternal British Government in India; also, in affectionate and patriotic solicitude for the welfare of the poor classes of all races among his countrymen, the British Subjects of Bombay, by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Knight, the first Native of India honoured with British Knighthood, who thus hoped to perform a pleasing duty towards his government, his country, and his people: and, in solemn remembrance of blessings bestowed, to present this, his offering of religious gratitude to Almighty God, the Father in Heaven of the Christian, the Hindoo, the Mahommedan, and the Parsee; with humble, earnest prayer for His continued care and blessing upon his Children, his Family, his Tribe, and his Country."

CHAPTER XI.

1843.

HOME BY ADEN, CAIRO, SINAI, PETRA, HEBRON, JERUSALEM, DAMASCUS, CONSTANTINOPLE AND PESTH.

Reluctant Farewell to India for a time—Address from Non-Christian Students—Two Hindoos desire to accompany him—Parsee and Abyssinian Youths, his Companions—Makulla and its Slave Atrocities—Aden and the Jews of Yemen—Plans a visit to Mecca—Cairo—Lepsius—Muhammad Ali's Enlightenment—Dr. Wilson's Caravan of Forty-Seven Camels—Jebel Musa and the true Sinai—The first snow seen for fifteen years—The Petra Excavations and the Rock-Cut Temples of India—Hebron and a Jewish Greeting—Damascus—The Samaritans and their Pentateuch—Jacob's Well and Dr. A. Bonar's Bible—Tiberias—Safed—The Lebanon—Smyrna and Polycarp—Constantinople and St. Sophia—Guest of Sir Stratford Canning—Turks, Bulgarians and Servians—A Police Welcome to Christendom—Pesth—Rabbi Duncan, Saphir and the Free Church Mission—Interpreting the Gypsies—Presburg and the Prince Palatine—Colonel Sykes—Edinburgh at Last.

"I say that the effect of our separateness will not be completed and have its highest transformation unless our race takes on again the character of a nationality. That is the fulfilment of the religious trust that moulded them into a people, whose life made half the inspiration of the world. What is it to me that the ten tribes are lost untraceably, or that multitudes of the children of Judah have mixed themselves with the Gentile populations as a river with rivers? Behold our people still! Their skirts spread afar; they are torn and soiled and trodden on; but there is a jewelled breastplate. Let the wealthy men, the monarchs of commerce, the learned in all knowledge, the skilful in all arts, the speakers, the political counsellors, who carry in their veins the Hebrew blood which has maintained its vigour in all climates, and the pliancy of the Hebrew genius for which difficulty means new device—let them say, 'we will lift up a standard, we will unite in a labour hard but glorious like that of Moses and Ezra, a labour which shall be a worthy fruit of the long anguish whereby our fathers maintained their separateness, refusing the ease of falsehood.' They have wealth enough to redeem the soil from debauched and paupered conquerors; they have the skill of the statesman to devise, the tongue of the orator to persuade. And is there no prophet or poet among us to make the ears of Christian Europe tingle with shame at the hideous obloquy of Christian strife which the Turk gazes at as at the fighting of beasts to which he has lent an arena. There is a store of wisdom among us to found a new Jewish polity, grand, simple, just, like the old—a republic where there is equality of protection, an equality which shone like a star on the forehead of our ancient community, and gave it more than the brightness of Western freedom amid the despotisms of the East. Then our race shall have an organic centre, a heart and brain to watch and guide and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defence in the court of nations, as the outraged Englishman or American. And the world will gain as Israel gains. For there will be a community in the van of the East which carries the culture and the sympathies of every great nation in its bosom; there will be a land set for a halting-place of enmities, a neutral ground for the East as Belgium is for the West."—GEORGE ELIOT: *Daniel Deronda.*

CHAPTER XI.

FOR fourteen years Dr. Wilson had been doing a work which, in its variety, permanence, and, above all, unselfish energy, had made him, while still under forty years of age, the most prominent public man in Western India. Governors, commanders-in-chief, and judges, had come and gone from Bombay. Governors-General and members of Council had, one after the other, striven to leave their mark at Calcutta on the progress of the empire, politically and territorially. The brief span of the five years' term of office, however, allowed to all then as still more perniciously now, broke the continuity of progress, and silently fostered that disbelief in the inevitable growth and stability of British rule, the outburst of which took civilisation by surprise in 1857. But Wilson, like Carey before him and Duff on the other side of India, had gone on steadily mapping out the decaying fields of anti-Christian and non-Christian error, and, in the exercise of a faith which was strong in proportion to his own labours, taking possession of them for his Master. Not with him, as with successive Viceroys, Presidents of the Board of Control, and occupants of the Directors' chairs, did the pendulum swing from side to side, now violently and again at rest altogether. Coorg conquests, Afghan wars and Sindh robberies, might go on; the far-seeing philanthropy of a Bentinck might be neutralised by the stupid reaction of an Auckland, or imperilled by the meteor-like madness of an Ellenborough, till massacre, debt, and unrighteousness stained the annals of England as no event in her foreign history had

done. But the missionary, master of the literature, the languages, the history, and therefore the heart, of the peoples of different faiths, and fired with a divine enthusiasm which no policy of man however exalted can give, had laid the foundations of the Church of Western India; had grappled with Brahmanism, Muhammadanism, and Parseeism on their chosen ground; had added to his own direct work in the Konkan, Poona, and Bombay, the Irish Mission in Goojarat and the beginnings of the Free Church Mission in Central India and Gondwana; had prepared the means of evangelising the Jews and the Arabs, the Armenians and the Nestorians, the Abyssinians and the Negroes around the Arabian sea; had proved as salt to the English society of his own province, and had set in motion spiritual and social forces which continue to work with unceasing momentum. Can we wonder that, when the hour came to leave it all, though only for a time, there was more than the regret which every true worker for and lover of the people of India experiences, in spite of the attractions of home and the pains of exile? The conviction that he was only continuing his work on a wider area was required to second the commands of the physicians whose warnings had been long unheeded. There were showered on the departing philanthropist the farewells of loving and respectful admiration from public and private friends, in a land where the Anglo-Indian has more than caught the brotherhood-hospitality of the Oriental. Every community, not excepting individual Parsees, vied with the other in its demonstrations, while the Government of Sir George Arthur supplied letters to the authorities of the countries through which the traveller wished to pass. Among many others, Mr. Frere begged his distinguished uncle at Malta to show him all honour.

More highly even than the address of the Asiatic Society, did Dr. Wilson value that of the native and non-Christian

students of the Institution which he had established in 1832 as an English school. They had again increased in number from 155 in 1841 to 203, of whom 98 were Hindoos, 8 Muhammadans, 28 Parsees, Israelites, and Jews, and 68 Christians, while 675 boys and 479 girls attended the vernacular schools. He thus wrote to Dr. Brunton of these addresses:—

"RED SEA, *January* 1843.—The last month which I spent in Bombay was one of extreme anxiety, agitation, and labour. It was not without a great struggle that I could reconcile myself to the curtailment of the operations of our Mission—too feeble from the beginning. The numerous tokens of private regard and public honour of which I am so unworthy, which were bestowed upon me both by the natives and our countrymen, made me feel that I was about to be separated from friends who bear to me no ordinary attachment, and from duties which were as agreeable as they were arduous. I felt that nothing but the grace of God could sustain me, and I trust that this grace was not withheld. At the request of the students of our own Institution I send you the copy of the address which they were pleased to present to me at a public meeting which they themselves called for the purpose of putting it into my hands.

"It is, I hope, sufficiently qualified by my reply, and it is altogether a genuine document, the production of the proper natives of India, to the exclusion of all of European descent. How near they are to genuine Christian feeling and sentiment I leave you to judge. Their combination in this instance, many of them were happy to observe, seemed to embolden them in the expression of their religious principles, and to unite them in their desires for the continued prosperity of our seminary. It will be your prayer and that of others that the Lord Himself may lead them into the knowledge, belief, and practice of all truth.

"The other addresses which I have unexpectedly received are not without interest in a philanthropic point of view, but I shall not trouble you by thrusting them at present on your attention. I may mention, however, that that from the heads of the Beni-Israel community indicates a strong inclination to the pursuit of the truth—an appreciation of the blessings of which we seek to put them in possession."

The first day of 1843 was Sunday, when Dr. Wilson concluded

his ministrations "by beseeching the little flock of converts from Hindooism, Zoroastrianism, and Muhammadanism, which had been gathered together through my own ministry and that of my fellow-labourers, to let their conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ, that whether I might come and see them, or else be absent, I might hear of their affairs." His own countrymen present he called on "to anticipate the glorious era of the moral renovation of India, when 'all the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Him.'" Sunset of the next day saw him accompanied to the Palawa or Apollo pier, and on to the deck of the East India Company's steamer "Cleopatra," by a regretful crowd of Native and European friends, among them Professor Westergaard who had been his guest for months. In the infancy of the Overland Route, before the Peninsular and Oriental Company had reduced the distance between Bombay and London to twenty days—soon we trust to be sixteen, or at most eighteen—a monthly steamer was run to Aden and Suez by the Indian Navy. So late as 1854 the mail was only fortnightly, and the Bombay portion of it was even then carried by a Company's steamer between Aden and Bombay. Among the natives who lingered last on the deck were two who had so far overcome Brahmanical and caste prejudice as to express a desire to travel with Dr. Wilson. These were Atmaram Pandurang, a Brahman gentleman who is still respected as the head of the Prarthna Samaj, corresponding to Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen's Brahmo theists; and Gunput Lukshmun, of the Prabhoo or writer caste.

Dr. Wilson had prepared for and planned his expedition with a care which, in some degree, every traveller would do well to show. His object was to visit Egypt, Syria, especially the Holy Land and Eastern Europe, not merely for purposes of scholarly and biblical research, but to report to his Church on the condition of the Jews, the Samaritans, and the Eastern

Christians. He had accumulated and mastered a library of all the early travellers in, and writers on, Syria, such as few public collections possessed at that time, and much of this he took with him. He had devoted himself anew to Arabic, and to familiarity with that he gave up all the leisure of the fortnight's voyage to Suez. Not only by letters to the Political Residents and Consuls, but by despatching Mordecai, a Jew, a month or two before him, he found information awaiting him at Aden and at Cairo. The friend who was specially his companion in travel, the late John Smith, Esq., of the well-known mercantile firm of Messrs. Nicol and Co., had also gone before him to recruit his strength by a voyage up the Nile, and to prepare at Cairo the expedition for the Desert and Syria. All that intelligence, foresight, and learning could do, aided by willing friends, was done to perfect the success of the expedition. The Church of Scotland, through both the Foreign and Jewish Committees, intended it to complete the inquiry carried out a few years before by Drs. Keith and Black, Mr. M'Cheyne, and Dr. Andrew Bonar, the present Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland.

Dr. Wilson was accompanied, first of all, by Dhunjeebhoy Nourojee, whose affection and fidelity he had tested in more than one of his Indian tours. It was desirable that the first Parsee convert to Christianity should complete at college in Scotland those eight years' studies for the office of preacher which the Scottish Churches wisely demand that their ministers may have a theological as well as literary education, and which he had been pursuing in Bombay. Dr. Wilson also contemplated the publication of a translation into Goojaratee of his *Parsi Religion*, and he proposed that Dhunjeebhoy should write that on the lithographic stones in Edinburgh. Next came the two Abyssinian students, Gabru and Maricha, who had sat at his table for nearly five years, and were now returning to their native land to introduce into it the bless-

ings of a pure Christianity and political wisdom. They parted from their spiritual father at Aden, who prayed "that to their benighted countrymen they might be the instruments of great spiritual good, even as Frumentius and Ædesius, the tender Tyrian youths through whom the Gospel was first introduced into their native land." We shall see how effectually, but differently from Dr. Wilson's expectations, the prayer was answered. Finally, the Government Surveyor, Colonel Dickinson, had recommended as draftsman a Mr. O'Brien, who did his part of the mission well.

As the 'Cleopatra' skirted the southern coast of Arabia Makulla came in sight, recalling the horrors of the slave trade, of which it continued to be an infamous emporium till 1873. There Captain Haines had seen seven hundred Nubian girls at a time, subjected in its slave-market to the disgusting inspection of the Mussulman sensualist, to be smuggled into the native states of Kathiawar. Off Makulla it was that, a few years before, two boats laden chiefly with negro children shipped from Zanzibar, had been seized by the Indian Navy, and the freed youths were distributed among the Christian Missions of Western India. At Aden, first of our conquests in the reign of the young Queen Victoria, Captain Haines, the first Governor, became Dr. Wilson's host, and aided him in his census and study of the Jewish community. Of 19,938 inhabitants of that extinct volcano, in 1843, there were 590 Jews, 480 Jewesses, and 857 Europeans, the last chiefly the troops of the garrison. The geological structure of the vast cinder which was once forced up through the limestone, so interested Dr. Wilson that, as he collected specimens of zeolite, chalcedonies, obsidian and vesicular lava, the simple Somalees who crowded round him declared he must be searching for gold or hid treasure by magical arts. His scientific conclusions were confirmed by Dr. Buist, who had not long before begun his bright literary career in

India, and whom Dr. Wilson described at that time as "one of the most accomplished mineralogists and geologists in the East." At Aden the president of the Asiatic Society discussed with Captain Haines those Himyaritic inscriptions which had begun to attract the attention of the learned. To complete his study of the Jews, whose settlement in Yemen had taken place long before the Christian era, Dr. Wilson was anxious that the steamer should stop at Jeddah on its way up the Red Sea that he might attempt to reach Mecca. He had been encouraged to believe that he might report on the capital of Islam in safety, by Lieutenant Christopher, I. N., who had been assured by its governor that a European traveller quietly proceeding from the coast would find no obstacle.[1] At Suez the governor showed a keen interest in our disasters in Afghanistan, in conversation with Dr. Wilson, who also was surprised when addressed in excellent English by an Arab, one of the young Fellaheen who had been sent by Muhammad Ali to Glasgow for education, and had been there baptized.

At Cairo, after the old and not unpleasant passage of the desert in vans, Dr. Wilson found the first and greatest of the present dynasty of Egyptian rulers building his mosque and palace on the platform of the citadel which overlooks the Nile valley and the pyramids. He formed a high idea of the tolerant but firm rule of the quondam tobacco-seller of Roumelia, whom—perhaps in an evil hour—we prevented from remaining master of all Syria and Arabia. The Jews, the Copts, the mission of good Mr. Lieder, the mosques, the tombs, and the pyramids, absorbed Dr. Wilson's attention for days. He found himself already known to the small band of Egyptologists, with some of whom he had corresponded. He was unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Egyptian Society. M. Linant de

[1] *The Lands of the Bible Visited and Described*, p. 33.

Bellefonds, in officially communicating the fact, begged him "to accept this title as the best tribute of respect which the Society can offer to one so eminently distinguished as yourself in Oriental researches." Dr. Wilson especially enjoyed learned intercourse with the great scholar Lepsius, the head of the commission sent by the King of Prussia to report on the antiquities of Egypt. M. Linant, who had accompanied M. Léon de Laborde to Petra, gave him much information for his journey to the same place. With Lepsius he explored the pyramids and the half-disentombed sphinx. "When we were there the body of a child was exhumed. The coffin had upon it the cartouche of 'Psammatik' or Psammitichus. I carried part of its contents with me to Cairo, and afterwards to England, without attributing any great importance to the possession." He made considerable purchases of the most important Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works, published by Muhammad Ali's press, including the three folios of the *Kámús* or *Ocean*, the famous Dictionary translated into Turkish; of the Persian *Burhán-i-Kátia* in Turkish he had the beautiful edition lithographed at Bombay. His account of the publications and of the educational system of Egypt at that time is most favourable to Muhammad Ali. The latter may be contrasted with that since developed and now administered by Mr. Rogers, formerly H. M. Consul at Cairo. That he might have free intercourse with the native inhabitants of Cairo, Dr. Wilson lodged with one Hassan Effendi, teacher of geology in the Bulák Polytechnic School, who had become a Christian when in England, and had married an English wife. Cairo is now as much a French as it is an Oriental city, but the record[1] of Dr. Wilson's experience correctly describes the

[1] "To the visitor from India there is nothing at first sight very striking in the interior of Cairo, except in so far as the large and dense town itself contrasts with the absolute desolation and solitude of the desert through which he has just passed. His eye is accustomed to narrow, irregular, and dirty streets, crowded bazaars, lofty minarets, and swelling domes, and to a people of

impressions which the capital of Muhammad Ali used to leave on the Anglo-Indian visitor.

From Cairo Dr. Wilson's expedition made its final start on the 7th of February 1843. Consisting of nine persons besides servants, and forty-seven camels, it formed an imposing caravan. Dr. Wilson himself was unanimously installed as quartermaster-general and interpreter, after the Indian fashion—that is, he settled arbitrarily all questions connected with the route and the times of marching and halting. The whole had been arranged and provisioned by the Bombay merchant prince, Mr. J. Smith, who, having been already two months on the Nile, relieved his companions of all care on this head. Throughout he was paymaster-general, charged to keep a faithful account of the expenses due by each. The Rev. H. Sherlock, and Messrs. Allan and Parke, from England, were their companions through the whole of the desert journey. Mr. O'Brien the artist, Dhunjeebhoy, Mordecai the

varied hue and romantic costume. Yet he does soon perceive that in Cairo he is not in an Indian city. Its houses he finds higher, larger, of more durable material, more crowded together, and more sombre and shaded, with their over-jutting upper stories, than those of Hindostan. Its bazaars and shops are constructed and fitted up with far more order and taste, and better adaptation to their object, than those in which the Wanis and Borahs dispense their wares. Its men are more substantially and gracefully clothed, but less cleanly in their persons, than those with whom he has been familiar in the farther east. Its women he cannot at all compare with the daughters of India; for by their impenetrable and frightful veils, and shapeless mantles and robes, inflated with and floating on the breeze, their face and form are alike rendered invisible. The distressing grunt and heavy tread of the palkhi-bearer have given way to the yelling, and poking, and lashing of the donkey-boy. The gadis, buggies, and hurly-gigs of all shapes and sizes, such as are seen in Bombay, are so completely wanting, that whole days may pass without his seeing a single wheeled vehicle. The streets in fact are so narrow that most of them do not permit a carriage even of the smallest dimensions to pass along. The courtesy and sycophancy of the multitude have entirely disappeared. Though he is not now insulted on the highways as before the days of Muhammad Ali he would not have failed to be, he sees none of that deference shown to him in public which he experiences in India, where the submissive and peaceable Hindoo hails him as at once his lord and benefactor."

Jew, and his little son Abraham, completed the party. Abdool Futteh, known in Arabia as the "man of the convent," from his frequent visits to the abodes of the monks, and valued by Colonel Howard Vyse, was Dr. Wilson's servant. Mr. J. Smith engaged Waters, an educated African who had come from Bombay. The others secured the services of two assistants, one of whom was Ibraheem, once employed by Dr. Robinson in his *Biblical Researches*, and again by the Scottish Mission.

For the first stage, by the Derb El-Basatin and the "valley of the wanderings" to Sinai, the party had engaged, as its guide and protector, Mateir, sheikh of the same Aleikat branch of the Tawarah Arabs who had helped Niebuhr in his explorations in stony Arabia. Guided by local traditions Dr. Wilson sought to trace the route of the Israelites from the Nile to the Gulf of Suez, by a track which he believed to harmonise more easily with the narrative of the Exodus than that followed by other travellers. The inscriptions in the Wadi Mukatteb, or valley of the writings, had for him a peculiar interest. He examined the exhausted Pharaonic mines to the northward, and visited Wadi Feiran, "the most beautiful valley in the wilderness, in which the Christianity of the Arabian desert long found a refuge." A careful study of the whole Jebel Musa range led him to hold by the traditional peak as the very "heaven" from which God "talked" with men, in opposition to that of Sufsafah, which Dr. Robinson, and the Ordnance Survey recently, consider to have been the spot where the Lord descended in fire and proclaimed the Law. The publication of the late Dr. Beke's theory,[1] first propounded by him in 1834, that the land of bondage was a separate kingdom, stretching from the east of the Isthmus of Suez to Philistia, and that the real Sinai is what he calls Jebel el Nur, in the land of Midian, at the head of the Gulf of Akaba, gives a new interest to a vexed

[1] *Sinai in Arabia*, 1878.

question, on which Captain Burton's expedition of this year may throw some light. To a careful examination of both Musa and Sufsafah Mr. J. Smith specially devoted himself. From the top of Musa he ran down to the chapel of Elijah in twelve minutes, and in three-quarters of an hour scrambled up to the top of Sufsafah, climbing the pinnacle on all fours in a serpentine line. He and the Musa party could distinctly hear the call of one another, being at a distance of not more than one geographical mile. The top of Musa was found covered in some places with snow, which Dr. Wilson had not seen since he left the Lammermoors fifteen years before, and the Parsee, Dhunjeebhoy beheld and tasted for the first time.

From this point the party crossed the Tih range into the desert, along the course of Jabal Ajmeh to the Ghadir al Guf. Three of the party went on to Hebron, while Dr. Wilson and Mr. J. Smith made a new arrangement with the Badaween to march to Petra. Having managed, without opposition, to ascend Mount Hor and examine the tomb of Aaron, they "descended into the fearful chasm of Petra by moonlight, and we there found our humble tents and servants ready for our reception." After a quotation from *The Lands of the Bible*, contrasting the rock-cut temples of India with the excavations of Petra, we must send our readers to that elaborate book—in the preparation of which Dr. Wilson spent all his home leisure up to May 1847, when it was published in Edinburgh in two volumes—and turn to his letters to India for a summary of the rest of the tour. That work, dedicated to Dr. Chalmers who showed a keen interest in its preparation, has still a special value in the literature of travel in Bible lands for four reasons: It records the impressions of a learned and observant traveller who approached Syria from the East with a knowledge of many Oriental languages and peoples. It describes several places not previously visited by Europeans. It devotes careful attention to all tribes of

Jewish descent or faith, from the Beni-Israel of Bombay and the White and Black Jews of Southern India, to Yemen, Cairo, and Syria.[1] And the work is, to this day, the highest authority on many points relating to the Eastern Christian Churches and communities, and should be studied in the light of the great Turkish collapse and Russian extension. Dr. Wilson had undertaken the duty of meeting two Presby-

[1] The Arabian Jews in Bombay thus introduced Dr. Wilson to their "brethren of the house of Israel in the four districts—Jerusalem, Tsaphath (Safed), Hebron, and Taberiah (Tiberias)," after a page of Oriental compliments:—"'We make known to your reverences that there goes from among us one who is of the men of the English, and who is of the city of Bombay. May it stand for ever! And he is a great man, and his name is Padre JOHN WILSON. He is highly counted of, and of generous heart. He desires to go to the four districts to perform the pilgrimage. We entreat of you that your reverences may do him honour in every place where the sole of his foot may tread. This will hallow the name of the Lord. For he loveth Israel, and is generous with his property, and showeth kindness to all Israel. Whatever act of kindness you will do to him we shall consider as if it had been done to ourselves. This is sufficient for the intelligent. And in this manner may the height of the throne of their reverences be lifted up and exalted. As the thrones of kings may their greatness be multiplied both in their courts and palaces. May the Lord bless their portion, and be pleased with the work of their hands as with a burnt-offering, a sweet smelling savour to the Lord. The upright shall dwell rejoicing, and being glad, safe in their imaginings. Let their tents prosper. [Let them be like] myrrh and aloes, and like gardens by a river—like tents that the Lord hath planted—like pleasant plants. Let there be strength and pleasure in all their borders. Ye shall dwell safely in your land. The Lord God of recompenses shall requite. May goodness be multiplied upon the house of Israel! . . . . Written in the city of Bombay on the fourth of the month Tebeth, in the year: 'He shall blow with the great trumpet because the Lord will save his people Israel.' (תרח 5603.') (Here follow the signatures.) On this grave production having been read, the venerable and learned rabbis handed it round from one to another, renewed their salutations, and kindly inquired for the elders of the congregation of Bombay whose signature it bears. The Hákim then told me that he was extremely happy that I had come to visit the afflicted Jews in their own land, and cordially thanked me for all the kindness which I had shown to the afflicted Jews of India, of which, he said, he had before heard from the *Shelohim*, who had been sent from Hebron to collect alms for their relief in that country. Rabbi Moshe, one of these messengers, whom I had seen in Bombay, upon this rose and shook hands with us, according to the customs of Europe."

terian missionaries to the Jews, Mr. now Dr. Graham, and Mr. Allan; and it will be seen that with them he fixed on Damascus as the centre of their labours.

"As efforts of architectural skill the excavations of Petra undoubtedly excel those of the Hindoos, which they also exceed in point of general extent, if we except the wonderful works at Verula or Elora. In individual magnitude they fall short of many of the cave temples, collegiate halls, and monastic cells of the farther East. Their interest, too, is wholly exterior; while that of those of India, with the exception of the great Brahmanical temple of Kailás, and the porticos of the Buddhist Viháras of Sashtí and Karlí, is principally in the multitudinous decorations and fixtures, and gigantic mythological figures of the interior. The sculptures and excavations of Petra have been principally made by individuals, in their private capacity, for private purposes, and the comparatively limited amount of workmanship about them has permitted this to be the case; while most of those of India, intended for public purposes, and requiring an enormous expenditure of labour and wealth, have mostly been begun and finished by sovereign princes and religious communities. At Petra we have principally the beauty of art applied often legitimately to subdue the terrors of nature in perhaps the most singular locality on the face of the globe, and the cunning of life stamping its own similitude on the mouth of the grave, to conceal its loathsomeness; but in India we have debasing superstition enshrining itself in gloom, and darkness, and mystery, in order to overawe its votaries, and to secure their reverence and prostration. The moralist, on looking into the empty vaults and tombs of Idumea, and seeing that the very names of 'the kings and counsellors of the earth which constructed these desolate places for themselves' are forgotten, exclaims, 'They are destroyed from morning to evening; they perish for ever without any regarding it. Doth not their excellency in them go away? they die even without wisdom.' In entering into the dreary and decaying temples and shrines of India, he thinks of that day when 'a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats; to go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the tops of the ragged rocks, for fear of the Lord and for the glory of His majesty, when He ariseth to shake terribly the earth.'"

"BEYRUT, 30*th June*.—The Lord has greatly prospered me both in my researches and labours in the Holy Land and Syria. I have an outline of our movements preparing for the youth of our Institution.

We have fixed on Damascus as the head-quarters of the Presbyterian mission. It is within the bounds of the Holy Land as drawn by Ezekiel and Zechariah. It has a Jewish population of 5000 souls, many of whom gave us a most cordial welcome. Other places are either already occupied by missionaries or are unsuitable as stations. The Jewish ladies at Damascus say that our ladies must be 'their sisters.' My Oriental dress is that of a Badawee Shaikh, but I seldom wear it. The word *England* is the grand passport both in the wilderness and in the city. Through its might, or rather through the gracious protection of the Lord of hosts, Mr. Graham and I passed about three weeks ago through an encampment of the Badaween, extending over a space of 30,000 camels, after the Turkish authorities at the Jisr Banát Yákab had declared that we should be certainly robbed or destroyed. The appearance of these Badaween, within a day's march of Damascus, has greatly frightened the Pasha there. They are from the great Bariah. They brought vividly to our mind the promise, 'The multitude of camels shall cover thee,' etc. You may tell ——— that ——— is quite full of the project of having a mission established among them and the other Ishmaelitish tribes.

"I have been very busy since our return from Cœle Syria in putting my notes into order. I have gone over all my Arabic collections with a learned man here. I have interesting material for a large volume. The Armenians everywhere are in a most hopeful state. I have been greatly delighted with what I have seen of them."

"Beyrut, *May* 4.—At the commencement of last month I forwarded to you a few lines from Jerusalem. I omitted to mention in them that, with my fellow-traveller, Mr. Smith and I had made a short excursion from the Holy City to Jericho, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. It afforded us much personal gratification, as well as an opportunity of comparing the present appearance of these and other interesting localities with the sacred narrative, and of making such observations connected with the geography and geology of the country as will enable us, when they are compared with our notes on the Wadi Arabia to the south of the Dead Sea, to hazard an opinion respecting different theories which have been advanced upon the destination of the Jordan previous to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Since leaving Jerusalem we have more than completed the inland tour of the Holy Land. Every step of our progress has been attended with the most solemn and hallowed associations, and almost inexpressible interest.

"At Náblus or Shechem, we took up our abode with the remnant

of the Samaritans, which is now reduced to one hundred and fifty souls; and we received from them much useful information respecting their belief and religious rites and ceremonies. The old priest showed us not only the ancient manuscripts of the Pentateuch, which he is accustomed to exhibit to travellers, but that which is reckoned to be of the highest antiquity, and which he declared had only once been previously unfolded before the eyes of the *Goim*. His eldest son walked with us to the summit of Mount Gerizim, and pointed out to us all its *loca sancta* agreeably to the traditions of his sect. An assembly of all the male adults and of most of the youth convened to meet us. We examined them respecting the views entertained of the Messiah. It was urged by them that the Shiloh of Genesis xlix. 10, was Solomon, to whom all nations either yielded obedience or reverence, and after whose reign the sceptre immediately departed from Judah; and that it is of Joseph that there is to spring the Messiah, 'the shepherd, the stone of Israel.' The son of the priest was much more candid than the father in admitting the force of objections to their method of interpreting the books of Moses; and I am far mistaken if he is not convinced that his people are involved in gross error. As the Samaritans have preserved the ancient Hebrew character, and have never used the Masoretic points, I was particularly anxious to learn from them their method of reading Hebrew, which, as far as I am aware, has never been inquired into in modern times; and I carefully noted the peculiarities of their pronunciation, which does not essentially differ from that of the Hebrew Chair of the University of Edinburgh. They are preparing a letter to the Beni-Israel of Bombay, respecting whom they were most minute in their inquiries; and one of themselves has most strenuously urged me to take him to England, along with his copy of the Pentateuch. I doubt whether he will be permitted to leave his native place. He is an individual of great enterprise; and, attached to a rope and with a candle in his hand, he descended, under our direction and with our assistance, into Jacob's Well, and recovered from it all that remains of Mr. Bonar's Bible which was dropped into it nearly four years ago. We had a fire kindled in the well, the particular examination of which was the object of our visit to it, and we had it thus lighted throughout. It is exactly seventy-five feet deep, and about three yards in diameter. It is cut out of the solid rock, and has marks about it of the highest antiquity. I have no doubt that it is the well of which the Patriarch drank, and his children, and his cattle; and at which our Lord held his remarkable interview with the woman of Samaria.

"Sebaste, we could not but notice in common with all travellers, to be now merely 'a heap of the field,' and 'as plantings of a vineyard,' with its stones 'poured down into the valley,' and its 'foundations discovered,' according to the precise words of prophecy. Our first day's march beyond it brought us to the great plain of Esdraelon, in which we visited the site of Jezreel, and of several other towns mentioned in the Bible. In the stillness and seclusion of Nazareth we spent a memorable Sabbath. From the top of Mount Tabor we enjoyed a most glorious prospect. We travelled along the peaceful shores of the Sea of Galilee, from its southern to its northern extremity. With the Jews at Tiberias, as elsewhere, we had the freest intercourse; and on the recommendation of the Bombay Jews they were not slow to assemble together on our account. I have no hesitation in saying that they are the most deeply skilled in Hebrew literature of any of the descendants of Abraham with whom I have yet met. As far as personal attainments go they aim at preserving the renown of their predecessors. The town in which they reside is still in a sad state of filth and dilapidation, having not yet recovered the effects of the dreadful earthquake of 1837; and with its broken walls it is not considered by its inmates as secure from the depredations of the Arabs. On the borders of its lake we saw a few houses at Mejdal, the village of Mary Magdalene; but the woe has been fearfully executed against Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Capernaum. Though they were exalted to heaven they have been brought down to hell; and, like others, we failed to identify their sites, though we discovered several ruins which may correspond with them.

"From Tiberias we ascended to Safed, which is scarcely a day's journey distant. This place is reckoned by the Jews the fourth of their holy cities; and it is expected by them that the Messiah will be manifested there, or at Tiberias, before he reigns in Jerusalem, according to the interpretation which they make of Isaiah ix. 2. We lodged with Rabbi Samuel, who had visited Bombay a few years ago; but the chief rabbi was much inclined to demand us as his guests. Like the Jews in other places who occupy his office, he has the complete civil control of those who are placed under his authority—a power which he may easily wield to the detriment of religious inquiry, especially in a place where he can take cognisance of the movements of every individual. There is a considerable body of Mussulmans at Safed, but there are no Christians.

"Leaving Safed we crossed the mountains to the Huleh, the northern lake of the Jordan, which we carefully examined. We then

traced the river to all its sources. Near one of them we discovered the site of Dan, respecting the precise situation of which some doubts, —which we believe we are able to solve—are entertained by modern travellers. The stream of the Jordan here suddenly emerges from the ground as a considerable river. Another of the sources, still larger, is at a natural grotto at the base of Mount Hermon, dedicated in several Greek inscriptions to the god Pan, from whom the neighbouring town of Banias, the Cesarea Philippi of the New Testament, takes its name. The most distant, but not the most copious source, to which we also repaired, is at Hasbaryah, among the mountains of Lebanon. At this beautiful town we found a small colony of the Jews, as we had been led to expect from representations made to us at Safed, and we spent with them a Sabbath. The Druzes and Christians of the place came to visit us in great numbers, and we made a liberal distribution among them of books in Arabic. They told us that upwards of a hundred of their number are ready to become *Bratistánti* (Protestant) as soon as they can get protection. This is probably owing to the influence of the labours of the excellent American missionaries resident at the place from which I address you. From Hasbaryah our journey across that 'goodly mountain' Lebanon to Beyrut occupied us three days. At Der-al-Kamar, the capital of Lebanon, we found a Jewish society of above one hundred and fifty souls."

Dr. Wilson paid two visits to Jerusalem, of sixteen days together. Here, as wherever he went, his letters to the British Consuls from the Governor of Bombay opened to him every circle. With Mr. Finn, then our Consul at Jerusalem, he began an intercourse which was long fruitful in good to the Jews of the Holy Land. He was made an honorary member of the Jerusalem Literary Society on its institution a few years after. Very close and beneficial to both was his intimacy with the American missionaries, who have done and are doing so noble a work all over the Turkish dominion. On the 30th June he and Dhunjeebhoy left Beyrut for Constantinople by Smyrna, where, in quarantine, he preached of the church and of Polycarp, and beguiled the week in studying modern Greek. During a fortnight's residence at Constantinople he continued his researches regarding the Eastern Christians, and the Jewish community

among whom Mr. Schwartz was the Free Church missionary. To its first fruits, two converts from Judaism, he "simply administered the ordinance of baptism, and pronounced the benediction through the medium of Hebrew." On a visit to St. Sophia he was allowed to walk through the mosque with his boots on and without a covering, though challenged by one of the Moolahs, four words in Persian—"but they are clean"—sufficing to stop opposition. In truth he was under the auspices of the British embassy, being for a time the guest of Sir Stratford Canning at Buyukdereh. Among the foreign diplomatists, he wrote, even at that time, the now venerable Lord Stratford de Redcliffe "was allowed to be the foremost for ability, influence, and philanthropy. His attachés, among whom was a young nobleman, the name of whose house, that of Napier, is indissolubly associated with the science and literature of Scotland, commanded much respect." There Dr. Wilson received letters from Professor Westergaard, detailing his visit to the Gabars of Persia, the tombs of Darius and Xerxes, and other antiquities. At Buyukdereh he joined the Austrian steamer for Varna and Constandjeh, whence, in transit-vans to Czernavoda for the river steamer, the course lay up the Danube to Pesth in those pre-railway days. At Rustchuk "we observed horses drawing carts, a sight to Dhunjeebhoy entirely novel, and which I myself had last seen at the Cape of Good Hope fifteen years ago." Turks and Bulgarians alike repelled the observer by their ignorance and filth; Servia was pronounced "the smallest State of Turkey in Europe, but the most advanced in enlightenment and civilisation."

"14*th August* 1843.—At noon we were as far as Cladova, where the Danube makes its exit from the Carpathian mountains, through the passage which it has cut for itself by the might of its waters, as the great drain of central Europe. Here we landed, and walked along the right bank of the river, while the steamer was being dragged up the rapids by oxen. We had a delightful romp of it along the

mountainous Pass; and I had the satisfaction of pointing out to my Parsee friend from the far East the different bushes and trees of the European jungle clothing the precipitous bank—the hazel, the brier, the willow, and the beech, all of which was entirely new to him, and of directing his attention to the remains of the great road constructed of old by the Romans, and which formed one of their grandest and most useful works. We crossed over to Orsova, after a three hours' walk; and we were welcomed to Christendom, after having passed through the empire of Muhammadanism from the straits of Bab el-Mandeb to the rapids of the Iron Bar, by being put into durance vile, under the farcical name of sanatory guardianship. Our restraint lasted, however, only for a few hours; and it soon became evident that it was intended more for political than medical objects. When the examination of our passports showed that I was no fugitive Italian outlaw, but a person recognised as a sober subject by a respectable Government, and that Dhunjeebhoy was not the pioneer of some horde of barbarians from the plains of central Asia, seeking fresh and green pasturage for their flocks and herds in the parching months of summer; and when our deposition had been taken as to the contents of our boxes, and all our books, with the exception of a Bible, a Medical Dictionary, and a volume of German Dialogues—which last work we had much need of studying—had, as was thought, been put by seal and signet alike beyond our use and that of the public, till their inspection by the censor at Vienna, eager to peruse a chapter or two of Rabbi Saadi Gaon's dim manuscript of the Pentateuch, or to peep into the secrets of a Samaritan marriage covenant, and above all to have the satisfaction of repeating, in the original Zand, a Parsee Nirang for the expulsion of the devil Nesosh from a putrid corpse, we were set at liberty. On this occasion Dhunjeebhoy was, as a matter of course, raised to the rank of an Indian prince, and I degraded to that of his dragoman or valet, by the intelligent and observant police.*

"PESTH, *Sabbath, 20th August.*—We were conducted by a young friend, on the look-out for us, to the house of the Rev. Dr. John Duncan, now Professor of Oriental Languages in the New College of Edinburgh, and his associates Messrs. Smith and Wingate, in which we got a most cordial and affectionate welcome. We stayed with our friends till the end of the month, enjoying most delightful fellowship, and witnessing the result of their endeavours to bring the lost sheep of the house of Israel to the fold of the Good Shepherd. We found with them, what we so much wished to see in the different regions through which we had passed in the East, a living Christianity shed-

ding its light and love around it, to the enlightenment and quickening, by the blessing of the Holy Spirit, of the souls both of Jews and Gentiles. Our Scottish friends had been there resident only for a few years, and they had been instrumental in the instruction and conversion of upwards of a score of individuals belonging to the Jewish community, including Mr. Saphir, a person of excellent education and extensive influence, and all the members of his family, male and female, old and young. All this had occurred without the usual appliances and machinery of modern missions, in connexion with the school, the press, and the pulpit, to which the circumstances of the country did not permit a resort, and simply by earnest conference, conversation, and occasional addresses and devotional exercises, animated by sincere piety, illustrated by distinguished biblical learning, and impressed by a holy walk and conversation. As the missionaries had not, and sought not, any personal standing in the country, the converts had been received into the communion of the Reformed Church of Hungary; the creed of which, as embodied in the Helvetic Confession, is quite accordant with that of the Protestant Churches of Britain, and especially of those of the north of the island, approved by the Presbyterian missionaries themselves, already the agents of the Free Church of Scotland.

The formation of the Mission at Pesth was entirely owing to providential circumstances, and the information obtained respecting the numbers of the Jews there resident, and the prospect of openings of usefulness among them, by the Rev. Dr. Keith, on his return from his first journey to the Holy Land, and when arrested there for a season by the hand of affliction. Dr. Duncan, its first missionary, was wondrously qualified, both by his high character and extensive scholarship, especially in scriptural and rabbinical literature, to lay its foundations; and he was peculiarly favoured in having the co-operation and assistance of men of such Christian ardour, devotedness, and talent, as Messrs. Smith and Wingate, its younger members. Mr. Smith, like Dr. Duncan, had been ordained in Scotland; but Mr. Wingate had been acting with them merely as a lay-associate. On our arrival, three of us Scottish ministers, providentially meeting together, formed ourselves into a presbytery for the time being, and after the usual trials of his qualifications—preparatory to his receiving the concurrence and appointment of the Church, and with the fullest conviction of his call to the service of Christ, set him apart by prayer and the laying on of hands, to the office of the holy ministry, though not to the pastorate of those gathered around him and his colleagues.

"From several of the inhabitants of Pesth we received much

kindness during our short residence there. Tasner Antal, the secretary and friend of the eminently patriotic and liberal nobleman the Count Szechenyi, gave us much of his time, and effectively aided us in all the inquiries in which we sought to engage. He is a gentleman of high literary attainments; and some of the institutions of the place have originated in his public spirit. We were much interested in a meeting of the Hungarian National Literary Society—which has a considerable body of active members—to which he introduced us. The language of the Gypsies—some of whom, attending the fair at Pesth, he had previously brought to us for examination to Dr. Duncan's—was on that occasion one of the subjects of our conversation. It was known to all present that that language is of Indian origin; but direct testimony on the subject was received with much interest. The governor of Transylvania, who was in the chair, invited us to visit him, that we might see some of these wanderers in his province, but our time did not permit us to accept his invitation. Reference was made to the death in the East of their distinguished member, Korose Csoma Sandor, who had there wandered far and wide in the fruitless search for the parent stock of the Magyars, and traces of their language; to his unrivalled acquisitions connected with the literature and religion of the Buddhists; to his Tibetan grammar and dictionary; and to the kindness which he had experienced from the Asiatic Society and the Government in India. Mr. Kiss, one of the members resident at Buda, a day or two after the meeting, exhibited to us his collection of ancient coins and medals, which is rich in the Asiatic department.

"More than one gracious invitation reached us from the palace at Buda, the residence of distinguished goodness as well as greatness. On one occasion, Dhunjeebhoy and I appeared there, by particular request, in our oriental costume, to the great amusement of the young princes and princesses. We bade adieu to Pesth on the 31st of August. Next morning we arrived at Presburg, where the Diet of Hungary was holding its Sessions. In the evening we were presented to his Imperial Highness the Archduke Joseph, the Prince Palatine of Hungary. He conversed with us in Latin, the language which he was accustomed to use while presiding over the Diet, and put many questions to us respecting India and the Holy Land, and other countries of the East, with which, it was evident, he had a very extensive and accurate acquaintance, as far as both their sacred and profane history and geography are concerned. He expressed the warm interest which he felt in the progress which Christianity is making in different regions of the earth, and congratulated Dhunjeebhoy on his embracement of the

truth. He also spoke in high terms of our friends at Pesth, and of what he had heard of their prudent procedure. He entrusted me with a message to their constitutents in Scotland. We formed a high opinion of his intellectual powers and moral feeling, of which his countenance and demeanour, as well as language, were the expression.

"Our onward journey to Britain, included in Germany, Vienna, Linz, Ischl, Salzburg, Munich, Augsburg, Stuttgardt, and Carlsruhe. When we got upon the Rhine we were almost at home among the number of countrymen whom we met on board the steamer. Among these was a distinguished officer of the Bombay Presidency, who has reflected the highest honour upon it by his literary and scientific efforts and antiquarian research, and by his wise and liberal counsels in the governing body of India—Colonel Sykes. We stopped with him and his family a night at Mayence, to talk over matters connected with the distant East. From Mayence we went to England by Cologne and Antwerp. We arrived in London on the 23d of September, and in the capital of Scotland on the 4th of November, in my case, after an absence of fifteen years from my native land, and a journey of nine months from my adopted home in India. You can imagine the emotions which I experienced, when, after the perils and vicissitudes of a long residence and labour in foreign climes, and a pilgrimage through many lands, both holy and unholy, I found my journeyings for a season brought to a close at the home of Christian affection and love. Only the language of inspiration, as in the hundred and seventh Psalm, can form their expression."

"Any news about the Church of Scotland," had been his first question to the boatmen who rowed him ashore at Dover. "They're all out, Sir," was the reply, which Dr. Wilson often afterwards quoted, adding "My mind was made up. I would have gone out although I had had only half-a-dozen associates."

CHAPTER XII.

1843-1846.

THE MISSIONARY SIDE OF 1843.

Scotland's Solution of the Church and State Difficulty—India outside of Party Strife—Dr. Brunton writes to the Missionaries—The Unanimous Response of all Evangelical Anglo-Indians—An Equitable Settlement of the Mission Property Refused—Dr. Wilson in Jerusalem—Joins the Church of Scotland Free—Letters to Robert Nesbit, Dr. Brunton, and Dr. Gordon—General Assembly at Glasgow—Dr. Wilson's Address—Cotton Mather's Prediction fulfilled—First educated Brahman baptised at Bombay—First Caste Expiation—Epistle from American Presbytery of North India—Establishment of the Nagpore Mission—Stephen Hislop—Sir Donald M'Leod, his Correspondence with Dr. Wilson—Kaffrarian Mission transferred to Free Church—Dr. Wilson at Oxford—At the May Meetings of 1844, and the Inverness Assembly—Medical Missions—Speech on Turkish Atrocities—Indignant Plea for Dhunjeebhoy's Ordination—The Ideal of a Missionary Church—General Assembly's Farewell.

I love the Kirk with ages hoar;
I love old ways, but CHRIST far more;
I love the fold, I love the flock,
But more my Shepherd and my Rock,
And the great Book of grace
That mirrors His dear face.

"O sweet the story and the psalm,
And prophecy is healing balm,
Like virgin-comb apostle's lips,
Like fate the grand Apocalypse;
But sweet, above all other,
Thou Saviour, Friend, and Brother."

Dr. WALTER SMITH: *The Bishop's Walk.*

"It was in the month of May 1843 that the Established Church of Scotland was rent in twain by the secession of those who formed themselves into the Free Church. However anxious to avoid polemical matter, it would be wrong not to state what Lord Jeffrey's opinion was, since he had a very decided one, on this the greatest event that had occurred in Scotland since the Rebellion in 1745, if not since the Union. . . . His view was, that, in theory and while matters are all open, every pretence of exclusive ecclesiastical jurisdiction is to be received with distrust and alarm; but that the Church of Scotland, which had owed its existence to its defiance of the civil supremacy that had been claimed by the Stewarts, had been revived when the Stewarts were put down, as it had been originally founded on the very principle of its independence in spiritual matters; that in the modern conflict it was demanding nothing but what had immemorially been assumed in practice, and even in judicial practice, to be its right; that instead of implying ecclesiastical tyranny, the system had worked so well that there never was a Church better fitted for the people, or to which the people were more attached; that though, as usual in such collisions, there were faults and extravagances on both sides, the dispute might have been adjusted if Government had interfered under a due intelligence of the danger; but that, deluded by the error that this was not a question with the people, but only with a few restless priests, and alarmed for English consequences, and smiling at the idea of clergymen renouncing livings, it virtually abdicated its authority, and never put itself into the state of mind necessary for averting a danger which it was assured did not exist; that the calamity might have been almost avoided by the mere concessions that were made to the people after it had occurred; that the Church, as expounded, being a thing that they had never understood it to be, honest men who held this opinion could do nothing but leave it; that the heroism with which this was done made him '*proud of his country;*' and that the magnificent sacrifices by which, year after year, the secession had been followed, showed the strong sincerity and the genuine Scotticism of the principles on which the movement had depended."

LORD COCKBURN'S *Life of Lord Jeffrey.*

CHAPTER XII.

WHEN Dr. Wilson left Bombay he was appointed a clerical representative of the Church of Scotland in India, in the General Assembly which met in Edinburgh on the 18th of May 1843. On that day, the last of the old historic Kirk, when Dr. Welsh, the Moderator, read the protest of 470 ministers who laid down their livings, and they and he, and Thomas Chalmers, and elders representing a majority of its people, went forth as the Church of Scotland Free, Dr. Wilson was, on camel-back, entering for the second time the city of Jerusalem. The church's evangelical ministers in Scotland had sacrificed their all, how would its Indian and Jewish missionaries act? The moral grandeur of the spectacle on that 18th day of May, in the Scottish capital, was such as to extort the admiration of judges like Francis Jeffrey and Lord Cockburn,[1] and of many who had no sympathy with the spiritual principles involved, but saw in the protesters the legitimate heirs of, and now the joyous martyrs for, the principles of the Reformation and Revolution Kirk of Scotland. The same party which did the wrong on that day have since sought to undo it, by abolishing what was only an accident of their principles—lay patronage. Although the remnant of the Church as still established has not yet blotted out what are known as the Rescissory Acts, by which it endorsed the wrong and departed from the Reformation and Revolution principle, yet, so recently as this year, it has by the mouth of its Moderator expressed admiration of the spiritual heroism of

[1] See his *Journal*.

the men whom the Courts and the Legislature drove and the minority of the last General Assembly barred out on that day. Would the missionaries then, far away, dim or would they increase the lustre of that sacrifice, by adhering to the protest? The chaplains of the Church thought it right to cling to their monthly salaries from the Government, and not to forfeit the pensions given by the East India Company. No one will judge them. Every missionary, from Pesth and Constantinople to Calcutta and Madras, Bombay and Poona, joined the Church of Scotland Free. Yet the Kirk's Foreign Mission had owed its origin to Dr. Inglis, father of the present Lord President of the Court of Session, and was directed by Dr. Brunton, both of the "moderate" party. The grandeur of the testimony was complete. Missionaries, ministers, and elders united with the people in 1843, under the guidance of Thomas Chalmers, to work out in the vexed question of Church and State the only true solution of the freedom of each within its own proper sphere, yet the respectful alliance of both, which Italy has since accepted; which Mr. Gladstone of English statesmen has most appreciated; and which, on the part of a spiritually democratic Church, is as hostile to the sacerdotalism of the Ultramontane as it is a protest against Cæsarism.

During the ten years which preceded the crisis of 1843, all the missionaries and some of the chaplains at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, sympathised with the evangelical party whom conscience ultimately forced out. But they were far removed from the conflict and its excitement. And they had even higher work to do. In the face of a common enemy, or league of enemies like the four great Cults of Hindooism, Parseeism, Muhammadanism and Fetishism, all non-sacerdotal missionaries, then and ever since, have formed a union of the widest catholicity and heartiest co-operation. From the first, too, foreseeing men like Wilson felt that they

were laying the foundations of the future Church of India, and that it was an evil thing to introduce into it the purely historical and sectarian controversies of the warring churches of the West. The best missionary—he who knows the people best—is still a foreigner, and he and his translations must in time give way to an indigenous and self-developing church or churches, which may a second time illustrate the Christian truth of the saying, "Ex Oriente Lux." Hence the echoes of the Ten Years' Conflict, as it is called in Scotland, were somewhat dull in India, as dull almost as those of the strifes of the home churches now are to every earnest worker there. That India knows no party is as true of ecclesiasticism as of politics. What the land-tax shall be in a province? whether it shall have certain primary schools and village institutions? how far the historical creeds and sectarian confessions shall be bound on the necks of the office-bearers of the native churches? these are questions that affect millions now and hereafter. Such issues as these are the true politics of India.

Although correspondents kept Dr. Wilson well informed of the inner life of their Kirk, and a visitor like Dr. Duff in 1840 brought back from Edinburgh the latest tidings, they and their colleagues, being in the true front of the battle, left the security of their base to be looked to by others. And at the last the crisis in Scotland came with a rush. The evangelical party, outraged by a majority of eight to five of the judges, could not believe for a time that Parliament would set the seal on such an interpretation of Scottish statutes, Union contracts, the Revolution Settlement. Parliament, never very heroic itself and affecting a cynical disbelief in the heroism of others, lent a willing ear to the small band of men of compromise, who, unprepared for sacrifice themselves, scouted the idea of it in so many of their brethren. So it came about that, when Dr. Wilson saw the last of Bombay for a time, as night settled down on Malabar Hill on the 2d January, he did

not anticipate that his relations with Dr. Brunton were so soon to cease. At Cairo, when he heard of the Convocation of 478 of the 1200 ordained ministers, who had consulted all through a winter week, and resolved to resign their livings if justice were not done to the principles of the Kirk, he must have said for the first time, as his colleagues in Bombay expressed it—"What will remain? A Presbyterian Establishment, but not the Church of Scotland; nearly all that constitutes nationality will have vanished." To them Dr. Brunton had written officially, expressing the anxious wish that all would continue as they were. The chaplains, Dr. Stevenson and Mr. Cook, afterwards Dr. Cook of Borgue, did so. The missionaries, Messrs. Nesbit and Murray Mitchell, had kept the public informed of the conflict in Scotland through the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, and the receipt of the mail announcing the event of the 18th May saw them ministers of the Free Church of Scotland. All the elders and a majority of the members of St. Andrew's kirk also left it.

The missionaries had been in the habit of conducting a service for Europeans residing at a distance from that church in the Ambrolie Mission-house. That congregation, now greatly increased, found accommodation in the neighbouring chapel of the American Mission, until it could erect the building which adorns the Esplanade. The new college was about to be occupied; and the missionaries who had struggled for so many years in the confined and unhealthy rooms of a native house had been looking forward with eager eyes to the building for which they and their friends, chiefly on the spot, had raised the necessary funds. They did not enter it. Not only so, but at the close of the session of 1843, when Dr. Brunton's committee established in it a new mission, they had the pain of making over to the German agent who was sent to demand the property, the whole library, mathematical, astronomical, chemical, and other educational apparatus,

which were the fruit of their personal toil and their friends' generosity. All was quietly given up and carried off, fortunately without any such scandal as attended a similar act of transference at Calcutta. It was well that Dr. Wilson was spared his share of the pain. How he viewed the equity of the proceedings his correspondence will show. On him, at home, devolved the duty of furnishing the mission anew, and selecting and sending out the first Free Church minister. In all this the men who had chosen suffering for conscience sake made no boast and no complaint—they were Christian gentlemen. With Dr. Stevenson, who had been their colleague for some time, their relations had been very close. They did not fail to help their old Institution, as engaged with themselves in the one great contest. And now there is a prospect that both may unite with the other evangelical churches to form a strong and catholic Christian College like Principal Miller's in Madras.

For upwards of two months on the march from Cairo to Jerusalem, Dr. Wilson had been without news. As he sat in the lodging-house of the Greek, Elias of Damascus, in the Via Dolorosa, at the end of March, and devoured his letters and a file of papers sent him by the British Consul, he wrote:—"It would be difficult to say whether, for this day at least, the natural Jerusalem in the land of Israel, or the spiritual Zion in the land of Caledonia, was uppermost in our thoughts and feelings. That the God of Zion reigneth above gave us hope and peace." His second visit to Jerusalem with Dr. Graham, and his distant journey to Damascus where he left that missionary, caused the time to pass rapidly till he returned to Beyrut, and rested there for a fortnight. On the 2d November 1840 Dr. Brunton had thus written to him:—"Our Church fever is by no means abated. It is carrying its lamentable heats by far too much into private society, but it has not as yet touched at all our committee. Nothing can be

more harmonious and united than it continues to be." As the aggression of the Court of Session on the spiritual rights in purely spiritual things guaranteed to the national Church of ministers, elders, and people, continued, it became inevitable that all its members should declare themselves. Thus, on the 28th April 1842, Dr. Brunton met the otherwise pleasing announcement of the proposed foundation of a mission at Nagpore by Sir W. Hill by this response:—"The only ground of doubt is the present state of the Church. I am forced to consider our funds as in a very precarious state. Even if the Establishment escape from the wreck there will be more or less of very embittered secession. Or, though things remain as they are now, a great part of the bounty which used to flow in the various channels of Christian charity, is directed to the interminable lawsuits of the Church. Altogether, our prospects are anything but cheering. Human aid seems of little avail, but God is able to give deliverance. O may He send it speedily for His own name's sake!" How it was sent, and how it continued to be sent, the future of the Foreign Missions of Scotland will reveal.

Dr. Wilson's first act was to write promptly to his colleague, Mr. Nesbit, at Bombay. When he arrived at Smyrna he despatched to Dr. Brunton his resignation, in terms most honourable to both. At the same time he sent on to Dr. Chalmers, as Moderator, his formal adherence to the Free Church of Scotland. That document he caused to be published in Bombay also:—

"BEYRUT, 30*th June* 1843.—MY DEAR ROBERT.—A month before this can reach you, you will have heard of the rupture which has taken place in the Church of our beloved native land. It was unavoidable as far as the faithful ministers of Christ are concerned; and it will be overruled, I doubt not, for the great extension of vital religion throughout the country. From Smyrna—for which I sail to-day in the Austrian steamer—I intend to send in my adherence as a minister and missionary to the Free Church; and I firmly believe that we shall all

be found in the same fellowship. Whether any plan of co-operation with the Moderates may now be practicable or desirable I do not know, though a few weeks ago I dropped a hint to Dr. Brunton on the subject. One thing is evident, we cannot be divorced from the counsels and prayers of those whose principles and actings have our conscientious and strong approbation.

"The question connected with our mission property in Bombay must, I think, be determined on principles of *equity*. It will be of great consequence for us to get occupation as soon as possible of the new buildings. The onus of legal proceedings—should such be resorted to—will rest on the Moderates, if we are first in possession. I shall propose that we give the Moderates a fair share of the price should they ask it from us.

"A regard to the souls of the present and future generations of our countrymen in India demands our decided action in behalf of the Free Church. Assemble its adherents in Bombay and Poona, promise the continuance of your services to them till regular pastors be provided, and forthwith petition for these pastors. I hope that we shall hear of your proceedings before the meeting of Assembly at Glasgow in October. I shall do all there in my power in support of your prayer. Tell Captains George and John Jameson, Archie Graham, Captain Thornbury, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Fallon, Mr. Martin, and Dr. Malcolmson, etc. etc., that I expect them in particular to be among the first who will rally round the old flag of the Covenant."

To Dr. BRUNTON.[1]

"SMYRNA, *July* 1843.—MY VERY DEAR SIR.—The rupture which has taken place in our beloved Church, which to the last moment I had fondly thought would have been averted by the Government considering its righteous claims, or by both parties within the Church agreeing to uphold at least its spiritual independence, has forced me impartially and prayerfully to consider to which of the two separated bodies it is my duty to adhere. My decision is in favour of the free protesting Church; of the principles professed and advocated by which I have long conscientiously approved.

"In these circumstances it has become my painful duty to intimate, as I now do, my withdrawal as a minister and missionary from the Established Church of Scotland, with which I have so long considered it an honour and a privilege to be connected. I take this momentous step from my desire to bear and maintain a conscience void of offence

[1] This is from a pencil draft, and not the original.

toward God and man, and, I trust, without a breach of that charity which it becomes me to cherish towards those with whose judgment my own has been found at variance. I take it with inexpressible regret, as far as it involves the dissolution of that official tie which has so long bound me to yourself, who have ever treated me with more than paternal kindness, and strengthened my hands and encouraged my heart in the work of the Lord more than I can declare. I feel at this moment the unfeigned sorrow of a great bereavement, and it is my humble but fervent prayer that the Lord may comfort us *both* in the afflictive circumstances in which we are placed in His inscrutable providence. To the latest moment of my life I can never forget, or lightly estimate, the multiplied favours which I have experienced at your hands; and if God will that we should soon meet together, I shall tender to you the homage of my unfeigned gratitude.

"Your interest in the continued prosperity of our mission, which you have done so much to advance, will, I am certain, remain undiminished. In a postscript attached to my last letter I expressed the hope that some plan of co-operation between the two sections of our Church might be devised. The terms on which the separation has taken place, however, have for the present annihilated that hope. Had the Residuary Assembly not consented, as I humbly but firmly believe it has done, to the utter overthrow of the scriptural and constitutional liberties of the Church, the case might have been otherwise. —I am, my dearest Sir, yours in the bonds of Christian love and gratitude,

JOHN WILSON."

"BILSTANEBRAE, 12*th June* 1843.

"MY DEAR DR. WILSON.—I have received with great thankfulness your very kind letter from Beyrut. I rejoice to find that you have safely past a perilous part of your journey without harm, and commit you for the remainder of it to the same protection. Your packets to Dr. Keith I delivered immediately. The opportunity indeed came, before I had the satisfaction of perusing them. I expect that he will afford me that pleasure still. In the meantime the details of your progress which you have sent to myself, will, I am quite sure, awaken in the public the same interest which I felt in reading them.

"The calamity which you anticipate has befallen; and with an extent and an exasperation with which I had by no means laid my account. Our brethren who have left us have announced their purpose to enter immediately on missionary enterprise; I have rejected repeatedly, and unhesitatingly declined such a proposal as the one which you suggest. This theme I have uniformly shunned in my

correspondence with India, unless perhaps by a hint at its financial bearing, because I could not see how the point in dispute could in the least touch the *status* of our brethren in India. But, of course, after the Disruption took place, I was directed to state to each of the Missions that the Established Church was resolved to go on with all of her schemes as before, and counted in her day of peril on the zealous co-operation of those whom she had found so admirably qualified for their work. Reports are loudly circulated here that my appeal comes too late. I cannot allow myself to believe it. I cannot think that those with whom our intercourse hitherto has been so delightful to us, would pledge themselves, as they are said to have done, without giving us the shadow of warning. This would be to peril to an enormous extent the safety of our great cause; as well as, in many other respects, to be a source of very painful feeling. Even now, when it has become necessary to make a direct appeal, I have in no one instance introduced one word of personal pleading; but you will easily understand how *painful* my personal feelings are. May the Lord Himself direct you to that which is right, and may He who is able to bring good out of evil, cause this sore calamity to minister to the advancement of His glory and of the gospel cause. It is not easy for man to see how this result is to be reached; but with *Him* all things are possible. We are determined, through his blessing, to persevere. So far as human aid avails we have the prospect of abundant funds. But if works of the purest charity are to be henceforward channels for estrangement, and contention, and strife, my whole heart shrinks from what used to be its joy.

"I cannot mix up this subject with any other; indeed I have nothing else that is interesting to communicate. I need not say how very anxious I shall be to hear from you, nor how much I am, your affectionately, ALEX. BRUNTON."

"MUNICH, 14*th September* 1843.

"MY VERY DEAR SIR.—On the evening of the day on which I last addressed you, I received your kind letter of the 12th of June. Though it could not alter the decision, which I had intimated to you, of my adherence to the Free Church, I could not peruse it without the deepest emotion. It made me realise in all its extent your exceeding kindness and consideration during the whole period of our official connection, and imparted to me the deepest sorrow. To no individual do I feel a stronger attachment, and for no individual do I cherish a more profound regard than yourself; and could anything of a *personal* nature have prevailed with me in my choice of the ground which I

should occupy after the rupture in our beloved Church, I should have been found still ranged by your side in the missionary enterprise.

"I feel it extremely difficult at once to do justice to the credit which I give to those from whom I differ in my judgment as to late events in our Church, and to express the conviction which I feel that my own sentiments are in accordance with the will of Christ. I may be permitted to say, however, that I do think that the Free Church, as far as constitutional principle is concerned, is essentially the Church of Scotland, and that in cleaving to it I am only following out my ordination vows according to my conscientious interpretation of them. In your official correspondence with the missionaries you shunned, as you intimate, all reference to the existing controversies, except in their financial bearing; and my former silence on the subject originated in my respect for your own example, and my reluctance to hold out any threat, however humble, to those with whom I might ultimately be found at variance. Though as a *missionary* employed by both parties I was silent in the discussion, yet as a *member of the Kirk-Session of Bombay* I uniformly supported non-intrusion principles. I constantly opposed premature division in India, and I have a letter from Mr. Cook cordially thanking me for my co-operation and friendship. It was only when the Government proved relentless, and multitudes conspired to overthrow the spiritual liberties and discipline of the Church, that I was compelled as a *missionary* to give in my adherence to the body of whose principles and contendings I approved. Had your own charitable and peaceful remonstrances and pleadings for upholding the authority of the Church, prevailed with the body with which you are now associated, the schism I am persuaded would not have occurred.

"Had it appeared that our practical operations in India would likely suffer by our leaving the Establishment, and that it was possible for the Establishment immediately to supply our lack of service, I should have considered it a duty for us to give adequate warning of our intention to forsake that Establishment. I have not yet seen, however, that any of our operations require to be abandoned; and should the Establishment send any faithful missionaries to India, I, for one, shall most cordially bid them God speed, rejoicing that they preach Christ to the heathen Hindús.

"Perhaps I have erred in thinking these few remarks of explanation called for by your kind letter, if so, I am sure that you will excuse me. I hope very soon to see you in Edinburgh; and I confidently trust that I shall ever vindicate the sincerity with which I subscribe myself, as of old, yours most gratefully and affectionately,

"Rev. Dr. Brunton. JOHN WILSON."

"MUNICH, 13*th September* 1843.

"MY DEAR DR. GORDON.—On the 19th of July I addressed a letter to Dr. Chalmers expressive of my adherence to the Free Church of Scotland as a minister and a missionary. I have some fears that my communication may not have reached its destination, as I have not received, as I had expected, any reply to some private epistles which went by the same post. You will see the ground, however, which I now occupy, and understand that I had *no hesitation whatever* about taking my station upon it, though I did feel a severe pang on cutting asunder the official tie which bound me to Dr. Brunton, of whose kindness to us as missionaries you are well aware. I exceedingly rejoice at your appointment as his successor. I remember you with much gratitude and respect as my own pastor for several years during my attendance at the University, and that of my dear partner during her residence in Edinburgh.

"As soon as I heard of the rupture in the Church of Scotland I sent several letters to India calling upon the friends of the independence of the Church there, to take measures towards supporting a ministry for themselves, both at Bombay and Poona. I am quite hopeful that we shall find that we have many adherents at both these places, and that we missionaries will be left free to follow out our own peculiar duties without being obliged to devote so much of our time and attention to our countrymen as we have hitherto done. Mr. Mitchell at Poona is often overwhelmed on the Lord's Day by the demands made upon him by the soldiery. The character of an evening service which we had in Bombay for the benefit of the native youth understanding the English language, was nearly, and almost as a matter of course, completely changed, when the body of the congregation of St. Andrew's church forsook it on the arrival of Mr. Cook.

"I expect to be in London within the last week of this month. As the hour of my planting my feet on my native shores approaches, I feel much solemnised by the thought that I am now a missionary from the great heathen continent in the benighted East, to the highly-favoured Christian island of the West. I am positively quite overwhelmed in the view of the magnitude of those claims which I have undertaken to plead; and I really do not know where to begin and how to end. I shall (*D.V.*) however take my seat and open my mouth at the Assembly of the Free Church to be held in Glasgow in October. I shall hasten to Scotland to have a timely conference with yourself and our committee, with reference to this matter. We must begin anew by resolving to *extend* our operations. Another missionary, and one of

no ordinary qualifications, is imperiously needed at Bombay. The call to occupy Nagpore is too urgent to be neglected. I am happy to say that dear Dr. Duff entirely concurs with me in the view which I take of this matter. I have an admirable letter from him on the subject to show to you. But without reference to particular openings we must *go forward*. The field is the world, and it is far more easy to conduct matters on a large than a small scale. To the Christian Church, as well as to a nation, is applicable the saying of Napoleon, 'Quiconque n'avance pas est perdu.'"

The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, which met at the end of May under Dr. Chalmers, had necessarily to leave the details of organisation to be worked out after it rose. Hence the meeting of a second General Assembly in the same year, instead of such a "Commission" of Assembly as holds quarterly meetings every year but with restricted powers. At Glasgow, on the 17th October, and with Dr. Thomas Brown of St. John's, Moderator, this special Assembly met. The five months that had passed showed 754 congregations and 730 ministers and preachers. Of these 465 had given up their livings in the Established Church, and 110 licentiates and others since licensed to preach, their certain appointment to livings. There remained the twenty missionaries, thirteen in India and seven to the Jews, and in due time the adherence of all of these was announced. When men like the last Marquis of Breadalbane; Mr. Fox Maule, afterwards Earl of Dalhousie, who had in vain brought before the House of Commons "the question of the spiritual independence of the Church and the rights of the Christian people of Scotland;" Mr. Dunlop, M.P; Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Candlish had reported arrangements resulting in a response from the country to the amount of £300,000 in that brief period, Dr. Gordon submitted the report of the India Mission.

In answer to those friends of the missionary cause who had deprecated the long defence of their spiritual rights by the people of Scotland, on the ground that it was "not a

religious question," he pointed to "the striking fact that the missionaries of the Church of Scotland, possessing in an eminent degree the esteem and confidence of the Christian public both at home and abroad, as holy and devoted men of God quietly pursuing their pious labours far from the scene of controversy, and as calm observers watching from a distance the progress of the conflict, should, the moment that conflict ended, have unanimously and without hesitation united themselves to their protesting brethren." But while Dr. Chalmers could announce his third of a million, chiefly due to that unique contribution to ecclesiastical economics, the Sustentation Fund for the ministers, Dr. Gordon could, at that early stage, when no appeal had been made, report only £327 as the fund with which the Church nevertheless resolved, as Dr. Forbes put it, to continue the "gigantic scheme of Church Extension" among a population which was then estimated at 160 millions, but will be shown, by the second imperial census in 1881, to be nearer 260 millions as British India now is. The thirteen foreign missionaries of 1843-44 have grown in number to forty ordained men, Native and Scottish; the £327 of October 1843 and £6402 of the whole year, to £30,657 a-year in Scotland alone, and nearly double that if the whole annual revenue of the Indian, African, and South Pacific Missions be considered. In the thirty-five years since that time the Church of these thirteen missionaries has given in Scotland alone, £535,000 for foreign missions, and there is not a contributor who does not admit that the amount might have been and will yet be doubled. The conflict of the ten years before 1843, and the struggles of Cameron, the Erskines, and Gillespie before that, will not be exhausted until the three great branches of the Reformation Kirk of John Knox are gathered once again into one reconstructed Church, as free in its own legitimate sphere as the statutes of the Reforma-

tion, the treaty of Union and the Revolution Settlement acknowledged it to be. This is, thus far, Scotland's contribution to the question which Pope and Emperor in Italy and Germany are trying to work out on the hopelessly irreconcilable, because intolerant, lines of Ultramontane tyranny and Cæsarist encroachment; and Dr. Wilson often declared it to be so. The total freewill offerings of the members of the Free Church of Scotland in the year ending 31st March 1878, for all spiritual purposes at home and abroad, was £576,000. In all it has raised the sum of twelve millions sterling[1] side by side with higher moral aims and as the fruit of a deeper spiritual life.

Dr. Wilson's first speech in the General Assembly is remembered to this day for the length as well as the eloquence of its statements of fact and pictures of Oriental superstitions and missionary life. To the attitude of the religions of the East towards the Christian demand for their surrender he happily applied the remark of Tippoo, when the British forces surrounded the last stronghold of Seringapatam—"I am afraid, but afraid not so much of what is seen as of what is unseen." First in the list of the principal means of propagating the Gospel in India he placed those used by the Lord and His apostles, as he had done from the day he took possession of Bombay—"conversation, discussion, public preaching, among all classes of men to whom they could find access, and in all situations in which they could be advantageously practised." After an account of the work of his colleagues,

[1] According to Mr. W. Holms, M.P., himself a member of the Established Church, who stated in the House of Commons debate on the 18th June 1878: "There are 1517 churches attached to the Free and United Presbyterian Churches against 1390 attached to the Established Church. And these last comprise about 300 Highland charges, most of them very meagrely attended. In regard to the money raised for religious purposes during the year 1877-78, which was not an unfair test of vitality and power, £965,000 had been contributed by Free and United Presbyterians, against £385,000 by the Established Church."

and of the agents of other Churches in every case, he briefly describes his own:—"I have declared the doctrine of the Cross in three languages, the Marathee, Hindostanee, and Goojaratee, from the Shirawutee in Canara to Sirohee in Rajpootana, and from Bombay to Berar." Second in his enumeration of agencies came the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of India, and the publication of works showing the evidence of their truth; of "plain but affectionate" expositions of their contents; and of demonstrations of the vanity, falsity, and immorality of the systems of error to which they are opposed. Again after a generous tribute to the work of others, he briefly states his own, adding, "it was my privilege to act for twelve years as secretary to the different translation committees of the Bombay Bible Society." Besides the English, Marathee, Goojaratee, Hindostanee, Persian, and Hebrew, in which his own writings had appeared, the missions of other societies had translated them into Bengalee, Hindee, Tamul, and Canarese. On the third agency of schools Dr. Wilson gave a fair and full summing up of a question much disputed in this country, though long set at rest in favour of education, higher and lower, by experienced men of all churches in India, so far as Hindoos, Parsees, Buddhists, and Muhammadans, or the non-aboriginal races, are concerned. This was followed by equally weighty utterances on the two questions which lie at the foundation of the indigenous Church of India, native congregations and native ministers. Going back to the saying of the New England Cotton Mather, which he had quoted in his early *Life of Eliot*, Dr. Wilson felicitously closed his first appeal to his countrymen by the prediction—"There will be found a set of excellent men in that reformed and renowned Church of Scotland, with whom the most refined and extensive essays to do good will become so natural that the whole world will fare the better for them." The Moderator, according to the

newspapers of the day, in an eloquent address conveyed the thanks of the General Assembly to Dr. Wilson.

While he was yet speaking there was intelligence on its way from Bombay which gave a new point to the opinions he so emphatically expressed. An educated Brahman youth, now the Rev. Narayan Sheshadri and long one of the most successful ordained ministers in India, asked to be baptized. He was one of the few Hindoos who had clung to the mission college when the Parsee baptisms in 1839 produced a panic throughout native Bombay. The first *educated* Brahman baptized in the island, he was the direct fruit of the higher Christian education, and a worthy associate of the two Parsees who had anticipated him. Mr. Nesbit's loving gentleness, and Dr. Murray Mitchell's efficient instructions, had continued the good work begun by Dr. Wilson. It seemed likely that both Narayan and his younger brother Shripat would have been allowed to live and study together, holding kindly intercourse with their parents. But the prospect was too much for those who had recently seen toleration triumphant in the case of the two Parsees, and were the more determined "to contest every inch of ground with advancing Christianity." So the appeal was again made not to reason or truth, but to the civil courts, for Shripat was not sixteen years of age. The "age of discretion" rule, the intelligence and sincerity of the youth rather than the age by the horoscope ever difficult to be proved, were pronounced by Sir Erskine Perry to be "not worth a farthing," and Shripat exclaimed, when declared too young to exercise the rights of conscience—"Am I to be compelled to worship idols?"

The scene has often since been repeated in the courts of India, purely English as well as those administering Hindoo and Muhammadan law; and legislation has yet, in this matter alone happily, to complete the little code securing bare toleration, which Bentinck and Dalhousie began, and

Sir Henry Maine and Sir James F. Stephen have amplified. "To this sorrowful question of Shripat's," writes an eye-witness, "no answer was returned. Mr. Nisbet was greatly attached to Shripat, and when the weeping boy bade him farewell as they quitted the court-house, he kissed him with much affection, and wept with him." † Shripat was never allowed to become a Christian, but it took a long time to shake him by arts such as *Faust* has made the colder West believe to be but the legendary fictions of a dark age. And since Shripat had eaten with his baptized brother, his case became the first, also, of a long series of gradually weakening concessions by caste, as Christianity practically teaches that God has made of one blood all nations of men. Not only in Maharashtra, but in the holiest conclave at Benares, and among the most exclusive of the five Koolin clans of Bengal, the very practical question was hotly debated—"Can Shripat be purified and restored to caste?" Hindooism was on its trial, for if it yielded now what horror might not come next, till the one last bond was cut in every link? A rich minority spent vast sums to develop dogmatically Hindooism into something that would tolerate the *Zeit-Geist*, ease their own consciences, and perhaps connive at their forbidden pleasures. Thus, travelling by railway was afterwards sacerdotally sanctioned, for would not the pilgrim arrive at his journey's end with more in his purse? But the year 1843 was too early for the minority, who had got Shripat to swallow the five products of the cow (its urine, etc.), and enriched a priest to conduct the purification. All who had thus combined were themselves threatened with excommunication, and the priest was as severely handled as if he had been a Christian. The "liberal" Brahmans publicly confessed their fault, and drank water in which an idol had been washed and ten Brahmans had dipped each his right foot. For the rest the scandal was hushed up, many feeling it would have been better if

Shripat had never been dragged before the English judges.[1] While Narayan and Pestonjee continued their studies for licence and ordination in Bombay, Dhunjeebhoy Nourojee completed his college examinations in Edinburgh, and as a preacher and speaker gave a vivid interest to the missionary cause in Scotland.

The day before the General Assembly sat at Glasgow the Presbytery of Bombay had received a formal letter of sympathy from Allahabad, one of the four presbyteries in north India of the church of the United States. The brotherly document was signed by the Rev. J. Warren and the Rev. J. Owen, the latter a learned scholar who was long spared to build up the native church. It has more than a curious interest, as contributing the experience of a Republic which, itself born of the intolerance of the Tudors and the Stewarts, has never found a difficulty in recognising and protecting the legitimate spiritual independence of all churches, even that of Rome. The letter anticipated the time, since realised as to co-operation, when all Presbyterians in India may meet in fellowship, and ultimately in General Assembly.

In his address to the General Assembly Dr. Wilson declared the most clamant need of India to be the establishment of a Christian mission in its Central Provinces. At Nagpore, nearly equi-distant from Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras about seven hundred miles, a Raja of the Bhonsla family of Marathas reigned, like the Gaekwar at Baroda, Holkar at Indore, and Sindia at Gwalior. He had been guided by a political Resident so able as Sir Richard Jenkins, and was protected

[1] Sir Erskine Perry, who still adorns the Council of India by his ability and industry, would probably not now repeat all the opinions which he gave on this occasion, and again as President of the Board of Education, when he excluded low-caste boys from the public schools. See Dr. Wilson's reply on the latter point in *The Darkness and the Dawn in India*, p. 83. There also will be found a Sermon by "Narayan Sheshadri, Deshasht-Brahman, Preacher of the Gospel," 1853.

by a combined force of British troops and Madras sepoys at the adjoining cantonment of Kamptee. Stationed there as Deputy Judge-Advocate-General, was a Madras officer, Captain, now Sir William Hill, K.C.S.I. He and his wife had long lamented the want of a missionary to evangelise the people. Nor had their desire been fulfilled by the establishment, two hundred miles away, of the industrial or artisan mission of Pastor Gossner of Berlin among the aboriginal Gonds, whose cause Sir Donald M'Leod, when a district officer among them, had long advocated. On the death of his wife Captain Hill resolved to devote her small fortune of £2000, adding to it £500, the whole in three per cents, to the endowment of a mission to the people of Kamptee, Nagpore, and the neighbourhood. He applied to Dr. Wilson, in February 1842, as the missionary best known to him by reputation, offering the amount for a Presbyterian or Church of England Mission. The fruitless result of Dr. Wilson's application to Dr. Brunton has been stated. But his representations to the committee of the Free Church met with such a response that the only difficulty left was to secure a missionary, at a time when every licensed preacher, young and old, was required at home. Happily Stephen Hislop offered himself, a man, as it proved, after Wilson's own heart. Fresh from a distinguished career at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh and the New College, he was an accurate scholar and a keen naturalist. He proved to be a patient linguist, a worker of rare political insight and administrative power, and above all, an enthusiast in the spiritual work he had undertaken. All the arrangements at the home end, for fitting out and securing the success of the new mission fell upon Dr. Wilson, as those in India had devolved upon him in the case of the Irish settlement in Goojarat. But in spite of the need for rest, and the general work of the Church, he and Mr. Hislop so co-operated that, by the end of 1844, the

new apostle—in time to prove a martyr by his death in the midst of duty—left for the scene of his labours. We shall hear more of Stephen Hislop.

"As soon as you get a regular beginning of your operations made," Dr. Wilson wrote to him, "be sure to make an appeal for another ordained colleague, founded upon the necessity of the work, both among natives and Europeans. Your appeal I shall strongly support; and I do not think it will be without success. The people will *give* for India, if our committee liberally *act* for India. I am day by day convinced of this, as I see outbreakings of zeal in different parts of the country, when addresses are delivered. The late tidings from Calcutta will have a good effect in strengthening this zeal.

"In studying the Marathee you will find it of great use to have some children to catechise, and to write a good deal with your own hand. Don't make your pundit an authority in every case. The most learned natives greatly neglect the vernaculars, and they require to be systematically trained by their pupils! I can perfectly well understand the possible changes which may occur around you in reference to your European friends. Should those who are now around you, however, be removed from the station, they will encourage you by their correspondence, and others in divine providence will be raised up for your support. I have often found this to be the case in Bombay."

This Nagpore Mission is consecrated by the memory of another Christian official of the civil service, as Sir William Hill was of the military—Sir Donald M'Leod—who, after a brilliant career ending as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and giving his last days to philanthropic work in London, was killed when attempting to enter a train in motion, on his way to a meeting of the Christian Vernacular Education Society.

Donald M'Leod was the man to whom this double testimony was borne by a Rajpoot and a Sikh. Behari Lal Singh, a Rajpoot official subordinate to him, was led to believe that "Christianity was something living," and ultimately died an ordained missionary of the Presbyterian Church of England, by what he described as "the pious example of this gentle-

man, his integrity, his disinterestedness, his active benevolence. Here is a man in the receipt of 2000 or 3000 rupees annually; he spends little on himself, and gives away the surplus for education—the temporal and spiritual welfare of my countrymen. This was the turning-point of my religious history, and led to my conversion." More recently a Sikh declared, "If all Christians were like Sir Donald M'Leod there would be no Hindoos or Muhammadans." Of the M'Leods of Assynt and proprietors of Geanies, one of the three great branches of the old Norwegian clan, young Donald passed from the Edinburgh High School to Putney, where he had Lord Canning and Henry Carre Tucker for schoolfellows; and to Haileybury, where he first won the admiration of Lord Lawrence. When at his first station of Monghyr in 1831, he learned from his countryman, the Rev. A. Leslie—the Baptist missionary who helped Sir H. Havelock—to adopt the words of Pascal as his own: Religion has "abased me infinitely more than unassisted reason, yet without producing despair; and exalted me infinitely more than pride, yet without puffing up." When he passed to the Thuggee department, created by Lord William Bentinck to put down organised robbery and murder by strangling, and on to the administration of the Saugur and Nerbudda highlands, ceded by the Marathas in 1818, where Seonee was his head-quarters,[1] he was soon attracted to Dr. Wilson. From 1836, to his death in 1872, they assisted each other in philanthropic enterprise and scholarly research. To his first letter we find this reply from Dr. Wilson, who was six years his senior:—

"NIRA BRIDGE, 15*th March* 1837.

"MY DEAR SIR.—I have been very long in answering your very kind and peculiarly acceptable and gratifying letter, dated the 2d of

[1] See "*Sir Donald M'Leod, C.B., K.C.S.I.*: A Record of Forty-two Years' Service in India. By Major-General Edmund Lake, C.S.I. 1873." Since that little work appeared, General Lake himself, a man of like spirit, and another ornament of the Punjab or Lawrence school of officials, has passed away.

November last. You will probably have found, however, that I was not altogether inattentive to your commission which it contained. I only regret that we could not send you all the books which you requested. Perhaps some of those wanting may ere long come in my way. The Bombay Asiatic Society, before its incorporation with the home Society, published only three volumes of *Transactions*. They are now exceedingly scarce, and I was able to procure only the third. We publish no Journal, but send on papers to London for publication in the Journal and Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Agricultural Society of Bombay are about to commence the publication of a Quarterly Journal of Agriculture and Statistics. If the prospectus, which you will see in the *Courier*, please you, you may perhaps subscribe to it. Martyn's *Controversies* I hope to be able to procure for you. I doubt whether the tract by Muhammad Ali, mentioned by Dr. Ross in the *Christian Keepsake*, be forthcoming; but I have written to Edinburgh on the subject. The author of it I know to be a convert indeed to the Christian cause. I have seen many of his private letters. It was once proposed that he should join me in Bombay, but the Russian Government will not allow him to leave Kazan.

"I cannot give you an idea of the pleasure with which I viewed your communication, and I assure you that you may depend upon my most humble but most zealous endeavours to aid you in disseminating useful, but especially religious, knowledge in this benighted land. You will find the pleasures of benevolent exertion more than a compensation for all the thought and trouble which it may cost. Our holy faith, which speaks both peace to the conscience and purity to the heart, is destined to triumph in this land; and it requires only a very partial observation to see that the sovereignty has been given to our nation that it may have free course and be glorified. Truth of all kinds, to whatever extent it may be proposed to the natives, will aid its progress; but there are no obstacles to its full and simple announcement, and the advocacy of all its claims. Your friend Mr. Wilkinson, whose talents and zeal I much admire, is too much of a *gradual* emancipist for me. I most cordially, however, bid him God speed, except in so far as he makes the science of Europe play into the hands of the Brahmans, as is the case in Subáji Bapu's extraordinary work, instead of demolishing *in toto* the fabric of their superstitions. I have some intention of taking the liberty of writing to him. I agree with him in thinking that the vernacular languages and alphabets, particularly the Dev-Nágari, will be the most efficient media of the instruc-

tion of the people. I hold this opinion with another not inconsistent with it, that the study of English will be the readiest and most effectual mean of acquiring knowledge by those who are to be teachers."

When in Central India, Sir Donald M'Leod had given all his, at that time scanty, income to the support of the Berlin missionaries, whom he indeed had brought out to settle among the Gonds. Malaria and ignorance of the country slew several of them, and the survivors sought health in Nagpore. Sir Donald offered to support them by subscribing not less than £120 a year so long as he remained in India.

To the India Mission, thus increased, the Free Church added, in 1844, the African stations in Kaffraria, offered to it by the Glasgow Missionary Society; and it soon after sent out two other ministers familiar with Dutch, who for a time conducted missionary operations in Cape Town itself. Thus a new impetus and extension were given to a mission which has made the Lovedale Institution not only the centre and head of all civilising work among the natives of South Africa, in the opinion of observers like Mr. Anthony Trollope and Sir Bartle Frere, but the base of that advance into the Lake Region which has resulted in the establishment of the Livingstonia settlement on Nyassa. The cause of native female education also, in India, made a fresh start. The Ladies' Association was strengthened by the co-operation of the Glasgow India Association on behalf of female education in South Africa up to 1865, when both combined to form the present invaluable agency which is carrying light into the Zananas of the most caste-bound families.

Hardly had the Glasgow Assembly risen when Dr. Wilson found himself absorbed for a time in preaching and addressing large audiences of all the evangelical Churches, now on the Free Church of Scotland's assertion of its principles, but more frequently on the missionary claims of India. In November

1843 he opened the new Free Church in his native town of Lauder, to which nearly the whole community flocked to hear the youth who had done such great things in India. His old master, Mr. Paterson, took care that he should preside at the examination of the school, in circumstances very different from those under which he used, on his tours, to stoop under the leafy sheds of the jungle schools of the Konkan, or the low roofs of the bungalows of Bombay and Surat. Invitations to preach flowed in upon him from all parts, from Dr. James Hamilton of London to Dr. James Lewis and Mr. Thorburn of Leith. It was when Dr. Wilson addressed the children in St. John's Leith, that his present biographer first saw the even then youthful apostle, and heard the rhythmic roll of his sentences as hundreds learned from him for the first time of the Hindoo idols and the Parsee fire, of the scattered Beni-Israel, and the devil-worshippers and man-sacrificers of the Indian hills.

Dr. Wilson was selected by his Church to accompany Dr. Candlish to England. At Oxford, on the 17th March 1844, he preached to the elite of the University and the Church of England there a sermon on "The Church Glorious before its Lord," from Ephesians v. 25-27. The academic tone of the discourse, and the learning and long self-sacrificing labours of the preacher, combined to call forth a degree of ecclesiastical appreciation as well as missionary sympathy which a local journalist thus expressed when it was published:—"The great movement in Scotland is a new thing under the sun. It is little less than a breaking up and recasting of a nation. It is developing events which mere politicians cannot understand, and which they will be unable to guide. The freedom of the Christian Church in its corporate character has been asserted. And, as we believe, the further assertion of the freedom and equality of Christian men, and of every distinct Christian assembly will follow." At the annual meeting

of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Sir George Rose in the chair, he was introduced by Dr. Bunting; when, answering the attacks of the late Cardinal Wiseman on Protestant Missions, he made a valuable contribution to that little-known subject —Roman Catholic Missions in India; referring to such Portuguese authorities as the *Life of Juan de Castro*, one of the earliest Viceroys, and a letter from John I. of Portugal, to be found in that classic. "Dr. Wiseman thinks very little of Protestant efforts," he concluded, "but the Brahmans make a great deal of them. I this morning read a tract written against Christianity and addressed to myself by a Brahman. He tells his countrymen that, unless they act together, all their power and religion are doomed. And, for the sake of the inhabitants of India who have been most marvellously placed under the sway of this Christian country, we wish the doom of Brahmanism. Wishing them good, we must endeavour to save them from the contaminating and ruining power of sin, and prepare them for the glories of heaven. . . . Increase your labourers in India, and look for the divine blessing." Addressing the Baptist Society, over which Mr. W. B. Gurney presided, and the British Society for the Jews, he excited enthusiasm by his fresh and generous descriptions of the labours of their agents, and his appeals for a wide extension of their agencies. "The names of Carey, of Marshman, and of Ward, had been long familiar to me," he said to the former, "before I finished my studies at the University. Dr. Marshman gave me the right hand of fellowship before I proceeded to India; and he was among the first, with a generous heart, to welcome me to its shores."

From his English raid he hurried back to be present as a representative of Bombay at the General Assembly of 1844. There, at its successor, and at the remarkable Assembly of Inverness in August 1845, when Dr. Macdonald of Ferintosh, the Moderator, preached in Gaelic, from Dr. Wilson's familiar

text—"Those that have turned the world upside down have come hither also"—the Bombay missionary was true to his calling. At the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, held in 1844 in Londonderry, he was received with "loud acclamations" as the co-founder of the mission to the two millions of Kathiawar; and he afterwards gave much of his time to providing means for the extension of that mission. At the Birmingham meeting of the Synod of the English Presbyterian Church in 1845, he stood, side by side with Mr. Milne from China, as a deputy with Dr. Beith from the Free Church of Scotland. When, in the same year, addressing the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, which has since done much for the people of India, he said—"I recollect being asked by Sir Robert Grant, the late Governor of Bombay, what would be the effect of dissecting a dead body in the Poona Sanscrit College? Why, said I, the first effect certainly would be that the Brahmans would jump out at the windows; and the second effect would be, on their re-entering, that the gods would jump out also; or, in other words, their religious prejudices would take to flight." The Grant Medical College in Western, and the Bengal Medical College in Eastern India, where a Brahman student of Dr. Duff's was the first Hindoo to dissect the human subject, have produced great results. It was in emphatic language that he induced the Assembly of 1844 to memorialise Her Majesty's Government on the impotence and misrule of the Ottoman Porte alike in Asia and in Europe. Nor did he spare Russia's intolerance.

In all Dr. Wilson's correspondence, confidential as well as public, we have met with no expression of his opinions more worthy of his whole work for and relation to the Native Church of India, than the following letter on the ordination of Dhunjeebhoy to Dr. James Buchanan, who had succeeded Dr. Gordon at the head of the Foreign Missions Committee. He pleaded, and with success finally, for what at the

present time it is difficult to believe even those most ignorant of India could have doubted,—the spiritual and ecclesiastical rights of the educated native converts, in the light of justice and expediency, of the equality of Presbyterianism and the future of the Indian Church. The Parsee "probationer" himself, who had already become popular as a preacher all over the country, intimated that, unless full evangelistic power and liberty were conceded to him, he would not enter the service of the Free Church, and Dr. Wilson reported to Mr. Nesbit, "his firmness in this respect has been admired. We are for natives being ordained, after due probation, *as missionaries or evangelists like ourselves.*"

It was well that he and Dr. W. S. Mackay of Calcutta happened to be in Scotland when their Church, naturally absorbed in its domestic and internal organisation, was also called to lay anew the foundations of its Foreign Mission broad and deep. The missionary buildings at Poona were not affected by the ecclesiastical changes, and those at Madras had been rented only. But the property made over to the Established Church had cost £10,000 at Calcutta and £8000 at Bombay, exclusive of libraries and apparatus. The duty of raising £20,000 for a new start fell upon Dr. Wilson and Dr. W. S. Mackay, then on sick leave from Calcutta. How generously the whole India Mission was aided, not so much by the public effort as by private and anonymous gifts, the missionary correspondence of the period reveals. Even more remarkable was the liberality of Christian men of all sects in India itself. To that the Free churches in Bombay and Calcutta owe their existence.

"28*th November* 1846.—My Dear Dr. Buchanan.—As I have to go over to Fife to address a missionary meeting to-night, and to assist at a sacrament to-morrow, and cannot get back in time for your consultation on Monday, I shall mention to you in writing the opinion which I have formed relative to the ordination of our dear young friend Dhunjeebhoy. To the opinion which I expressed at the last

meeting of our India Mission Committee I am disposed still to adhere. I think it expedient that Dhunjeebhoy's ordination should take place in this country. I believe him to be as highly qualified for the ministry of Christ in India, both spiritually and mentally, as any individual on whom our presbyteries can lay their hands; and I believe that the Christian meekness, courage, constancy, and self-denial, which he has displayed under the frowns and threats and assaults of numerous mobs and conclaves in India, and the smiles and plaudits and blandishments of numerous friends and coteries in Scotland, have formed a probation of his character which should fully satisfy the most scrupulous anxiety. How we can call one of our own white-faced students from our Divinity Hall, and ordain him *per saltum* to the ministry among a people of whom he understands nothing and knows nothing, as we have more than once done, and pass over a black-faced student, duly licensed and qualified, and tried by extraordinary providences, and bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh and every way cognisant of the people to whom he is to be sent, I do not see; although certainly I do think, with our venerable and esteemed father Dr. Gordon, that we should look to the possible effect of our procedure as forming a *precedent* in regard to other cases of native preachers in India, which we may not be so easily able to dispose of as at present.

"Referring to the matter of precedent, however, I do not see that we should be afraid of consequences. The sanction of our Foreign Mission Committee is by the laws of the Church a preliminary to any ordination by the presbyteries in India. That Committee, I presume, is quite ready to try every case by its own merits, after it is informed of the position and attainments of parties by those who are particularly acquainted with them in India. Hormasdjee is in the same circumstances as Dhunjeebhoy, and I presume he must be treated in the same way in the usual course of procedure. I do not think that any of the other licentiates in India yet occupy *this* position, for the advanced converts and students at Calcutta have been removed to the ministry of the upper sanctuary. If, however, there are any other of the students or licentiates in a proper state of forwardness and personal probation, let us, on being duly satisfied on these heads, and requested by themselves and the missionaries in India, give the warrant for their ordination, and that with fervent gratitude to the Lord of the harvest, who is hearing our prayers, and thrusting forth labourers to his own vineyard.

"With regard to the opinion incidentally expressed by one of our

friends at our last meeting, that the native missionaries should be ordained only to a specific pastoral charge, I would beg respectfully to say that eighteen years' experience and observation as an Indian missionary, as well as considerations of general Christian expediency, lead me to come to an entirely different conclusion. I believe that the Christian Church would grievously retard the progress of the Redeemer's cause in India were it to act on this principle. Native ministers, with a full evangelistic commission such as we ourselves receive as missionaries, and with full powers to enter into those doors of usefulness which may be opened up to them on their own knocking, are, under Christ, my great hope for the evangelisation of India. I should not, in their case certainly, put the particular before the general, but the general before the particular. I would give to them a very extensive latitude, that they and we may have the benefit of a very extensive experience. I would give them an apostolical liberty, with our responsibility for life and doctrine. I have not a particle of fear of their abusing that liberty. The more we trust them the more they will trust and defer to ourselves. Centralisation, to the extent that it is desirable, will in due time come. I have not the remotest suspicion that the Free Church of Scotland will lay down the doctrine and establish the practice that the natives of India are to be ordained only as pastors; but were it to do so, I am persuaded that some vacancies would occur in its present establishment of European missionaries. A *caste* disqualification would make our indignation boil above the Pleiades."

As the Sustenation Fund, devised by the greatest writer and most practical worker in the field of Christian and Philanthropic Economics, Dr. Chalmers, became consolidated for the support of the home ministers, it would have been well if a somewhat similar self-acting and self-developing arrangement had been then made proportionately for the growing foreign missions. This was afterwards done in the form of an association in every congregation able to give more than an annual offertory. But Dr. Wilson seems to have attempted the institution of a system which, it is to be hoped, all the churches will yet adopt in the place of, or in addition to desultory offerings. He induced Dr. Candlish and Dr. Gordon to arrange that St. George's and the New North congregations should provide the support of the two Parsee missionaries.

The former, which gave £63 for the object in 1840, now subscribes to the Foreign Mission Fund about £600 of its whole annual contributions of £10,000.[1] If it undertook directly to provide for two missionaries, who would report to it as well as to the central committee, the congregational life would be completed on its missionary as well as home side; while the missionaries would be brought into closer contact with the churches and with their youth, who are to be their successors. Only where each congregation, able to raise at least £200 a year in addition to the income of its own minister, thus does its duty to the Master by sending forth an ordained Native or European missionary, will the wide fields of Heathenism and Muhammadanism be adequately overtaken, and the churches of Christendom prove their spiritual loyalty. When that union of sects, for which Dr. Wilson longed, comes about, so that ecclesiastical waste and suicidal divisions shall be reduced to a minimum, this ideal may be reached.

It was in the year 1844, when he was forty years of age, that Dr. Wilson sat to Mr. James Caw for that portrait which has since adorned the walls of the Free Church College in Bombay. It was painted at the request of the students, and was pronounced a good likeness of the founder of the mission there. A fine mezzotint engraving by Mr. Henry Haig was made for the public at home. The General Assembly of 1846 formally declared that they "rejoiced in the prospect of Dr. Wilson's return to Bombay in renovated health. They give him also the assurance of their sympathy and prayers, and trust that he may be long spared to prosecute his important labours as a missionary to the heathen." They recommended all ministers of the Church, "at least once a year, about the opening of the college session" in November, to bring the claims of foreign missions specially before their congregations, and "to enforce upon them the duties of prayer and self-denial."

[1] *St. George's, Edinburgh: A History;* by Mr. David Maclagan, F.R.S.E. 1876.

CHAPTER XIII.

1845-1847.

AMONG BOOKS—SECOND MARRIAGE—OVER EUROPE TO BOMBAY.

Lieut.-Colonel Jervis, F.R.S., and intercourse with Civil and Military Officers—Establishment of the *North British Review*—Reception of Dr. Wilson's Works by the learned of Europe—Elected Fellow of the Royal Society—Correspondence with Colonel Jervis—Baron Hügel, the modern Marco Polo—First Attempts to introduce Lithography into India—First Proposal of Postal Money Order System—Death of Dr. Welsh—Writers in the *North British Review*—Letters to Westergaard and Hugh Miller, and from Dr. Falconer—Second Marriage—Isabella Dennistoun of Dennistoun—A learned Jewish Convert—Dr. and Mrs. Wilson leave for India—Lassen and William Erskine at Bonn—Researches in Egypt—Welcomes at Bombay—Lord Hardinge announces Suppression of Suttee, Infanticide, and Slavery, in many Native States—George Clerk and Memorial Church of Colaba—Gaikwar of Baroda dies.

" He that is weary, let him sit.
My soul would stirre
And trade in courtesies and wit,
Quitting the furre
To cold complexions needing it.

" Man is no starre, but a quick coal
Of mortall fire,
Who blows it not, nor doth controll
A faint desire,
Lets his own ashes choke his soul.

" Life is a businesse, not good cheer ;
Ever in warres.
The sunne still shineth there or here,
Whereas the starres
Watch an advantage to appeare.

" Oh that I were an orange-tree,
That busie plant !
Then should I ever laden be,
And never want
Some fruit for him that dressed me."

GEORGE HERBERT : *The Temple.*

CHAPTER XIII.

WE have seen how, throughout the first period of Dr. Wilson's Indian career, he was encouraged and supported in his purely missionary as well as philanthropic and scientific labours by laymen, chiefly civil and military officers, who united with him in dedicating to the very highest ends their intellectual powers, their social influence, and their Christian culture. Even at that early time he became the centre and the stimulus of the best society in Western India. One of the most remarkable of the officers with whom he formed a very close friendship was Lieutenant-Colonel T. B. Jervis, F.R.S. To his educational work in the Konkan, and erection of the Bombay College, transferred on its completion to the Established Kirk, we have already referred. Born in India, and with a hereditary interest in its people like the majority of the Anglo-Indian officials under the East India Company, young Jervis gained extraordinary honours at Addiscombe and entered the Engineer Corps, became superintending engineer of the Southern Konkan which had just been made British territory, and surveyed that large tract of Western India. His maps still form part of the uncompleted Atlas of India. He made such a reputation that, when in England in 1837, he was nominated successor to Sir George Everest as Surveyor-General of India, an appointment he did not take up. On finally retiring from the service, shortly before Dr. Wilson's departure from Bombay, he received a letter of touching farewell, and a copy of the best edition of the Bible which could then be procured, "as a small token of

Christian affection and gratitude for his admirable design for the General Assembly's Institution in Bombay."

With no one was Dr. Wilson in such close correspondence all through his visit to Great Britain, especially on literary and scientific undertakings for the good of India, as with Colonel Jervis. While the missionary was striving to devote every hour he could snatch from ecclesiastical engagements to the preparation of his elaborate work, *The Lands of the Bible*, the engineer was projecting a series of Memoirs, Voyages, and Travels, original and translated, illustrative of the geography and statistics of Asia. The collection would have formed a modern Hakluyt, and is still a desideratum in European literature, in spite of similarly fragmentary attempts to supply it by both German and English editors, for the health and the resources of Colonel Jervis did not allow him to do more than issue in 1845 a first volume—Baron Charles Hügel's *Kaschmir und das Reich der Sick*, in an English dress.

The two friends were farther interested in the success of the *North British Review*. Evangelical men of all parties in Scotland had, even before the events of 1843, desired to see established a Quarterly which, to the literary ability of the *Edinburgh Review* and its great rival, would add the discussion of theological questions which were then beginning to occupy thoughtful minds—no less in England, where the Tractarian movement was at its height, than in Scotland. Men like Drs. Chalmers and Welsh, Cunningham and Fleming, in the Scottish Universities and Church, and writers like Sir David Brewster, Isaac Taylor, and Merle D'Aubigné, formed a nucleus to whom only the leisure of letters was wanting in those stirring times, to make success as lasting as it proved to be brilliant for a time. For the *North British Review* anticipated that discussion of the deepest theological problems, and of all questions on the platform of the highest

principles, which has of late marked the higher periodical literature. In the thirty years of its existence it more than justified the other boast with which its prospectus was concluded: "The latest discoveries in mental and physical science will be regularly unfolded by men themselves of the highest inventive genius. In all departments individuals of the greatest celebrity in this and other countries have promised to adorn our pages with their contributions." Dr. Welsh at once laid hold of Dr. Wilson for his staff. It should be noted that the same month of May 1844 which saw the first number of the Scottish Review, witnessed the birth of another Quarterly which has a history in the East quite as remarkable as that of the *Edinburgh* in the West—the *Calcutta Review*, edited, after its first number, by Dr. Duff, and still prospering.[1] At a much later period, and for some time, Dr. Wilson contributed articles to the *Bombay Quarterly Review* and to the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*.

The reputation which Dr. Wilson had gained in the circles of the learned of Europe by his work on the Parsee Religion was increased when his *Lands of the Bible* appeared, and, during his occasional visits to London, caused his society to be sought by men like Lord Castlereagh, afterwards fourth Marquis of Londonderry, who had himself been travelling in the East. In the addresses of 1869 and 1870 to Dr. Wilson, the public and the Asiatic Society of Bombay thus sum up contemporary opinions on these two books:—

"Your learned and comprehensive work on the religion of the Parsees, published on the eve of your journey to Europe in 1843, was recognised by the few scholars then competent to form an opinion as the most complete investigation into the sacred writings of the Parsees that had up to that time appeared. A distinguished Oriental scholar, whose learned labours have reflected honour on Bombay, Mr. William

[1] See an article on "The First Twenty Years of the *Calcutta Review*" in the number for July 1874.

Erskine urged you, in reference to this and other works, 'to go on and enrich the world of letters, while you think chiefly of the religious world and religious benefit of the human race;' and Professor Westergaard of Copenhagen, whose own valuable labours in this branch of Oriental research are so well known, thankfully recognised the value of the services you had rendered himself, which he said he valued the more from the prominent place you hold amongst Oriental philologists, and for your having signally contributed to the furtherance of acquaintance with the Zoroastrian lore. Your great work, the *Lands of the Bible*, was hailed on its appearance, as being in itself a complete storehouse of biblical research, and as abounding in materials illustrating the state of the Christian sects and churches of the East, of the Eastern Jews and Samaritans, of Mahomedanism, and the numerous questions connected with the ancient people and languages of Palestine, Syria, and other parts of the East. The President of the Royal Geographical Society, in directing the attention of the learned to what was new and important in the work specially pertaining to questions of geographical, topographical, and antiquarian research, remarked how much could be done in gleaning what was new in such countries as those you had travelled in, by travellers who enjoyed, as you did, the advantage of understanding the language of the people, and of entering into the spirit of the manners of the East."

Of *The Parsi Religion* the Asiatic Society of Paris thus wrote in their Report of 1843:—

"Tous ces ouvrages sont destinés à servir l'éclaircissement d'une grande controverse qui s'est élevée, à Bombay, entre les missionaires protestants et les Parsis, et qui, dirigée, du côté Chrétien, par un homme savant et intelligent comme M. Wilson, a donné naissance à plusieurs écrits remarquables dont la science doit tirer profit."

But the practical criticism which Dr. Wilson valued most was the blue riband of science in Great Britain. On the 7th February 1845 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Dr. WILSON to Colonel JERVIS.

"EDINBURGH, 16*th August* 1844.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—This is the first moment of leisure which I have found to write to a friend since my return from Ireland. I have not, however, been unmindful of the matters referred to in your letter

of last month. Owing to Dr. Welsh's absence from Edinburgh I had it not in my power to put your letter in his hands till a couple of days ago, when I was dining with him, along with Sir David Brewster. He received it with much satisfaction, and I have no doubt that he will write to you accepting your proposal. I am happy to say that the second number of the *North British Review* is as great a favourite as the first, and that there is not the slightest doubt of the complete success of the undertaking. My article, you will see, was in time. (On *The Vishnu Purana*, translated by H. H. Wilson, 1840.)

"EDINBURGH, 11*th November* 1844.—MY DEAR MAJOR JERVIS.—I begin with *Baron Hügel.*[1] Your Preface is in every respect suitable. Do not allow a day to pass without sending me a copy for the *Review*, as all articles for the next number of the *Review* should be in Dr. Welsh's hands by the 1st December—December being the printing month. Send me too the original of Hügel and the number of the *Foreign Quarterly.* The model of the planet Saturn which you gave me in London I left with Mr. Laurie to forward to Bombay."

Colonel JERVIS to Dr. WILSON.

"9 REGENT'S VILLAS, AVENUE ROAD, 30*th December* 1844.

"MY DEAR FRIEND.—I have got a beautiful woodcut of the sun rising between the hills of Caranja, over the harbour and island of Bombay and Back Bay, as viewed from Malabar Hill, near the Rev. Dr. Wilson's house, to be the heading of an instructive illustrated journal

[1] The Austrian Baron Hügel, extolled by continental writers as "the second Marco Polo," and recently far distanced by the Prussian Baron von Richthofen, spent six years in travelling from Greece by Syria to Egypt across India to Ceylon, Australia, and China. Returning to India he passed in a continuous journey from Cape Comorin to Kashmere in 1835, where he was protected by Runjeet Singh. His spoils have enriched the Imperial Library and Museum at Vienna, which, to the present day, shows a keen interest in Oriental research and commerce, witness its Oriental Museum, of which A. Von Scala is director. When in Kashmere Baron Hügel and Mr. Vigne set up this inscription in black marble on the Char Chinar Island—"Three travellers in Kashmír, on the 18th November 1835, the Baron Ch. Hügel from Jamú; Th. G. Vigne from Iskardu; and Dr. John Henderson from Ladák, have caused the names of all the travellers who preceded them in Kashmír to be engraven on this stone. Bernier, 1663. Forster, 1786. Moorcroft, Guthrie, and Trebeck, 1823. Victor Jacquemont, 1831. Joseph Wolff, 1832." Hieronymus Xavier was the first European who penetrated to Kashmere, but his remarks, as given in what Dr. Wilson calls that very scarce work, *Hajus de Rebus Japonicis, Indicis*, etc. (Antwerp, 1605), are pronounced by Baron Hügel to be "of no particular value."

for general circulation among the natives of India. Will you write an article for it? I propose in every case to give the writer's names."

"12*th February* 1845.—MY VERY DEAR FRIEND.—I cannot express to you the great delight I experienced, and those also to whom I read it aloud from the review of my work in the *North British*. You have grasped and epitomised all that was worth knowing on the subject in so masterly and delightful a manner that I have got a far clearer view from it of the Baron's real merit and the happy selection I had made of my preliminary volume than I could ever have hoped for elsewhere. It has given courage to a sinking spirit, and will do more for the recommendation and sale of the work than all the advertisements or exertions I could make.

"I sent you the testimonial (a copy) of your election as Fellow of the Royal Society—and a noble testimonial, and well supported it was, by Dr. Buckland, and Murchison President of the Geographical Society, and Greenough President of the Geological Society. I am sorry to say our kind friend Mr. Greenough is laid up with influenza, very severe. On Thursday the Royal Society meeting was put off for the death of the Princess Sophia. Another meeting I went down, and the old dame, the porteress at the door, said, 'Oh dear, Major Jervis, his good majesty Charles the First was martyrised to-day, and you are not the only gentleman who has been disappointed and had a long walk for nothing to Somerset House.' The set day came at length, and I was at my post, Sir John Lubbock in the chair, and rejoiced to communicate to you the tidings of your admission into the long list of 750 Fellows, some eminent for taste and talent, and on the whole the most remarkable men in Europe of the present generation, or perhaps, any in modern times. The honour of your election is mutually yours and that of the great public body, and I always think that a grain of good salt thrown into the leaven will correct many acidities, and tend to give a wholesome zest to the discoveries of intellectual knowledge.

"I have thought to call my little lithographic establishment the International Press; I tried first how Polygraphic Press would sound, because I can command every kind of work, woodcutting, lithography, copper-plate of every kind, and in fact all the known processes of illustration for maps, drawings, designs, or works of any sort, among the little establishment which I have got together, in the first style of art. Baron Hügel's portrait is a specimen of the portrait work on steel; the yellow title-page, of lithographic writing; the vignettes and two of the illustrations, of my wood-cutting; and the other two, of Palmer's glyphography, poor, bad, but infant attempts of this art. This, my friend of the Royal Institution said, smacked of commercial business,

I therefore bethought myself of the Asiatic Engineer Institute, because I first gave my attention to lithography for the cause of education with my brother in 1826,[1] when he founded and organised the Engineer Institution in Bombay.

"I have got the view of Bombay, between the hills of Caranja, as seen from the top of Malabar Hill, close to the Rev. Dr. Wilson's bungalow, sketched from nature and painted in oils by Mrs. Jervis. It is a glorious, magnificent scene.

"I have sent out a *lithographed Post-office money order*, of which I bethought myself as an admirable advertisement and recommendation to H.M. Indian Commissioners, to the Court of Directors, and to the Government of India. I propose to send it to Sir Henry Hardinge and all the Governments of India. It is of course merely a sketch *in petto*. You know better than I can tell you, if a poor servant or sepoy wishes to send a small sum from Kashmir or Delhi to Cape Comorin or Malabar, he can do so by *hoondee* (bill), but they lose by the exchange, and my device is to cut off this loss in the first instance. Next, the greater part of such little remittances are made through private channels. How much fraud, dishonesty, untruth, murder, thuggee, etc., is occasioned by the remittances so made. Our dear friend Nelson, an experienced judge, of Malabar, when he first cast his eyes upon it, said: 'How many a murder will this save!'"[2]

Dr. WILSON to Rev. ROBERT NESBIT.

"EDINBURGH, 1*st February* 1845.—MY DEAR ROBERT.—As I am sitting up again a whole night writing letters, you will not expect me to enlarge. The *North British Review*, No. IV., is sent to you by this mail. The writers of the articles whom I am at liberty to mention to you, are:—1. Dana—Dr. Fleming (Aberdeen). 2. Thornton—Robertson (B.C.S.) 4. Fitchett—J. M. Bell. 5. Arnold—Maitland (Edward). 6. Hügel—John Wilson. 7. Poor Laws—Chalmers. 8. Palestine—Isaac Taylor. 9. Christian Union—Professor Eddye. 10. Jesuits—an Italian.

"Dr. Welsh, our great leader, I grieve to tell you, is threatened with a fatal disease of the liver. Save, O Lord!

"The Review is now established as first-rate. Our Scotch circulation is ahead of the *Edinburgh's;* and we are making way in England

[1] Colonel George Jervis, Bombay Engineer Corps. It is believed that the two officers were the first to introduce lithography into India.

[2] The Post-office orders, proposed to the Indian Government, were not taken further notice of. Since then, as is well known, they have extended not only to India but to every civilised country, and are the greatest boon to all classes.

and on the continent. Westergaard is delighted with it. The *Edinburgh* prints 5000 copies, and we 3000 for the present.

"I have been strongly urged by friends here to write an essay on the Millennium; but I can't find time. I grudge every day I am away from my books. I hope that the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, sent by the Brahman, will reach you safely. Two gigantic globes, with a few volumes, I send off next week. Put one of the globes in the Institution, and keep the other at Ambrolie for native visitors and the female schools."

"*6th March* 1845.—I came up to London last week to sign the statutes of the Royal Society, of which, a short time ago, I was elected a member on the recommendation of nine of the great masters of science and literature, of whose unsought patronage I am very unworthy. At the Royal Asiatic Society on Saturday, I reported progress in the decipherment of the Himyaritic inscriptions of the south of Arabia, some of which, the most eminent orientalists here and elsewhere being witnesses, I have now clearly made out. Mr. Foster and Dr. Bird are both wrong. Gesenius was partly right and partly wrong. Rödiger is nearly right. I have not time to tell you how I forged the key.

"I am with Jervis, who is doing great and good things for the East. Yesterday morning he forwarded to Prince Albert, without my knowledge, my proof of the raised map of Palestine. The Prince himself laid it before the Queen, who was much pleased with it, and ordered her private secretary to inform us that Her Majesty will graciously accept the dedication of the map from him and Dr. Wilson."

"*5th June* 1845.—Our Assembly has passed off well; but we missed the hallowed form of Welsh. The loss which we have sustained by his death is unspeakably great. Mr. Edward Maitland, advocate, receives charge of the *North British Review* in the meantime."

Dr. Wilson to Professor Westergaard.

"My Dear Friend.—I was delighted to hear that you had got on so well on your arrival in the capital of Denmark. It is not every orientalist who, like yourself, is permitted to bask in royal favour, and it speaks much for his Danish Majesty that he has done some justice to your claims on his regard. I feel a great interest in your present studies. You will not doubt this as far as the Zand-Avasta is concerned. I hope to profit from them much in my future dealings with Zoroastrianism. I have all along been much inclined to take the view you mention of the seven Amshas' frauds. The Parsees themselves, in fact, in modern times even, seem to have had some idea of the impersonation to which you refer. See the *Sifat-i-Sirozah*, in the

Appendix to my work, *The Parsi Religion*. I am of opinion that the moral view of the celestial and infernal beings was grafted on their Sabeanism at an earlier period than that of the Sasanides. Isaiah, Xenophon, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, etc., were aware at least of the antagonism of the two principles of the Parsees. It is probable, however, that Judaism and Christianity may about the time of the Sásáns have helped them to give form to their theories, and to multiply their legends. You would observe perhaps that in the second number of the *North British Review*, under the head of Horace Wilson's translation of the Vishnu Purana, I alluded to the great similarity between the Vedas and the Liturgical works of the Parsees. This, as well as the affinity of the Sanscrit and Zand, marks the early connection of the two systems. Your discovery about the similarity of the Russian and Zand will throw farther light on the matter. I long to see the result of your investigations. It may be interesting to you to be informed that Mr. Norris, of the Royal Asiatic Society, has deciphered the facsimile of the large Pahlavi inscription brought by Masson from Afghanistan. It is a counterpart of one of the Edicts on the rock of Girnar in the Pali language, the letters reading from right to left! I happened to be in London ten days ago when Norris read his paper. H. H. Wilson evidently did not like this ubiquity and antiquity of Buddhism, though of course he expressed the greatest interest in poor Norris's discovery. He said, for anything he had yet observed, the inscriptions at Girnar might be Brahmanical, as tenderness to life is common both to Buddhism and Brahmanism. I directed his attention to the form of the ancient temples on the Girnar mountain and to the Buddhist formula on the small stone, as decisive against him. Animal sacrifices, as he well knows, I might have added, were a part of the ancient Brahmanism. I should not be surprised to hear that you discover some analogies between Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. Buddhism in its day would at least modify the ancient fire-worship when it came in contact with it in the north of India. I hope that you will make much both of your Zand and Pahlavi MSS. My Zand MSS. I intend to take back with me to India; but if you intend to publish a text of any of the Zand writings I shall with much pleasure let you have the loan of them when you come over to see me.

"2*d July* 1845.—I have read with much interest your papers in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, which I regularly receive You speak of making a resumé for the *Bombay Journal*. This may be well, but let me urge you to prepare an article on the Cuneiform Inscriptions for the *North British Review*. It would be very acceptable

to the editor ; and you would receive at the rate of £14 for the printed sheet as an acknowledgment, which, considering the bad requital of oriental study, is worthy of acceptance. Come prepared to write such an article when here ; I shall be happy to keep you right in the matter of English idiom, but you are in no danger of going wrong even in this respect. I am constantly hearing from Bombay, and shall have a whole budget of news to give you respecting it when you get over. Dr. Bird has contrived to read the inscriptions backwards like a witch's prayer. I can now prove that Rödiger is substantially correct ; and I have made out some of the inscriptions in a satisfactory manner. Henderson wishes to leave the Elphinstone College, and to join our Institution. He says that great evil is arising from the exclusion of religion from the Government school. Dr. Stevenson has returned to Bombay ; but he finds most of his congregation left and joined to the Free Church, which in India, as here, is destined to be predominant. Our missionary friends on the whole are tolerably well. I do hope that you will again visit us in the far East. A journey with you would be a great luxury to me ; and such a journey I do hope to make. There are many unvisited temples in the Western Ghâts. The King of Denmark, as in the case of Niebuhr, ought to give you a couple of artists when you go abroad next. You could do a great deal of good in India by a little systematic arrangement."

"COPENHAGEN, 17*th October* 1845.—MY DEAR DR. WILSON.—I am taken up by the writing and publishing for the use of our Danish students a Sanscrit anthology and grammar that I wish to get through the press before the beginning of next term, *i. e.* before the middle of next month, of which I shall of course have the pleasure to present you with a copy as soon as the book is published, as I have already done with a little English treatise on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persia, which I this summer have written in the journal of our Society of Northern Antiquarians, and which I earnestly recommend to your critical examination and kind forbearance. The Zand and Pahlavi types are not yet cut and founded ; here is only one man able to do it, and he has unfortunately plenty of work on hand. Still I hope to carry my project this winter, and to begin the printing of the Zand and Pahlavi book next autumn or winter. I have divided the task with a learned German, Dr. Spiegel, and I hope that by this division the whole will be better and quicker executed. It is our intention to give, besides the original texts, a Zand and Pahlavi grammar and dictionaries, and farther is he to undertake a German translation of the whole, and I an English ; and though I shall endeavour to translate as faithfully as if I were my-

self a true fire-worshipper, still I fear that my translation in many points will not agree with the received or the fancied opinions of the Parsees. I shall by and by write to you about such points, to receive also your opinion about these things. We have at Copenhagen many and beautiful copies of Vandidad, Yaçna and Vispard, but only a few copies of the Yask Nyáish, etc., though I think we'll have them all; if, therefore, among your manuscripts you should be able to do without the use of all these minor parts of the *Zand-Avasta*, and would lend me these at Copenhagen for about a year, you would do me one favour more, and I hope likewise a great service both to science and to that cause of which you are one of the most eminent defenders. I shall return the manuscripts to any place you may direct as soon as you may wish to get them, or as soon as the text is published. A smaller work I have in hand at the present is the publication of *Mahâwanso*, of which you know Turnour has published the first part; but I feel a great want for one or two copies, as the one we have is in some places a little indistinct and incorrect. As I know your readiness to assist and help any one, I request you to look for one copy at least of *Mahâwanso*.

"In my private life I have made a great change. I have married in the end of May a young and amiable Danish girl, who loves me. And now I think I am happier than I would have been if it had happened otherwise. Pray tell me how our Indian friends do live. I seldom hear from that part of the world that occupies a bright place in my remembrance. Before all, tell me how you yourself are doing. I am now determined to do as if I were in India, to write to you once every month."[1]

Dr. WILSON to HUGH MILLER, Esq.

"24*th July* 1845.—MY DEAR SIR.—I have the pleasure of sending for your examination most of the fossils which I brought from Lebanon. The ichthyolites are certainly neither placoids nor ganoids. I have so little practical acquaintance with such remains that I cannot positively say whether they are ctenoids or cycloids, though I am inclined to think that they are the latter. One of the species seems to belong to the

[1] As this sheet passes through the press we learn the death of this amiable and erudite scholar at Copenhagen, on the 9th September 1878. Son of a joiner and builder, Westergaard took his M.A. degree at nineteen, and gave up the rest of his life to the study of Zand, in which his death now leaves the Bavarian Spiegel *facile princeps*. He entered political life in the first Danish Rigsdag, only to help in passing the Liberal Charter. Born in 1815, he was eleven years junior to Dr. Wilson.

salmonidæ. Most of the shells and impressions of shells I picked up in the Jurassic Hills between Jazín and Deir-el-Kamr, south-east of Beyrut. One or two of them are from the under indurated chalk between Deir-el-Kamr and Beyrut. The small packet in white paper is from Ehdur, near the cedars. The recent species of buccinum is for comparison with the largest impression. I send also the specimens of fossil wood which I brought from the Egyptian desert, south-east of Basátín, and from Jebel-el-Tíh, in the Mount Sinai peninsula, north of the granitic range. You will oblige me by asking Mr. Sanderson when he may call upon you, to cut them so as to exhibit a section of them, and to prepare a slip of each for the miscroscope, like those which you yesterday showed to me. You are most welcome to take pieces of them as hand specimens, etc., for yourself. I have a good many other articles here on which I must ask Mr. Sanderson to operate at a future time."

Dr. FALCONER to Dr. WILSON.

"BRITISH MUSEUM, 1*st May* 1846.—MY DEAR SIR.—I commissioned a friend who went out lately to Bombay to send all the information he could gather for me about the Perim island fossils. more especially the Dinotherium and Mastodons. I have received a number of sketches of the specimens in the Bombay Society's Museum, but none of the Dinotherium, and my friend Mr. Winterbottom was informed by Professor Orlebar or Dr. Buist that you had got a cranium of the Dinotherium, and taken it with you to this country. Might I ask the favour of your informing me if such is the case, or if you have any good specimens of Mastodons or Dinotherium teeth from Perim island, and whether I could get access to them for illustrations and description in our 'Fauna Antiqua Sivalensis.' My dear Sir, yours very faithfully, H. FALCONER."

Dr. Wilson's second marriage took place in June 1846, to Isabella, fourth daughter of James Dennistoun of Dennistoun, and of Mary Ramsay, fifth daughter of George Oswald of Auchencruive. For more than twenty years she proved to be a devoted wife, and no less a self-sacrificing missionary than her husband was. Admirably did she fill the place left vacant by the Bayne sisters, alike at the head of the female schools, among the families of the native converts, and in general society. Sprung of a house which, through the alliance of one of its members with Robert the Steward of Scotland,

could declare, "kings have come of us, not we of kings," Isabella Wilson ever showed the truest marks of gentle birth and training in the unobtrusive piety and unselfish simplicity of her character. Dr. Wilson himself thus alludes to his new-found happiness and strength:—

Dr. WILSON to Rev. ROBERT NESBIT.

"EDINBURGH, *5th June* 1846.

"MY DEAR ROBERT.—You will learn the Lord's great goodness to me in giving me the prospect of being united in the most endeared relation to one every way worthy of the most devoted human love; and who by her piety, talents, accomplishments, and personal and family influence, would reflect credit on any missionary or Christian establishment in the world, Miss Isabella Dennistoun of Greenlaw House, near Paisley. I am happy to say that her mother and sisters most cordially approve of our intentions. Her eldest brother, who is daily expected from Rome, has not yet been informed respecting them; and it is feared that he may be able to judge of them only according to the principles of the world. He is a Deputy-Lieutenant of Dumbartonshire, and is married to the daughter of Lord Cringletie. I have mentioned to Christina some of Miss Dennistoun's other connections, merely to satisfy her curiosity. I am happy to say that dearest Christina has been able to send me her warmest congratulations. 'I may safely say,' she writes to me, 'that in the warmest and most heartfelt manner I can enter, my beloved brother, into your feelings, and join with you in gratitude and praise to the great Giver of all good for having thus led and guided you to one so estimable in every respect, and who seems so much calculated to promote your own personal comfort and happiness, and one who in that great work to which you have devoted yourself is ready in heart and soul to co-operate with you, and willing to bear the burden and heat of the day. I am glad to say your beloved one is not altogether a stranger to me. I have had the pleasure of seeing her; and I assure you (though not much acquainted) formed at the same time a very high opinion of her. Dear Catherine too, will, I am sure, be every day able more and more to enter into your feelings.' I am happy to say that during the Assembly I had an opportunity of introducing my dear friend to Catherine, and that they got on remarkably well together."

"17*th October* 1846.—I am gratified with the good wishes which you express in reference to my dear partner and myself. You will find, I doubt not, in her all that can be desired in a friend and fellow-labourer

Our marriage was consummated in very comfortable circumstances, and with the fullest approbation of all the members of the family. We have received the kindest treatment from all the numerous relatives, and they seem all highly satisfied. They are also pleased with the other marriage which was celebrated along with our own. Mr. Mitchell is a very opulent merchant and landed-proprietor, and extremely amiable, and thoroughly pious. He is an elder in the United Secession Church, and contributes £300 per annum to the Synodical funds. His father was Dr. Mitchell, Professor of Divinity. He is a nephew of Mr. Oswald, M.P. for Glasgow, and through his aunt he got acquainted with the Dennistouns.

"I have promised to assist Mr. Sachs in establishing himself at Aden. He has got seriously unwell, and what may be the issue I do not know. Perhaps it may be best to take him on to Bombay for a season. He is the most learned Jewish convert whom I have yet met; a great linguist and philologist; prone to kill himself by study.

"I have many calls from the conductors of periodicals here, and high offers of remuneration; but I can do *nothing* at present. I have a department in the *North British*, but except in the way of conversation and recommendation I have done nothing in it since the fourth number appeared. I have also made an engagement with *Lowe's Magazine* at the request of Dr. Candlish, and the new Editor under him. I hope to get your co-operation when I get out and open my budget. The *North British* gives £14 a sheet, and Lowe £10. An article enables us to add to our Library."

From Professor WESTERGAARD.

"COPENHAGEN, 18*th March* 1847.

"MY DEAR DR. WILSON.—In my Zand studies I am making good progress, and I spend at present all the time I can spare in transcribing and comparing our MSS., and in collecting the materials both for a critical edition of all the Zand texts that are within my reach, and to a grammar and dictionary of the Zand language. If God spares me, and I find the necessary support, I hope to be able to commence the printing of the text in the end of next year or the beginning of 1849, and to finish both volumes about the middle of 1850; and before that time I shall scarcely get leisure to any Pahlavi study. The most incorrect of all copies is the Bombay lithographed Vandidad work, and the less incorrect copies that exist are our ancient copies from the beginning of the fourteenth century; following these, I shall try to restore the text; and the grammar and dictionary, in which

you may overlook at one glance all the forms of every word that are found, will be the best test for the correctness of the text on any particular place. I shall proceed in the same way to the Pahlavi and Pazand (or Persian) remains, and conclude with a translation of the whole, which I hope to get through the press before ten years have passed. Now, my dear Dr. Wilson, I have shortly exposed to you the plan of my proceeding, which, as far as I can see, is the only one that can lead to any certain results. At present I shall only ask you for the loan of all the minor Zand texts,—the Yäsk, Nyáish, Baj—which constitute the Khurda Avasta, of which we have only modern copies; and besides, the Sanscrit translation, if you possess one. The Pahlavi MSS. I shall not be able to use satisfactorily at present, and it will be much better that you keep these until that time, which cannot arrive ere 1850 or 1851. You may then perhaps be once more in your native country, or, at any rate, it will not be difficult to send them off from Bombay if you think me deserving it.

"I have left the Asiatic section of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. In my attempts to reform it I was beaten, but did not at all lose the courage, and I am now standing at the head of a new Society (the Northern Literature Society) which I have founded in connection with those men that stand at the head of our literature. The Society, although but two months' old, numbers already 330 members, and similar Societies will, I hope, ere long be founded in Norway and Sweden in connection with that of mine. The first number of our publication is already out. Though absent from me you are constantly present in my thoughts, near and dear to my heart; and I shall never forget those happy days I spent in your society in the far East. When in Bombay I expect letters from you twice a year; I shall be sure to write as often. Give my best regards to Mrs. Wilson. May the God of blessings bless your efforts to advance His reign.—Believe me, my dear Dr. Wilson, ever to be yours most affectionately,

"N. WESTERGAARD."

Dr. WILSON to Professor WESTERGAARD.

"LONDON, 3*d July* 1847.

"MY DEAR FRIEND.—In a box which I forwarded to you to-day, I enclose a copy of my work on *The Lands of the Bible* for the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, to the Secretary of whom I have addressed this note:—'London, 3d July 1847.—My dear Sir.—It is only a few weeks since I received at Edinburgh your letter acquainting me with my election as a founder and member of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, even though

that letter, and the accompanying diploma, are dated in the early part of 1843. Your parcel must have lain at some of our public Institutions without being forwarded to me. Allow me, however late, to thank your Society for the honour it has done me in electing me a founder, and also for adding my name to the list of the Collaborateurs des Memoires in the Asiatic Section. With this editorial committee I shall have pleasure in co-operating on my return to India, for which I am about to set out.'

"And now, my dear friend Westergaard, I send you *all* my Zand and Pahlavi MSS. for collation, except a few Zasts which one of my boys has by mistake put into one of my Indian boxes. They are in eight volumes, viz.:—1. *Parsi Rawayats,* Zand, Pahlavi MSS., etc. 2. *Collection of Zasts,* Zand MSS. 3. *Great Sirozah and Bazes,* Zand MS. 4. *Sirozahs,* Zand MSS. 5. *Khurda Avasta,* MS. 6. *Zand and Pahlavi Minor* MSS. 7. *Nyaishes,* Zand MSS. 8. *Star-Stir,* Zand and Pahlavi MS. You will find my name on them all. When you have collated them I will thank you to return them to me at Bombay, where the Parsee may perhaps again fight with me as the wild beasts with St. Paul at Ephesus."

Thus, by his MSS. in Scotland as by his personal intercourse and influence in Bombay, he co-operated with the learned Westergaard in producing what is still, and must long be, the only complete text of the extant Parsee scriptures. At the same time we find the then venerable Colonel Briggs invoking his aid in researches into the development of the great vernacular languages of Northern and Central India from the Sanscrit, and their relation to the Dravidian and aboriginal tongues of the South. About this time Lassen announced to him his election as a Corresponding Member of the German Oriental Society.

The month of September 1847 found Dr. and Mrs. Wilson on their way to India. Their route lay through the north of France, Belgium, and the Rhine country, Switzerland, Italy, and Malta, that he might report on the state of religion on the Continent, and the duty of the Free Church, which supports many preaching stations there, and aids the indigenous Reformed Churches of France, Italy, and Bohemia.

In his letter to the Rev. J. G. Lorimer, Convener of the committee on the subject, he describes his meeting with Lassen :—

"In Rhenish Prussia my intercourse with different parties was entirely of a literary character. At Bonn I had the pleasure of seeing Professor Lassen, one of the greatest Orientalists of the Continent. At present he is engaged in the preparation of a truly great work on the History of India, which, I trust, will ere long become well known in our native country as well as in the distant East. It is entitled, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, von CHR. LASSEN. I was favoured with the sheets of the work, so far as it has been printed. After a topographical and ethnographical description of India, the author proceeds to investigate its ancient history. His acquaintance with its sacred language and antiquities gives him advantages, which he turns to a wonderful account. At the same place I met Mr. Erskine, the son-in-law of Sir James Mackintosh. He was one of the founders of our Bombay Asiatic Society, to which he contributed several most able papers on the Pársees and the Cave-temples of India. He has been devoting his attention of late to the Muhammadan History of India, as set forth in its original authorities. He introduced me to Mr. König, who has patronised oriental literature, perhaps more than any other individual of our day, by the publication of many works in the Sanscrit and other languages."

To Dr. J. Buchanan he wrote :—

"At Cairo I purchased from the Karaim Jews a complete copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, neatly written on 1386 leaves of parchment. Though it is only three hundred and fifty-seven years old, it has peculiar interest as belonging to a recension of which few or no copies are in the hands of Europeans, and as having the text in many places arranged according to the Hebrew poetry. By the help of Mr. Lieder, the esteemed missionary, we were able speedily to equip ourselves for a journey through the land of Goshen, which we were able to accomplish in a very satisfactory manner. At the Tem el-Yehúd, near Thibin, we found undoubted and numerous tokens of an ancient site, and, if we mistake not, traces of the Onion built by Onias in imitation of the temple of Jerusalem. We successfully explored the Tell el-Yehúd near Belbies, probably the site of the Vicus Judæorum of the Antoninian Itinerary. At the Ten el-Bastá, the Bubastis of the Greeks, and the Pí-Beseth (the first of these syllables being the Egyptian article), as well as other places, we procured some valuable antiques

which have an historical import. We visited a site corresponding with the Thon of the Antoninian Itinerary, and perhaps the Pi-Thom of the Israelites. We examined the site of Heroopolis, the Rameses of the Septuagint; and we there disinhumed the large image of Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Egyptians. We found what is now generally admitted to be the land of Goshen most minutely accord with the intimations and exigencies of Holy Writ. We went to the Red Sea by a route seldom traversed; and on its interesting shores we observed fresh proofs of the accuracy of the views which I have ventured to express in *The Lands of the Bible*, on the great question of the passage of the Israelites. We felt very thankful to the Father of mercies when we arrived at our desired haven.

"Our friend Dr. Miller took us on shore early on the morning after we cast anchor in the harbour. We met Mr. Mitchell, and Mr. Henderson, and Dhunjeebhoy and Hormasdjee, and then the Abyssinian youth most kindly hastening to bid us welcome, Mr Nesbit, who has since joined us, being then absent from Bombay. Since our establishment in the mission-house we have had crowds of visitors, particularly of all tribes and classes of natives, by many of whom, former acquaintances, we have been received in the most affecting manner. Several of my controversial opponents have proffered their renewed friendship, which is very acceptable, alleging that they never could take offence at what I have written, as I 'uniformly avoided disagreeable personalities.' I have recommenced my usual Sabbath services, both predicatory and catechetical; and two week-day lectures in English and Marathee, which have hitherto been remarkably well attended. I am inspecting the educational operations of the mission with a view to the immediate resumption of my duties in that department. You will ever pray that grace may be given to us all to make full proof of our ministry, incalculably solemn in all circumstances, but especially so in this great land of heathen darkness and death.

"Dhunjeebhoy has set out on an important tour with all juvenile ardour and Christian zeal and humility. Gabru, one of the two devoted Abyssinian youths, accompanied him as an attendant and assistant. Hormasdjee is preparing discourses with a view to his ordination, which we hope will soon take place; particularly as, of all the converts in the East, he has endured the greatest trials and suffered the greatest earthly losses in consequence of his embracement of the cause of Christ. I feel it an unspeakable privilege to be restored to the fellowship of the dear converts."

"Welcome! welcome again on the Indian shores!" wrote one whom we may take as representative of all—the Rev. B. Schmidt, of the Church Missionary Society, who had long evangelised the Tamul country, and had returned to India to work among the tribes of the Neilgherry hills. "I *almost* apprehended that you would find so much to do at home for the mission cause that you would not come out again into the encampment. But a true Crusader cannot stay at home as long as one Turk is in the field! Although born in different countries, wearing different uniforms, preaching Christ in different languages, in different provinces, yet we reach each other the right hand of fellowship—we are one in Christ!" And as, when beginning his mission in Bombay, Dr. Wilson's first privilege was to announce, in the *Oriental Christian Spectator* for January 1830, the suppression of Suttee in what was then British India, so now, on resuming his editorial labours in January 1848, he published the notification, by the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief Lord Hardinge, that proclamations had been issued by the Maharaja of Kashmere, the notorious Goolab Singh, and a majority of the principal feudatories, prohibiting widow-burning, infanticide, and slavery throughout their States. "The Governor-General abstains on this occasion from prominently noticing those States in which these barbarous usages are still observed, as he confidently expects at no distant day to hear of the complete renunciation of them in every State in alliance with, or under the protection of, the Paramount Power of India." That good work was completed a few years afterwards by his successor, the last of the East India Company's Governor-Generals, the Marquis of Dalhousie.

The famous "Political," George Clerk, whose very name had been a tower of strength on our north-west frontier all through the Cabul disasters and the first Sikh War, and at whose feet Sir Henry Lawrence had sat, was now at the close

of his first term of office as Governor of Bombay. He laid the foundation-stone of the Colaba Church at its extreme south point, to commemorate our countrymen who had fallen victims to a policy against which many of them had protested, and, as the evangelical bishop of those days expressed it, "to acknowledge the hand of Almighty God, which was equally seen and felt in the victories bestowed. This monumental church will be conspicuously seen by every vessel entering our beautiful and commodious harbour, and our countrymen newly arrived, whether in a civil or a military capacity, will be reminded that although far removed from the land of their fathers, they are still in the land of the God of their fathers." And Dr. Wilson found his old colleague and some new scholars in the Asiatic Society eagerly discussing those slabs sent to Bombay by Sir Henry Rawlinson, which had been dug up from the ruins of Nineveh. The Governor directed plaster castings to be made from them for his own collection; and the work, the first of the kind in Bombay, was executed by Abyssinian boys rescued by the Indian Navy from the Arab slavers.

The death, at forty-eight, of his old acquaintance, Syajee Rao, the Gaikwar of Baroda, on the 28th December, drew from Dr. Wilson this public notice of him:—"Sagacity and suspicion were prominent traits in his character; and it was in consequence of the latter that he sometimes became the dupe of designing men. In 1835, the principles of Christianity were pretty fully unfolded to him at his own request. He heard the communications which were made to him with respect, and stated his objections to some of the arguments advanced by the Brahmans of his Durbar against the Christian missionary."

CHAPTER XIV.

1848-1856.

A NEW PERIOD—TOUR IN SINDH—THE BOMBAY SCHOOL OF THE CATECHUMENS.

Empire of British India territorially completed—Lord Falkland—Satara and Nagpore become British Districts—The Conquest of Sindh—Stung nearly to death by Bees—The Sorrows of Missionaries—A Presbyterian Church in Rome urged on Dr. Candlish—Non-Christian Teachers in Mission Schools—Anglo-Indian Society about 1848—Sore sickness—Missionary survey of Sindh—The Pool of the Crocodiles—Through the hills to Sehwan—Drugs *versus* Wine—A Penitent Apostate—Meeting with Dr. Duff—Through Kutch and Kathiawar to Surat—Bombay Presbytery to General Assembly on extending Foreign Missions—To Captain Eastwick on Political and Educational Reform—Almost a Christian—A Gift of Lionesses—On the Relation of the different Races of India to Christianity—Bishop Dealtry—Another learned Parsee Inquirer—The Samaritans at Nablus—Another Habeas Corpus Case—First Fruits from Sindh—Parsee and Muhammadan Converts from the Government College—Renewed Excitement and Government Inquiry—Lord Elphinstone—Government learning the Principles of Toleration—The Goojaratee New Testament and Native Scholarship—Dr. Wilson on Judson and the Karen Christians.

"To Simplicianus then I went, the father of Ambrose (a Bishop now) in receiving Thy grace, and whom Ambrose truly loved as a father. To him I related the mazes of my wanderings. But when I mentioned that I had read certain books of the Platonists, which Victorinus, sometime Rhetoric Professor of Rome (who had died a Christian as I had heard), had translated into Latin, he testified his joy that I had not fallen upon the writings of other philosophers, full of fallacies and deceits, after the rudiments of this world, whereas the Platonists' many ways led to the belief in God and His Word. Then to exhort me to the humility of Christ, hidden from the wise and revealed to little ones, he spoke of Victorinus himself, whom while at Rome he had most intimately known: and of him he related what I will not conceal. For it contains great praise of Thy grace, to be confessed unto Thee, how that aged man, most learned and skilled in the liberal sciences, and who had read and weighed so many works of the philosophers; the instructor of so many noble Senators, who also, as a monument of his excellent discharge of his office, had (which men of this world esteem a high honour) both deserved and obtained a statue in the Roman Forum; he, to that age a worshipper of idols, and a partaker of the sacrilegious rites, to which almost all the nobility of Rome were given up . . . he now blushed not to be the child of Thy Christ, and the new-born babe of Thy fountain; submitting his neck to the yoke of humility, and subduing his forehead to the reproach of the Cross.

O Lord, Lord, which hast bowed the heavens and come down, touched the mountains and they did smoke, by what means didst Thou convey Thyself into that breast? He used to read (as Simplicianus said) the holy Scripture, most studiously sought and searched into all the Christian writings, and said to Simplicianus, (not openly but privately and as a friend), 'Understand that I am already a Christian.' Whereto he answered, 'I will not believe it, nor will I rank you among Christians, unless I see you in the Church of Christ.' The other, in banter, replied, 'Do walls then make Christians?' And this he often said, that he was already a Christian; and Simplicianus as often made the same answer, and the conceit of the 'walls' was by the other as often renewed. For he feared to offend his friends, proud dæmon-worshippers, from the height of whose Babylonian dignity, as from cedars of Libanus, which the Lord had not yet broken down, he supposed the weight of enmity would fall upon him. But after that by reading and earnest thought he had gathered firmness, and feared to be denied by Christ before the holy angels, should he now be afraid to confess him before men, and appeared to himself guilty of a heavy offence in being ashamed of the Sacraments of the humility of Thy Word, and not being ashamed of the sacrilegious rites of these proud dæmons, whose pride he had imitated and their rites adopted, he became bold-faced against vanity, and shame-faced towards the truth, and suddenly and unexpectedly said to Simplicianus (as himself told me), 'Go we to the Church; I wish to be made a Christian.' But he, not containing himself for joy, went with him. And having been admitted to the first Sacrament, and become a Catechumen, not long after he further gave in his name, that he might be regenerated by baptism, Rome wondering, the Church rejoicing."

ST. AUGUSTINE'S *Confessions*, in Dr. Pusey's version.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE history of British India begins with the Marquis of Dalhousie. Alike in conquest and in administration, the work of Clive, Wellesley, and Bentinck, was a foundation—was a prelude. That of Dalhousie was consolidation—was completion. The second Sikh War gave the north-west its natural frontier for ever; the most foolishly ambitious can never make Cabul and Quetta, Balkh and Herat, Merv and Meshed, more than outposts held by subsidised allies. The strategic and commercial railways, the canals, the roads, the cheap postage, the telegraph, the schools and universities of Dalhousie gave the empire a more secure defence than all the troops, by withdrawing which prematurely against his protests, the governments who fought the Crimean War occasioned the Sepoy mutiny. The lapse from failure of natural heirs of chaotic States, which we ourselves had created, like Satara and Nagpore, not only removed centres of disaffection, but proclaimed the good of the people to be the reason of our existence in India. It also left Lord Canning and Sir Henry Durand a clear space on which to write the new body of international law guaranteeing, by patent, permanence to every feudatory sovereign's house, on the sole conditions of loyalty to the empire and fair administration of their estates. With the last echo of the artillery cannonade of Guzerat on the 22d February 1849, and when Sher Singh and Chutter Singh gave up their swords to General Gilbert on the spot where Alexander the Great had once conquered, British India became what it now is, save only Pegu afterwards forced upon us.

Wellesley and Bentinck were united in the victories of war and of peace which Dalhousie won before he was forty. Henceforth, whether we look at the events of history or the lives of individuals who worked them out each in his own way, like John Wilson, we are in a new atmosphere. Winter is past; the time of sowing, too, is here and there passing into the blossoming that betokens harvest. Let but the great baptism of blood in 1857 be over, and we shall see the bad as well as some of the good of the Company destroyed—obstruction giving way to rashness sometimes, but always to light; tradition yielding to fickleness often, so that continuity is sacrificed, but never again choking progress. The Mutiny secured a new start at least, and that in the direction which the missionary, from Carey to Duff and Wilson, had never ceased to demand. In Bombay Sir George Clerk was too soon succeeded by Viscount Falkland, of whom the best that can be said is that he had a clever wife who made society bright, and that he kept the place warm for Lord Elphinstone in 1853. But Lord Falkland had as his principal adviser in council Sir J. P. Willoughby, whose minute on the Satara case, which Lord Dalhousie pronounced the text-book on the law of adoption, gives a mark to the administration. On the defeat of the last of the oppressive Peshwas in 1817 we rescued the representative of their master Sivajee from captivity, and created the principality of Satara for the old man. On investing him Sir James Carnac warned him of the possibility of lapse. When, in spite of his treason, we acknowledged his successor, and that successor died childless, the very considerations which had recommended the creation of the State justified its extinction as a failure. Apart from his knowledge of the two Rajas and the people, Dr. Wilson had an interest in Satara, for it was during several years the seat of a branch mission under Mr. Aitken. Satara, however had less interest for him than the fate of Nagpore. About

the same time Lord Hastings had restored it, and with the same melancholy results in the misgovernment of the people, in spite of the control of a Political Resident like Sir R. Jenkins. Aided by Sir W. Hill's endowment Dr. Wilson had sent out Mr. Hislop to the military station of Nagpore, Kamptee, and he was afterwards joined by Mr. R. Hunter. But the new missionaries soon found that toleration was not recognised in the native State of Nagpore outside of the British cantonment. Dr. Wilson had successfully established, or helped to set up, missions in other States, such as those of Goojarat, Kathiawar, and Kutch, and was soon to do so in Rajpootana. But the imprisonment of a Brahman convert, afterwards the Rev. Baba Pandurang, in 1848, showed that in Nagpore the rights of conscience and civil liberty could be disregarded, till the very existence of a mission became as impossible as it still is in Russia. When in 1853, the death of the Raja after his persistent refusal to adopt an heir left the fate of Nagpore to the decision of the Government of India, the substitution of British for native rule, and ultimately of a vigorous Chief Commissioner for an incompetent subordinate officer, gave the mission the same fair play which the rest of British India had enjoyed since the Charter of 1833.

During Dr. Wilson's absence from India the province of Sindh had been added to the empire as a result of the Afghan campaigns. As if the policy of childish interference, directed by military incapacity, had not at Cabul given a sufficient blow to the moral prestige of our Government and the fidelity of its sepoys, Sir Charles Napier was allowed by Lord Ellenborough to repeat the criminal blunder in the desert and the delta of the Indus. Outram's protests were as vain as the indignation of all whose opinion was worth consideration. Nor was the conquest all. No longer a foreign country, Sindh ceased to be attractive to the sepoys who

had looked there for the batta or extra allowances allowed on active service beyond the frontier. First some Bengal and then some Madras sepoy regiments mutinied because the allowances were refused, and then their immediate commander condoned the heinous offence. The experience of 1857 was anticipated on a scale sufficiently large to warn observers like Sir Henry Lawrence, and to lead Lord Dalhousie afterwards to suggest reforms. But the only effect at the time was, in 1844, to hand Sindh over to Bombay to be garrisoned by its army. It fell to Lord Dalhousie so soon as he had personally received the submission of the Punjab, a few years after, to visit Sindh that he might provide for those administrative and engineering improvements which promise to make young Egypt one day more than rival old, although the Indus can never equal the Nile.

It was natural that John Wilson should not have been long at his old post in Bombay, without turning his eyes northwards to the new province, in the hope of taking possession of it for his Master. The policies of rulers might be evil or good—and on that question too no man could express a more weighty opinion, or one that these rulers themselves more desired to avail themselves of beforehand. But by whatever means a door was opened, he, or some one stirred up by him, must enter in. He was soon to be the first missionary who had delivered the divine message in Sindh. His companion was Dr. Duff, who, having been consulted whether he would succeed Dr. Chalmers in the New College, had agreed merely to go to Scotland in 1850 to advise regarding the needs of the India mission. The two apostolic men met at Sehwan, on the Indus. Dr. Tweedie had meanwhile become convener of the Foreign Mission committee in Edinburgh.

STUNG NEARLY TO DEATH BY BEES.

"BOMBAY, 1*st April* 1848.

"MY DEAR MR. TWEEDIE.—Mr. Henderson (he had resigned a

Government professorship to join the Mission) and I have experienced a painful affliction—associated, however, with many striking mercies —which unfits us for the use of the pen. When we were engaged with a few friends, and some of the pupils, in making researches into the natural history and antiquities of the adjoining island of Salsette, we were attacked by an immense cloud of wild bees, which had received no sensible provocation from any of our party, and nearly stung to death. Mr. Henderson was the first who was attacked. He soon sank, on one of the jungle roads, in the hopeless attempt to guard himself from injury; and he had lain for about forty minutes in a state of almost total insensibility before he was found by our friends and any relief could be extended to him. It was on my joining him, from behind, when he first gave the alarm, that I came in contact with the thousands of infuriated insects. I sprung into a bush for shelter; but there I got no adequate covering from their onset. In my attempt to free myself from agony and entanglement I immediately slid over a precipice, tearing both my clothes and body among the thorns in the rapid descent of about forty feet. From the number of bees which still encompassed me and multiplied upon me, and my inability to move from them, I had a pretty strong impression upon my mind that, unless God himself specially interposed in my behalf, all my wanderings and journeyings must then have been terminated, though by the humblest agency—the insects of the air. That interposition I experienced! I had kept my hold of a pillow, with which I had gone to Mr. Henderson; and tearing it open on the bushes, when I was unable to rise, I found within it, most unexpectedly, about a couple of square yards of blanket. It was to me, in the circumstances, like a sheet sent down from heaven to cover my head; and partially protected by it, I lay till the bees left me. When, from the poison of the numerous stings which I had received, violent vomiting and other agitation came on, and my pulse failed and my heart fainted, a native, a Thákoor, one of the aboriginal sons of the forest, who had come up, pulled me into the shade, and made a noise which was heard by our friends, including Mrs. Wilson, who had set out in search of me after they had learned from Mr. Henderson that I had shared in the calamity, and who otherwise would probably never have sought for me in the locality in which I was lying. Among these friends was Dr. Burn, to whose treatment, under God, our resuscitation is in a great measure owing. We were conveyed to our tents, principally in native carts, and on Saturday we were brought to Bombay. Through the kindness of that heavenly Father to whose grace we owe our signal

deliverance, we are both doing well, so much so, indeed, that we hope in a few days to be free from all pain, if not inconvenience, arising from this affliction. I have known instances of natives losing their lives by such an attack as we encountered; and our friends from India will explain to you the danger from which we have escaped, nay from which we have been delivered. 'They compassed me about like bees,' is one of the appropriate figures of the Psalmist. The wild bee of India, of a dark chocolate colour, and about an inch and an eighth in length, is of the same variety which I have seen in the Holy Land; and that illustration of the Psalmist has to us an intensity of meaning which we had never before realised. When I was a boy I used to think that John the Baptist's fare of locusts and wild honey was not of a very indifferent character; but I now see that at least it must have been somewhat difficult of acquisition.

"The affliction which I have now mentioned is that of the body; but those of the *soul*, often experienced by Christian missionaries in a heathen land, are still more grievous. One of this latter character I have likewise to bring to your notice. The fond and ardent hopes which we had been led to cherish in connection with the young Parsee whose baptism, in most interesting circumstances at Surat, I brought to your notice in my last letter, have been disappointed. That promising neophyte has, I am most sorry to mention, made shipwreck, for the present at least, of his Christian profession, and returned to the bosom of his caste. This he has done under powerful influences and temptations, arising from Parsees, Hindoos, and Muhammadans confederated together."

A PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ROME SUGGESTED.

"Bombay, 15*th April* 1848.

"My Dear Dr. Candlish.—I am delighted to observe that you contemplate bringing the claims of *Italy*, in some form or other, before the General Assembly. They are, in my opinion, paramount, in present circumstances, to those of any other country of the Continent. A single *hint* I venture to throw out. Mr. Robert Stewart has mastered the Italian language, and mastered the Italian movement. Let a substitute be provided for him at Leghorn, and let him be set free to move about for the encouragement of that evangelical reform which has begun to appear in various parts of the country. Let him maintain a confidential correspondence with the Church at home, and act as its general agent. He could, by his discreet bearing, judicious counsel, and steady and prudent zeal, subserve the cause in various ways. Per-

haps he would organise a congregation of Presbyterians speaking the English language at Rome, which would be a great step in advance."

NON-CHRISTIAN TEACHERS IN MISSION-SCHOOLS.

"12*th September* 1848.

"My Dear Dr. Leith.—It is certainly to be expected that there should be a difference of opinion among Christians about many subjects connected with the economy of Christian missions. That to which you refer is one connected with which I myself at one time felt great difficulties, as is sufficiently obvious from the first report which I presented to the public; and I can well sympathise with any mind still entertaining these difficulties. I do not think them insurmountable, however, when the real order and procedure of our schools is attended to. Our heathen teachers bind themselves to abstain from teaching heathenism in our schools; and, from the closest inspection of them, I believe that they do so abstain. We use their services only in the mechanical processes of teaching. The Bible, and Bible truth, found in our books, are self-defensory, and to a certain extent self-explanatory. Our whole hortative and explicative teaching of Christianity is by ourselves and native Christian assistants; and it is so full and regular, both at the schools and mission-house, that, in regard to Christian knowledge, our pupils are on a par with the best instructed in our native land. Four of our Bombay teachers have been baptized since the commencement of the Mission, and an encouraging number of the pupils. The young Brahman last baptized by Mr. Mitchell of Poona told me the other day, that he owes his first acquaintance with Christianity and good impressions to our vernacular schools in Bombay, and their collateral services."

TO MR. WEBB, C.S., ON THE STATE OF ANGLO-INDIAN SOCIETY.

"*December* 22, 1848.

"My Dear Friend.—I am glad indeed to find that you reserve to yourself the liberty of again returning to India. Relative ties and wants at home will be modified in a few years. India appears to me more than ever to need the presence of faithful witnesses and labourers for Christ. There is a spirit of hostility to true holiness among the majority of our countrymen here, which threatens to have an outbreak. Of this I see many symptoms. The warlike spirit, generated and inflamed by our movements on the frontier since the invasion of Afghanistan, has much deteriorated public sentiment and feeling.

Puseyism, by its doctrines of sacramental, ceremonial, and priestly grace, has, in the view of multitudes, obscured the sovereignty of the Father, and the saving work of both the Son and the Holy Spirit, and involved them in mere formalism, imparted to them a delusive peace, and destroyed their charity to those who confide in the Saviour. Plymouthism—the recoil from Puseyism—while gloriously setting forth the sacred duty of every Church availing itself of the gifts and graces of all its members for the edification of the body of Christ, runs counter to Christ's ordinance of a stated ministry, withdraws many from its benefits and blessings who are in great need of them, and sadly neglects the ignorant and perishing multitudes who are 'without.' The disturbances which have occurred, both in the West and East, have intimidated the Government, not resting on the principle that 'righteousness is the strength of a nation,' and made it far more tender and indulgent to heathenism, and inclined to give it support, than it was wont to be even a few years ago. The fruits of the ungodly system of the education of the natives so long pursued by Government, are beginning to be matured in the conceit, pride, infidelity, and insubordination of the more active part of the rising generation. In some Mission Institutions the evangelistic element is in danger of being subordinated to the literary and scientific. The heavenly seed is not so copiously sown at 'all waters' as the promises and performances of God lead us to expect. Pre-millennarianism is more anxious to get old saints out of their graves than to get new ones."

SICKNESS IN INDIAN EXILE.

"MAHABLESHWAR, 27*th December* 1848.

"MY DEAR DR. TWEEDIE.—As you may easily suppose, I have felt it to be a very heavy affliction to experience, so soon after my visit to Europe, the return of the very serious and dangerous complaint which forced me for a time to leave the shores of India, and when the wants of this great country and varied openings of Providence, and encouragements of Christian friends, seemed to unfold to me a wider and more important sphere of usefulness than ever. What has occurred, however, has not happened without the divine appointment, directing it, we cannot doubt, to most important ends, and leading me I trust more and more to value the unspeakable privilege and grace given me to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. It is a matter of gratitude to me, too, that during my illness I was divested entirely of those cares and anxieties by which I am

sometimes harassed in the view of the state of our enterprise in this great land; and that I then saw and felt more clearly than ever the warrant of our hope and peace and joy in the accepted sacrifice of Christ, and the glory of that bliss which He has prepared for the humblest and most unworthy sinner who rests in the righteousness of God as thereby manifested.

> 'When languid nature in deep fever burning,
> Feels all her vital springs are parched and dry,
> From side to side still restless, ever turning,
> And scared by phantoms of delirium bye;
> How sweet, but for a moment's space, to ponder,
> Surrounded by those bitter burning things,
> Where fresh cool life and gushing health flow yonder
> From pure celestial and immortal springs.'"

Accompanied by two of the converts, Bapu Mazda and Malharee, Dr. Wilson reached Kurachee on the first day of 1850, to begin a missionary survey of what he then described as "the Ultima Thule" of British conquest to the north-west of our eastern empire. Two years before one of the American Presbyterian Missionaries to the Protected Sikhs had sailed down the Indus. But Dr. Wilson could, with justice, write thus in his journal, "4th January 1850.—I went down early in the morning with Bapu to the bazaar of the native town, and officiated as the first Protestant missionary who has opened his lips in Sindh. Many of the people understood Hindostanee and Goojaratee. We found a Muhammadan and a Brahman able to read the Sindhee in the Nagaree character, and we gave them a copy of the large portion of the Gospel of Matthew as translated by Major Stack. The demand for books in other languages was very considerable." While in the steamer, where the Rev. Mr. Cotes, the first assistant chaplain sent to Sindh, was his fellow-passenger, he had held discussions in Persian with a Muhammadan merchant from Khelat. Of the friends who competed for the pleasure of showing him hospitality Dr. Wilson selected Major Preedy, the Collector or civil administrator, because he could thus have access to all the official facts on the country and

people, which, with a map, he set himself at once to compile, as was his custom. Even in far Kurachee, and at this early period of British occupation, he found converts and students from the Christian college of Dr. Duff holding the highest positions and influencing all around them for good. When examining the subscription English school near the native town, attended chiefly by camp-followers and Sindhians proper, and expressing surprise at its efficiency, he discovered the fact thus recorded in his journal. "It is rather remarkable that the influence of both Bengal and Bombay missions is apparent in this school. Mr. Moodoosoodun Seel, the teacher, a convert to Christianity baptized by the Rev. Mr. Jennings,[1] at Cawnpore, was for four years a pupil in our Calcutta Institution. One or two of the books used in the school were composed by our Bombay missionaries; while one of the most promising pupils, baptized by myself, is the grandson of the first Hindoo woman who was admitted into the church under my ministry, and who, lately under much trial and affliction, has maintained a consistent Christian profession. She was delighted to see me in this distant part of the world." With the old chieftain the Jam of the Jokees, who was on a visit to the new port from his native hills, and with Naumahal, the most important Hindoo resident, who had avenged on the Ameers their forcible circumcision of his father by assisting the English army at its first appearance on the Indus, Dr. Wilson had interviews. The former remarked—

"Sir Charles Napier was 'altogether a just man.' If he sincerely holds this opinion, it is not unlikely that his conscience has responded to this straightforward epistle which was addressed to him by that distinguished General on the 15th April 1843: 'JAM.—You have received the money of the British for taking charge of the dawk (post); you have betrayed your trust, and stopped the dawks; and you have also

[1] This Chaplain baptized Maharaja Dhuleep Singh also, after his training under the American Presbyterian Mission, and fell in the Delhi massacre of 1857.

attacked the troops. All this I forgive you, because the Ameers were here, and they were your old masters. But the Ameers are now gone from Sindh for ever. They defied the British power, and have paid the penalty of so doing. I, as the Governor of Sindh, am now your immediate master. If you come in and make your salám, and promise fidelity to the British government, I will restore to you your lands and your former privileges, and the superintendence of the dawks. If you refuse, I will wait till the hot weather has gone past, and then I will carry fire and sword into your territory, and drive you and all belonging to you into the mountains; and if I catch you I will hang you as a rebel. You have now your choice; choose. C. J. NAPIER.' Happily for the Jám he chose submission. It will be a matter of no small difficulty to convey instruction and education to his scattered tribe."

In the lack of steamers on the Indus, about to be supplied by Lord Dalhousie, Dr. Wilson followed a track to the ancient town of Sehwan, on camels, through the hilly wilderness which divides Sindh from Beloochistan. At every stage the geology and natural history of the country were carefully observed. His first march led him past the Muggur Pool, or crocodile lake, which is still one of the sights near Kurachee. It is formed from the water of some hot springs within 150 square yards—"the space of a barn-yard pond,"—and accommodated seventy-five monsters of all sizes, from the baby of a cubit long, to the patriarch, Mor Saheb, who was eleven feet long, and was marked with red lead, and worshipped by the Hindoos. "They seemed quite tame, as they allowed us to lay hold of their tails, and turned round at the call of the fakeers, expecting a dainty meal on some unhappy goat. We found the Mor Saheb asleep, but poked him up with our sticks. He opened his jaws about a cubit wide, and then hissed and blew like a pair of smith's bellows. He had lately had a dreadful duel of it with a competitor for the championship, and as the battle was a drawn one and threatens to be renewed, he is kept apart from his fellows. They are all of the species 'crocodilus

communis.' The illiterate keepers form a community of Muhammadans more remarkable for the practice of pleasantries than austerities. They both give and get in marriage, and live quite comfortably with the gardens and fields which the popular superstition has permitted them to appropriate, and with the offerings presented at the shrine of their founder, which they take care to keep in good repair." They could not read the Injil in Arabic, so that a copy was not put in their hands. Delayed by a thunderstorm, he "resolved to take a practical lesson in natural history."

"*9th January* 1850.—I repaired to the pool of the crocodiles. It was with difficulty that I could rouse some of those hideous reptiles lying basking in the sun like trunks of the date-tree covered with mud. I dropped the shell of a cocoa nut on the cranium of Mor Saheb's rival, which made him start from his sleep, and run straight into the pool with a speed which I little expected. I observed a pony standing in the pool, eating some tufts of grass, without the slightest fear of its companions. When I asked a boy why the crocodiles did not gobble it up, he said, 'How should they devour it without a *hukum* (order)? they are contented with what is given to them!' According to this view of matters some naughty boys might take a lesson from them. The Muhammadans make the taming of them a great wonder, as doubtless it is; and the ancient Egyptians did the same. Though they do not worship them themselves they have no objection that the Hindoos should, and to share the spoil. Serpents, we see, are not the only 'creeping things' into which the glory of the incorruptible God has been changed by foolish and apostate man.

"10*th*.—We saw to-day a considerable number of locusts. Our guides ate of them with nearly as much relish as we do of a dish of prawns. We passed a few *Jat* herdsmen. They are the descendants of a Scythian tribe (the GETÆ of the West). Those in the neighbourhood of the Muggur-Peer were *Jokees*. The thermometer stood in the shade at 70° at one o'clock. In the evening I addressed the whole of our cavalcade; and some of its members listened with much attention.

"14*th*.—We passed a large quantity of petrified wood, like that near Cairo, about 4 kos (8 miles) from the end of our journey, and carried off some characteristic specimens. There were many rounded concretions of nummulite near it, some of which we also put into our bags. Among the large tamarisk bushes I observed, for the first time in

India, the pendant titmouse. My attention was first directed to it by its peculiar chirp. It called up many pleasing associations in my mind, and to this circumstance it owed its escape from the destructive missiles of my servant. I noticed afterwards the starling stealthily jumping and hopping among the bushes, and some ugly vultures in the leeward of a dead camel which the sun was cooking for their delicious repast.

"17*th*.—This, I think, was one of the coldest mornings we have yet had, the thermometer at sunrise standing at 38° in the tent. Before we started a 10 A.M. it had risen to 68°. Our road was much as yesterday, though a little more to the west, till the afternoon, when, after passing over the shoulder of a small hill, we found ourselves turning in the contrary direction, and emerging on the plain of the Indus, north of the Lakhee mountains, and south of the lake Munchur, and the Aral proceeding from it in the direction of Sehwan. The river was not visible; but we observed the smoke of two steamers rising from it, in one of which, we afterwards learned, was the Governor-General on his way to Bombay. It was pleasing indeed for us to see these tokens of civilisation in this comparatively barbarous land, and still more pleasing for us to contrast the most fertile and productive portion of the valley of the Indus into which we had entered, with the barren desert in which we had been wandering for the last ten days.

"18*th*.—I reached Sehwan at 11 o'clock A.M., and ascended the ruins of the fort, where Captain Partridge, the Deputy Collector, kindly ordered a tent to be pitched for me in the neighbourhood of his home, and from which I could have an excellent view of the surrounding country. This view is very interesting. The many green fields, especially on the right bank of the river, are very refreshing to the eye. The mountains beyond them are absolutely sterile. No hills are here visible on the eastern side of the Indus. The river is about a kos (2 miles) distant from the old fort. It is certainly a magnificent stream. The whole scene appeared to me as having much of an Egyptian character, especially in its fruitful fields and contiguous desert. The fort, too, is like one of the *Tels* or mounds of ruins which I visited in the north-east of Egypt in 1847. The town of Sehwan, which I traversed and reconnoitered in the evening, has, with its narrow and winding streets, and houses and cottages of clay and chopped straw, its analogues also on the banks of the Nile.

"19*th*.—This morning I re-examined Arrian's account of the proceedings of Alexander the Great connected with the Indus. I have no doubt that Sehwan, where I now am, and which at present is written

by the Brahmans *Sinhawan*, is the *Sindomana* of that author, whose king, probably denominated from the place, is called by Arrian *Sambus*, and by Plutarch *Sabbas*. This identification is not new, though the reading of the last named author has, as far as I am aware, not been referred to in its confirmation. The Brahmans here, as I have learned from themselves, esteem Sehwan the *Sauvîr* of the Mahabhárat, etc. Kákaldás, the most learned of their number, of the Pushkar caste, says to me that the most ancient name of Haidarábád was the city of *Patola*, which doubtless is the origin of Arrian's PATTALA, at the head of the Delta. He was surprised at the inference which I drew from it, as he is entirely ignorant of the Greek accounts of Alexander. The claims of Tatta, or rather *Thatá*, which have been generally admitted since the days of Robertson, must now be dismissed. The OXYDRACIÆ of Arrian I would not place with Mr. H. T. Prinsep in *Kachi*, but at *Uch*, below Multan, with Sir Alexander Burnes. *Porus* was probably the king of some Pura—*Puras*, in the pure form—a *city*, so denominated by way of distinction, in the same way as we have *Taxilas*, the king of *Taxila*, probably the *Chelas* of M. Court.

"20*th*, Sabbath.—I have been occupied throughout nearly the whole of the day in conversing with and addressing different companies of natives who have visited me at my tents, and delivering to them religious books and tracts. The *Gurmukhî* character, in which the *Granth* or Book of the Sikhs is written, seems better known to the Hindu merchants than the *Devanágari* or *Shástrî* as it is here called, in which the Gospel of Matthew, translated into Sindhee by Capt. Stack, and edited by Dr. Stevenson, has been lithographed; but it seems very desirable that a knowledge of the latter should be propagated in the country. I went over a part of the Sindhee Gospel with the learned Brahman Kákaldás; and he allowed that it was translated into the proper language of the country, of which there are several dialects. One of these dialects he considers the *Kachee*, in which language I presented him with a copy of the Gospel of Matthew as translated by the late Rev. James Gray, and edited by myself for the Bible Society. This translation he found perfectly intelligible; and I consequently gave away a few copies of it to other Sindhians able to peruse it. Among the recipients was a very intelligent man named Girdhardás, a follower of Nának and the *Granth* of the Sikhs, without reckoning himself a member of their community. I had noticed in the contents of the *Granth* the title of a Maráthee poem by Námdeva, one of the oldest of the Maráthee poets; and Girdhardás confirmed me in my opinion of the remarkable, and hitherto unnoticed appropriation of this work by the

followers of Nának in the Punjáb. He admitted to me the analogy of the doctrines of Kabeer and Nának. I directed his attention and that of others to some of the principal objections to be urged against them both theologically and philosophically, and to the great themes of sin and the Saviour as set forth in the Christian Scriptures.

"24*th.*—The inhabitants of Sehwan are already tolerably well aware of our detestation of Pír (Saint) worship. The numerous beggars who used to assail me on my arrival in the name of Lál Sháh Báz, now make their appeals in the name of *Khudá*, the only living and true God. Some of these beggars are rather formidable characters, as they use large quantities of bháng (hemp) and other narcotic and intoxicating drugs, to the dangerous excitement of their passions and permanent impairment of their judgment. Well might it have been for the followers of Muhammad had they been allowed the moderate use of simple unadulterated wine. In their deprivation of it they have sought out many evil inventions, as bháng, opium, etc., the mischief of which is apparent through the whole empire of Islamism, from the Carpathian mountains to the Kashmir lake.

"29*th.*—Among my auditors at worship was a poor renegade Roman Catholic from the neighbourhood of Bassein, who has been for some years settled in Sindh, and who abjured his Christianity in the presence of the Muhammadans at least, to obtain a wife. He has now listened to the truth on five or six occasions since I came to Sehwan. He professes to be penitent; and if I give him any encouragement he would go with me to Bombay. But where he has dishonoured Christ before men he should first acknowledge Christ before men.

"31*st.*—I translated the two first chapters of one of my tracts into Persian in my tent at the river-side. On the completion of this exercise I took hold of my telescope, and sweeping with it the Indus before me to the north, I discerned what I took to be Dr. Duff's boat gently dropping down the river and approaching the spot where I was encamped. My ardent hopes and wishes were realised; and we soon embraced one another with the heart as well as with the hand. The emotions of both of us, meeting at the very ends of the earth after an interval of ten years so eventful to our families, our missions, and our Church, and after multifarious labours and sufferings, and extended travel by land and by sea by both of us, were well nigh overpowering. The gracious and faithful providence of God to us both it was impossible for us to overlook."

By the battlefield of Meeanee and the fort of Haidarabad,

where the Governor-General had just before received the homage of the chiefs and landholders of Sindh, the two missionaries went slowly on to Tatta, whence they struck across the delta to Kutch, through the salt desolation of its Runn, and surveyed the Irish mission stations. At Surat they took steamer to Bombay, whence the presbytery sent home to their Church, by Dr. Duff, a powerful appeal for more missionary agents. In his periodical letter to the home committee Dr. Wilson described the speech of Dr. Duff at the annual examination of the college as exciting a controversy on the subject of the purely secular and often antichristian education in the Government schools, which did not subside till it issued in reform in 1854. He also recorded the death of an old student, Madhavarao Moroji, who had won the admiration of the political officers by his influence as tutor of the chief of Jamkhundee. He lived and died like many since, a Christian in all but the name. Through not a few like him the missionary colleges in India are honeycombing Hindoo society.

To Captain EASTWICK, C.B. "BOMBAY, 17*th April* 1850.

"MY DEAR CAPTAIN EASTWICK.—I have just returned from an interesting journey in Sindh, the scene of your important political labours in this distant East. I am of opinion that a good deal may yet be made of that province. The people seem to like the English government. This is some consolation to us amidst the misgivings which exist as to our treatment of the Ameers. I read your able speech in their favour, and the two blue books, on the banks of the Indus. I came to the conclusion that the Ameers at last intended to crush us if they could, but that some palliation could have been found in the fact that they were dogged and driven to desperation. I felt, too, that if Pottinger and yourself had been at your quondam posts, this would not have been the issue. I was sorry that I had not your brother's *Dry Leaves* with me during my wanderings and meanderings in Young Egypt. Your friend, the Rev. Mr. Cotes, was my fellow-passenger to Kurachee. He has a very vigorous and energetic mind, and is deeply interested in the improvement and the conversion of the natives, which I always reckon a good sign in a chaplain. I am

just sending off a teacher for an English school which he wishes to establish at Haidarabad. I missed both Mr. Pringle and the Governor-General on their descent of the river by a few hours. By the bye, the Governor-General was very reserved in the Durbár he held at Haidarabad, which is rather to be regretted. He gave great satisfaction to the folks in Bombay.

"You will speedily have a great many questions raised in connection with this great country in the prospect of the discussion of the question of a new Charter to the Company. I hope that every question of importance will be settled without party feeling and prejudice. While I am of opinion that the government of the Company should undoubtedly continue, I think that it will be better to shape out a course of administration for it by Acts of Parliament, than to place it under arbitrary control. Encouragement should be given on a large scale to the employment in India of European capital and European enterprise, destitute of which, the country, which may be made so productive, will be involved in fiscal ruin. All the Government contributions to the temples, which are not chartered, I think should be devoted to the support of elementary education through every town and village of the country ;[1] and of education not wholly paid for by Government, but partly supported by the people in private Institutions, provision being made only for the teaching of secular knowledge ; while all should be at liberty, on their own responsibility, to supplement that education by religious instruction as they may please."

In this letter we find one of the too few examples in his correspondence of that political insight as well as information, and those broad economic views regarding European enterprise as well as the prosperity of the natives, with which, in conversation, Dr. Wilson used to delight his friends. These questions, too, no less than his scholarly and scientific researches, he subordinated to the absorbing aims of the Christian missionary and the exacting work of the practical

[1] When, in one of the frequent and friendly discussions between the Church of England Evangelical chaplains and the Serampore missionaries in Aldeen, the home of Brown and Henry Martyn, Dr. Marshman asked Claudius Buchanan whence he expected to get funds for the endowment of the ecclesiastical establishment set up in 1813, he replied, "The temple lands will supply the churches and the Brahmans' lands will do for the ministers." To this the Nonconformist and eager educationist replied with emphasis, "You will never, never obtain them, Dr. Buchanan."

philanthropist. In all respects his programme of reform was soon carried out, save in the disendowment of idol shrines and mosques, but the property rights of these alone are now protected only by the civil courts. The mal-administration of the priestly guardians side by side with the growth of intelligence and Christianity among the people, may yet result in the voluntary application to education of the vast temple lands which cannot be squandered,

The continued success of the mission, and the address on the Christian, as opposed to the purely secular, education of native youth, raised a storm in two quarters. The local press and certain Professors of the Government College waged a bitter controversial warfare against missionaries, urging that these should have nothing to do with education, the effects of the positive moral and spiritual elements of which they did not relish. And communities like the Parsees, still resenting the aggressiveness of truth so as to confine their youth to the Government schools, began to find that even there truth pursued the conscience, and would not leave it alone till many became almost, and some had the courage to profess themselves openly altogether, Christians. It was about this time that the fermenting process was seen to work most evidently, as the first generation of educated youth went forth from the Mission college, on the one hand; and on the other, the persistent discussions, translations of Scripture and other publications, preachings, and tours, began to tell on the varied native communities, already affected by the numerous and often nameless influences of growing western civilisation. Among the educated cases were not unfrequent like that of Victorinus, as described by Simplicianus, the spiritual father of Ambrose, to Augustine.[1] From the unlearned in Bombay, and all the region around the Indian Ocean of which it is the commercial centre, a small but steady stream of inquirers

[1] See the extract from his *Confessions* at the beginning of this Chapter.

flowed in to what had become no less a school of the catechumens, spiritually and intellectually, than the famous Didaskaleion Catechumenorum of Pantænus (the first historical missionary to India), Clement and Origen at Alexandria. Nor does the parallel fail on the female side. For just as that Christian institute made the Egyptian Serapeum the last fortress of decaying polytheism, so the Bombay college stirred up the purely Hindoo and Parsee communities to rival efforts in education. Such passages as this are not infrequent in Dr. Wilson's missionary correspondence: When, on 10th May 1850, appealing to his home committee for more liberality, and announcing that Mrs. Wilson had been compelled to add two more female schools to the Ambrolie establishment, he adds:—

"The students of the Elphinstone College have been setting up some schools of their own from which all Christianity is excluded, and they have sought to fill them from our schools by prejudicing the minds of their parents. I have got hold of one of their circulars, with which I could easily expose their system; but I think it better to allow them to work it to death themselves. Dádobá Pandurang (the president of their society, and superintendent of Government vernacular schools on a salary of Rs. 300 per mensem,) called on us the other evening and offered his own daughter, and those of some of his friends, to Mrs. Wilson as pupils, and they now come regularly under the charge of a peon. When Mrs. Wilson congratulated him on having already taught his wife and daughter to read, he said, 'This is all the fruit of what I myself learned in Ambrolie many years ago.' The knitting and sewing here are great recommendations to him. He abhors Hinduism and respects Christianity. You must remember him. His companion, Náná Náráyan, is now English translator to the Gaikwar, on a salary of Rs. 175 a month."

DR. WILSON TO HIS PARENTS.

"25*th July* 1850.—I lately heard from my two young Abyssinian friends, indeed, I may say, 'sons in the Gospel.' They have given to me the two African lionesses presented to them by the king of their country. These are objects of great curiosity to the natives of Bombay, hundreds of whom come to see them in my 'compound.' I find it,

however, very expensive to maintain them, as they devour a goat at a meal. I have been offered a thousand rupees for them, and I shall soon part with them, devoting the proceeds to the enlightenment of Abyssinia. I must not forget to tell the children with you that they are very tame. They followed Gabru and Maricha for several days' journey like dogs. When they came to a bush, when they were tired, they used to get into it and rest till they were thumped up with clubs to proceed on the march. Their growl is terrible. I have two other curious animals beside them—a squirrel about the size of a cat, with a tail like a sweep's brush; and a pangolin, or ant-eater, with horny scales lying on its back like a covering of tiles on a house. I took home a stuffed specimen of the last-mentioned animal, which some of you may remember to have seen. The natives of this country call it the 'tiled cat.' These tiles prevent it being stung to death by bees, or bitten by the ants, on which it lives."

RELATION OF THE DIFFERENT RACES IN INDIA TO CHRISTIANITY.

"I must make a general remark, not unworthy of the attention of the friends of missions at home. The first races who entered India were undoubtedly from Turania, or the eastern Scythia. They are principally represented at present by the different nations and tribes in India located to the south of the river Krishna, and speaking the Canarese, Tooloo, Telugoo, Malayálam, and Támul languages, which have still a great affinity with the Tartar dialects. The distinctive peculiarity of the religion of these races is the worship of ghosts and demons whom they seek to conciliate by offerings of blood. The races which, in the second instance, entered India were from Ariana, the eastern part of Irán, or Persia, probably the original seat of the Indo-Teutonic family of nations. They are located in India to the north of the Krishna; and their languages are all derivatives from the Sanscrit, which is cognate with the Persian, Gothic, Pelasgic, Greek, Latin, and many other European languages. Of these last-mentioned races, in their eastern dispersions, the 'prayer-bearers,' or 'Brahmans,' by degrees became the hereditary priests. At first their worship, as developed in the Vedas, was directed to the personified agents and elements of nature. Afterwards it assumed the monstrous mythological and sublimated spiritual form, which is developed in the Epics, Law-books, and Puránas. The Aryan tribes in conquering India, urged by the Brahmans, made war against the Turanian demon-worship, but not always with complete success. The mountain and forest aboriginal tribes are

still, as far as Brahmanism is concerned, sturdy nonconformists. In many districts, as in Canara, referred to by Shamráo, Brahmanism has been compelled to make a compromise, and now fattens on the abundant offerings made to the devils. It is among the Turanian races, and the devil-worshippers, as in Tinnevelly and other places in the south of India, which have no organised priesthood and bewitching literature, that the converts to Christianity are most numerous. The day of their merciful visitation seems to be at hand. That of the Brahmanical Aryan tribes, with all their pride of caste and systematic creed, seems to be more distant. No equitable comparison of the results of Christian missions in India can be made with the forgetfulness of this fact."

Dr. WILSON to Dr. DUFF.

"2*d November* 1850.—One of our Roman Catholic pupils, a youth of fair talents and attainments, lately entered the Free Church. Another of our pupils was baptized lately at Mangalore. There are some hopeful characters about us ; but they present no very decided appearances at present. Hádjee, the young Beloochee, gets on well, and so does a Brahman who followed us from Kathiawar. Altogether, I have a very full house here. The last individual who has joined us is a Chaldean Christian boy (R. C.) from Baghdad. I have already taught him to read Arabic, by giving him myself a daily lesson. I continued my Wednesday evening lecture throughout both the hot and rainy seasons, and it has been well attended by native youth. For four nights I discoursed on the Religious History of Western India, as illustrated by its ancient Remains ; for four, on the introduction and diffusion of the Turanian and Iranian races in India, principally with a view to the illustration of the origin and progress of Brahmanism ; for thirteen, on Natural Theology, and the desirableness and necessity of a Divine Revelation. I am at present discussing the question, Where is a Divine Revelation to be found ? and in connection with this I am reviewing the sacred writings of the Hindus, according to their classes. I have directed a good deal of attention lately to the Vedas. My geological class, which meets only on Friday mornings, is a very select one ; and the native gentlemen attending it. Among them is the son of our principal Hindoo, Juggonáth Shunkurset, who is never absent."

MRS. WILSON ON BISHOP DEALTRY.

"AMBROLIE, 16*th November* 1850.

"The two lions at present here are the Nepaulese ambassador and suite (Jung Bahadoor), and the Bishop of Madras with his wife. He is

Dr. Dealtry, who was for a long time at Calcutta as Archdeacon. We have met them several times. He is an excellent, evangelical, liberal-minded man, who abhors Puseyism, and takes every opportunity of lifting up his testimony against the prevailing errors of the present times. I hope his visit to Bombay may do good, as nearly all the chaplains are tinged more or less with high church views and feelings. The Bishop and his party breakfasted with us yesterday morning, along with a few other friends. He kindly examined some of the classes of our Institution, and expressed himself as highly pleased with all he heard and saw. We had also a good many of the girls of our schools collected, about one hundred and forty, who were examined, and the Bishop and Mrs. Dealtry were both delighted with them, and seemed quite surprised to see the intelligent countenances of the little things, and to hear the ready manner in which they replied to the questions put to them. Indeed it was not a little gratifying to hear the Bishop say he had seen nothing like it in India, and it was a scene he could never forget. He never says what he does not feel, and he is not afraid to speak out the truth. He is so much opposed to the Government system of education in India (I mean the exclusion of Bible teaching from its seminaries), that he has never visited one of their schools, though again and again requested to do so. We have been asked to accompany the Bishop and a few other friends to Elephanta this afternoon. It will be a smaller and in some respects a more congenial party than on the occasion of our last visit to the caves."

Bishop DEALTRY to Dr. WILSON.

"BOMBAY, 25*th November* 1850.

"MY DEAR FRIEND.—I cannot leave this island without offering our warmest thanks to you and Mrs. Wilson for your Christian kindness and attention to us. We can never forget it, I assure you; and both Mrs. Dealtry and myself have formed a most sincere Christian attachment to you, and we shall carry such feelings with us until we trust we may meet in the everlasting kingdom of our Heavenly Father. I hope, however, that we may meet again on earth. If you should ever come to Madras you must be our guests, please; and we shall rejoice to make your stay there as happy, or at least attempt it, as you have made ours here. God bless you, and pour the graces of His grace upon your Mission, and make you the honoured instruments of gathering many precious wandering souls into His fold, and may your crown at last be resplendent with such.—In haste, but ever yours with Christian love,

"T. MADRAS."

TO DR. TWEEDIE ON A LEARNED PARSEE INQUIRER.

"On my return from my annual evangelistic tour, which this year extended to the province of Káthiáwár, where our Irish friends so ably and faithfully labour, I was waited upon by Bamanji Dosabhai, the most learned Oriental scholar among the Parsees of India, and the son of Dosabhai Sorabji—the priest and moonshee who was hired by the Parsee sanhedrim to write a reply to my lecture on the Vandidad, who informed me that, acting on the advice of a European friend, he had lately re-perused the controversy, and especially my own two works, and had, by the gracious assistance of the Spirit of God, arrived at the conclusion that Parseeism is utterly false and that Christianity is certainly true. On this he put into my hands a letter in English, filling four sheets, and expressive of his views and feelings. This I found to be one of the most powerful and touching documents which I have ever perused. After showing in an interesting and satisfactory manner the reasons of the hope that is in him, he thus concludes :—'Freedom of opinion and liberty of conscience being the leading characteristics of the spirit of English law, I consider myself fully entitled to act conformably to the dictates of my conscience, and am therefore ready to undergo the sacred rite of baptism, in doing which, I will incur I am afraid the displeasure of my countrymen, but I trust I shall obtain the favour of my God.'

"I am sorry that I am not yet able to warrant you to realise the hopes or to allay the fears which his most interesting case awakens. After continuing to attend me for instruction, prayer, and conference for some time, he told me that, suspicions having been awakened respecting him, he felt constrained to reveal his situation to his family. This he did in a Goojaratee letter addressed to his father, carefully prepared by himself at home, and copied in my house, from which it was forwarded to its destination, after he had asked shelter from me till the storm might blow over. The father, on receiving the tidings forwarded to him, immediately drove to my house, and coming into its inner rooms without any warning, he told me that much learning had made his son mad, and that he must have an interview with him, which was immediately granted. On seeing his son he embraced him and burst into tears, and told him that if he did not return to see his mother she would immediately destroy herself. 'You have nothing to fear,' he added, 'you will ultimately be allowed to do whatever you like, even though you should become a Muhammadan.' On the assurance of protection the son said, 'Well, I shall go to see my

mother,' and left the house with his father. I have since had one reserved note from him, which I suppose has passed through the hands of his father, and from which I conclude that I shall not again see him for some little time. I have native testimony that he stands firm, but of course I feel about him the deepest concern, in which all who know of his case fully participate. The native community are in great alarm about him, and the father has prevented all discussion about him in the native papers, except in the *Châbook*, which rejoices over the calamity on sectarian grounds."

This period in the history of the mission was fruitful in such cases, as well as in others. Now a father, who thirteen years before had heard Dr. Wilson at Ajunta, seeks him out at Bombay, unable longer to rest in Hindooism, and returns to bring not only his family of eight, but a village friend, into the one fold. Again, his last tour bears fruit at the same time as this his second, in the baptism of Hadjee, a young Beloochee, who had been drawn by his words in Sindh, and becomes "the first fruit of Sindh unto Christ." By the hands of Mr. Cust he receives an epistle in Old Testament Hebrew from Amram bin Saleemah, the chief priest of the Nablus Samaritans, and replies in like style, with none the less ardour that Dr. M'Gown had reported from Jerusalem the "interesting fact that some of them had lately applied to the Bishop for admission into the Christian or rather Protestant Church; that they were first led to inquire after the truth by Dr. Wilson's instructions when he visited them, and since then by a Mr. Williams. The Bishop had sent them the Scriptures, and set up schools among them, and hoped soon to do more to find out how far they really were grounded in the truth. Dr. M'Gown spoke of Dr. Wilson with the greatest enthusiasm." This leads Dr. Wilson to write to Dr. Graham, from whom Sir Henry Havelock had brought him a letter, projecting a joint tour in Syria to establish a mission in the Lebanon, such as the Free Church subsequently adopted. Again, the drawing of the educated native mind towards Christianity provokes another

"habeas corpus" case in the Supreme Court, in which "Sir Erskine Perry, who had handed over Shirpat Sheshadri to the tender mercies of the intolerant heathen," is compelled to allow the girl Sai "to go where she pleases," because her Hindoo father preferred the mission. The vernacular schools alone are this time temporarily affected by the native excitement, while nine persons join themselves to the class of catechumens, and "none of them are idlers." Nor is the excitement lessened when a Parsee youth of the wealthiest family, and himself possessor of Rs. 300,000, seeks spiritual instruction.

So Dr. Wilson year by year followed the greatest of missionaries, Paul, in turning the world upside-down. In 1853 the whole mission agencies of his church in Western India embraced 2159 students and pupils, of whom there were 1413 in Bombay, 546 in Poona, and 200 in Satara. Of the whole number one-fourth were females; and one-fourth received the higher education through English as well as the vernaculars. At this time he prepared a course of lectures for his students at Bombay, and for the English society both there and at Mahableshwar, on "The Apostle Paul in Greece; or Christianity in contact with the Hellenic faith and manners and the Roman magistracy, compared with Christianity in contact with the Hindoo faith and manners and the British magistracy." Of the Native Church, consisting of 126 adults, of whom 55 were communicants and 42 baptized adherents, he could write that it was in a prosperous spiritual state. In 1855 the value of the college as an evangelising no less than a pioneering agency, showed itself in the baptism of the best student, Guuputrao Rhogonath, of the respectable Parbhoo caste. In the same year he writes to Dr. Tweedie on the 13th August:—

"I had the pleasure of baptizing Ismail Ibraim, the first Bohorá who, as far as we know, has yet embraced Christianity in India. This

young man, who is about twenty-six years of age, made my acquaintance a year ago, when he soon showed a disposition to embrace Christianity, which was not unnoticed by his acquaintances, who resorted even to violence to prevent him coming to the mission-house, cruelly beating him, and wounding him on the skull so severely that he had to be sent to the hospital. His own safety required that he should have accommodation in the mission-house; and this he obtained, dwelling in the same room with Hadjee, the Sindhian convert, who has been of great use to him both by way of precept and example. I gave him regular instruction as a catechumen from the time he came to us, through the medium both of the Goojaratee and Hindostanee languages, with which he is acquainted. He is likely to be useful as a Christian *colporteur*. The confraternity of Bohoras is noted for its mercantile industry and application, and if he fulfil our hopes by carrying its spirit into his new occupation, under the sanctifying influence of the Gospel, he will be a valuable accession to our strength, notwithstanding the fact that he has appeared among us not so much as a student as a man of labour. He appears thoroughly divorced from Muhammad and from Alí, the son-in-law of Muhammad, whom the Bohoras, or *Initiated*, according to the meaning of the Arabic word from which the name is derived, esteem an improvement upon his father-in-law, having a higher degree of inspiration, which has in a good measure, as they imagine, manifested itself among his successors, recognised by the Bohoras and by the Ansairiyah, Ismailiyah, Drus, and Metawileh of Syria, who in religion are their conquerors. I am thankful to God to be able to report the baptism by Mr. French (now Bishop of Lahore) of the Church Missionary Society, of a Bokhara Jew, several times mentioned to you by Mr. Murray Mitchell, with whom he lived for some time,—who attended our Institution for several years, and who left us about two years ago to return to his native country on account of a severe illness, promising, if spared, to come back in order to enter the Christian Church."

Mrs. Colin Mackenzie, whose journal, *The Camp, the Mission, and the Zenana*, had been received in Europe as revealing India more fully than any book since Heber's, had sketched and published lithographs of the converts in Bombay and Calcutta. Of one of the portraits Dr. Wilson wrote:—"The serene piety and devotion of Yohan Prem are well brought out in the likeness. He lives on the word of God

and prayer, and is mighty in the Scriptures. By many of the Natives he is received as a sort of curiosity; and he finds access to circles into which others cannot penetrate. He carries the testimony of Jesus with him wherever he goes, and he brings many parties to the mission-house for religious converse." Narayan Sheshadri was soon after ordained, and Dhunjeebhoy, who had been evangelising in Goojarat among his countrymen, baptised his first converts from the aboriginal Dheds. In 1854 Dr. Wilson thus reported the conversion of Baba Pudmanjee, the ablest Hindoo student of the college: "Though but a young lad he is already a Marathee authority of distinction. I know no native so able to wield the press to advantage. His modesty is as remarkable as his ability. We have looked, and laboured and prayed for his conversion for years."

Not till 1855, twelve years after they had built the first college only to hand it over to others before entering it, were Dr. Wilson and his colleagues able to take possession of the present college buildings, erected to accommodate eight hundred students and pupils, at a cost of £6800. But the joy of the year 1855 was sadly dimmed by the sudden removal by cholera, on the 26th July, of Robert Nesbit, a few months after his union to a lady who has ever since given her life to female education. The most perfect speaker of Marathee, so that even Brahmans could not detect a foreign accent, with an uprightness of judgment which the natives regarded as that of a god, and with a loving fascination which drew all of every sect and class to his feet, Robert Nesbit, in a few hours after he closed his last class at the college, was removed by death. The Rev. Adam White, who was in after years to meet a like fate in the same sort of self-sacrifice, and then Mr. W. Gardner, soon arrived from Scotland to take his place. But who could restore the unique individuality and the experience which, from St. Andrews University, and youthful intercourse with John Wilson on the border

hills, grew into ripeness in the southern Konkan, at the Cape of Good Hope, and amid the upheaving of Bombay for nigh thirty years?

The East India Company's Government, as well as purely English judges like Sir Erskine Perry, were to make another advance in the understanding and practice of toleration. Sir Erskine had in the last "habeas corpus" case decided that fourteen was the age of discretion in the case of a woman, while Shripat Sheshadri had been sent back to Brahmanism against his will because he was not sixteen. The Company's Government in every province of India had steadily de-christianised the English professors, forbidding them, as well as native teachers, to explain passages in English literature referring to Christianity. Thus, it was thought, the leaven of Christianity would be effectually kept out of the State colleges and schools, while there was no official recognition by grants in aid of even the secular education in the missionary and independent colleges, although it was to men like Wilson and Duff that, as we have seen, the Company owed its educational stimulus, example, and systems.

In 1854 Lord Elphinstone had become Governor of Bombay after a successful experience of educational reform in Madras. It was doubtless due to his personal influence that the Bombay Government in 1856 decided that its teachers did not violate duty when they gave simple explanations of references in English text-books to Christianity. Four Parsee students of the Elphinstone College, in spite of the prison bars, which could not shut out the light, astounded Dr. Wilson and Mr. White by addressing a letter to them which thus began:—

"We are fully convinced by the grace of God, that Parseeism is a *false* religion; and it consists of VAGUE and EXTRAVAGANT principles. It is the INVENTION of man; not the REVELATION of God. We have found out, after inquiring nearly two or three years after the TRUE

RELIGION, that every comfort, joy, hope, success, and every good thing in this world as well as in the world to come, are concentrated in the Lord Jesus. We have now the greatest pleasure to inform you that, as we are fully convinced of the TRUTH of CHRISTIANITY, we wish to be baptized, and to be admitted into the visible Church of Christ. . . Nothing has led us to join the Christian Church but the pure hope and desire of the salvation of our souls."

Some days after, the youths, all married, appeared at the mission-house, and a legal agent duly noted the circumstances and their ages—from seventeen years and eight months to nineteen years and nine months. A rush of Parsees was made to the spot. For three days the families of the young men, who had free access to them, plied them with the arguments of the devout Zoroastrian, the sober deist, and the arrogant scoffer, in vain. At last the representation that their mothers were dying, and the express pledge that they should have religious liberty at their homes and be allowed to attend the mission for instruction, prevailed at first with Darasha, and a day after with Bhicajee and Nussurwanjee. Bairamjee Kersasjee alone remained faithful, and was in due time baptized, but long required the protection of the law on his way to and from the college. The Hindoos and Muhammadans admitted the right of young men of that age to please themselves. The Parsees began to denounce the Government college in this case, as their fathers had attacked the officiating Governor in that of Dhunjeebhoy. They vilified, especially, one of their own tribe as a Christianiser, Professor Ardaseer Framjee. A formal inquiry by Government resulted in justifying him, and in the concession of liberty to the educational service so far as to explain Milton, for instance, to the pupils, hitherto religiously doubtful, or passages of Shakspere! The result was seen in the next baptisms, those of another Parsee student of the Elphinstone College, Shapoorjee Eduljee, and a Muhammadan class-fellow, Syud Hussan Medinyeh. About the same time a Sikh, from the Punjab,

and a Muhammadan moonshee, were admitted to the Church. Syud Hussan's family concealed his conversion from their co-religionists as long as they could, but then openly set their ablest Moulvies to argue with him.

All through this period Dr. Wilson carried on his translation work, aided by his scholarly converts. He, Dhunjeebhoy, and Hormasdjee, brought out a revision of the Messrs. Fyvie's translation of the Goojaratee New Testament. "It contains," he wrote, "such improvements as the progress of Oriental translation, and the application to it, for the first time so far as we are aware, of competent native Indian Christian criticism, have enabled us to effect." As his contribution to the public collection of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Dr. Wilson sent a MS. copy of the Four Gospels in Arabic, "evidently prepared for the use of the Eastern Churches. This valuable document I procured in rather remarkable circumstances. Some time ago I observed it in the library of one of the principal fire temples of Bombay, and on my offering ten pounds for it, the priests allowed me to have it on condition of my permitting them to make and keep a copy of it—a proposal on their part in which I immediately concurred."

To Miss Douglas, who had sent him the *Life of Judson* and Stier's *Reden Jesu*, he replied—"I am greatly obliged to you for the *Life of Judson*, which I have found most interesting in the illustration of his high Christian character and noble endeavours for the propagation of the truth. I rather wonder at the rash admissions into the Christian Church by the Baptist brethren at Burma. This greatly strikes the attention of a Presbyterian missionary, who knows the ignorance of the Eastern mind, and its proneness in certain circumstances to act from impetus. Though the apostles sometimes baptized on sudden professions their disciples were tested by providence in an unequivocal manner."

CHAPTER XV.

LITERARY ACTIVITY—THE ROCK-CUT TEMPLES.

1848-1862.

A Missionary-Scholar's Wife—The Rock-Cut Temples and Monasteries—Early attempts at an Archæological Survey of India—Dr. Wilson's two Memoirs on the subject—President of the Cave-Temple Commission—Lord Canning's Minute—Necessity of a Corpus Inscriptionum—Col. Meadows Taylor and Sir Walter Elliot—The Antiquary on Elephanta—The Brahmanical Caves—A Visit to Karla Caves—Correspondence with Lassen and Westergaard—Letter to Mr. Dennistoun of Dennistoun—The first Railway Train—The Peninsular and Oriental Steamers—The Beejapore Arabic Library—MSS. and a Tropical Climate—Report on the Oriental Examinations of Officials—Declines to be Oriental Translator to Government—"Only a Missionary"—Writes History of Infanticide—New Edition of Marathee Dictionary—Researches into Caste—Most Popular Book on Ancient India—Letter to Lassen—Letter from Goldstücker—Correspondence with Lord Elphinstone.

" But stay ! these walls—these ivy-clad arcades—
These mouldering plinths—these sad and blackened shafts—
These vague entablatures—this crumbling frieze—
These shattered cornices—this wreck—this ruin—
These stones—alas ! these grey stones—are they all—
All of the famed and the colossal left
By the corrosive hours to Fate and me ?

" ' Not all '—the echoes answer me—' not all !
Prophetic sounds and loud, arise for ever
From us, and from all Ruin, unto the wise,
As melody from Memnon to the Sun.
We rule the hearts of mightiest men—we rule
With a despotic sway all giant minds.
We are not impotent—we pallid stones.
Not all our power is gone—not all our fame—
Not all the magic of our high renown—
Not all the wonder that encircles us—
Not all the mysteries that in us lie—
Not all the memories that hang upon
And cling around about us as a garment,
Clothing us in a robe of more than glory.' "

EDGAR POE : *The Colosseum.*

" Historical truth is not to be found so easily in India as in other countries of the world. It is here in a state of comparative purity only in the ancient monuments of the country. These monuments, which are of an unequivocal character, have best withstood the ravages of time, the great destroyer ; and religious fraud, repelled by their venerable antiquity, or exhausted in the attempt to entomb their magnitude, or to annihilate their multitude, or to efface their permanent records, has failed to destroy them or to effect their corruption. They have survived the departure of their authors and the destruction of the religious systems to which they belonged ; and they tell their own tale in spite of their approbation by sects and parties which had nothing to do with their origin, and many of which have come into existence subsequently to their execution and completion. They have proved too solid for the sledge-hammer of the Mussulman entirely to mutilate them, and too incombustible for the fires of the Lusitanian to consume or rend them in pieces. They still exist, though in a decaying state, for comparison with the ancient literary remains of India, confirming what little of historical truth is to be found in these records, and illustrating their erroneous though sublimated speculations, and their wild and unbridled mythology, with all its perversions and exaggerations. They are the credentials of the genius, taste, wealth, and power of ancient India, showing the natural capacity of its peoples."

JOHN WILSON : *The Religious Excavations of Western India.*

CHAPTER XV.

DR. and Mrs. Wilson had, on his return to India, just completed the reorganisation of the Mission in its college and schools, and on its female side at the beginning of 1848, when both threw themselves into the allied work of oriental research. To a correspondent he wrote in May 1849:—"Mrs. Wilson has enjoyed remarkably good health in India. She has now made great progress in the Marathee language. She has a wide field for usefulness here, as we have upwards of five hundred girls in our native female schools. She is busy translating a paper on the Puranas from the French of Burnouf, which appeared in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*." This extract from one of Mrs. Wilson's letters, further illustrates the duties of a true missionary's wife:—"BOMBAY, *30th August* 1850.—My labours in the way of teaching are increasing, and I find I require to spend about four hours each day with the girls, that is from twelve to four o'clock, besides previously preparing their work; in addition to which we have the morning Marathee service for reading and examination of old and young, about ten, and at eleven my moonshee comes for an hour to teach me Hindostanee. I find it easier than Marathee, but I must not expect to get on rapidly, as I have scarcely a moment for private study. I have a class who are learning English, composed of some of our female teachers and some of our day-scholars. I have also the girls of a superior class of natives, who come to me for instruction in sewing and English, and we read the Scriptures in Marathee, and they learn the gospel catechism. They are knitting little boots for their baby brothers, and are much pleased with

some pieces of canvas-work they have accomplished, of simple patterns. Some of the girls in my school are now very good sewers, and can knit stockings nicely."

To the same correspondent Dr. Wilson announced—"I have just drawn up, what I suppose will ere long be printed, *A Memoir on the Cave-Temples and Monasteries, and other Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina Remains of Western India.* This document I have prepared in connection with the Asiatic Society and the Government." This introduces us to what proved to be intellectually the most fruitful period of his career, from 1848 to 1862. "During my professional journeyings throughout this great country," he wrote in the last published words from his pen, "I have often been brought in contact with its more remarkable antiquarian wonders, which, in a considerable number of instances, I have been among the first to observe and describe, though sometimes with unsatisfied curiosity as well as with qualified information." This is a modest statement, not less of what he was the first to do than of the service which he rendered to Government and the public by collecting all the available facts on the subject in 1848, and by showing the way to such a scientific and complete survey as that which, ever since the mutiny operations ceased, has been going on.

Such marvels as the fifty large groups of rock-cut temples, monasteries, and cisterns, excavated in the Western Ghauts by Buddhists, Brahmans, and Jains, successively, during the fifteen centuries from Asoka to the inscription of Elora in A.D. 1234, had excited the wonder and the speculations of later Hindoos, the superstitious Portuguese, and the early English travellers. The people saw in them the work of their mythical heroes, the Pandavas, while the Brahmans pronounced the *dhagob*, or relic-receptacle of their Buddhist foes, to be the filthy *linga*, and the cenobite's rocky chamber to be the abode of the outcast Dhed. The Portu-

guese historian De Couto magnified the hundred cells and passages of the hill of Kanha in Salsette into thousands of caverns, reaching as far as the mainland at Cambay, through which a priest led an expedition for seven days without reaching the end! Faber, once thought learned, romanced over the *trimurti* of Elephanta as the cavern of Noah, his three sons and allegorical consort, reasoning that five heads are equal to three because two could be imagined. Mr. Henry Salt, the Lichfield artist who accompanied Lord Valentia in his travels, and was sent as an envoy to the ruler of Abyssinia, was the first to describe the Salsette excavations fairly in 1806. But it was not till Erskine, the "philosophic" son-in-law of Sir James Mackintosh, wrote his *Account of the Cave-Temple of Elephanta* in 1813 that justice was done to the subject, although Niebuhr had preceded him, and had reproached the English for neglecting works far greater than the Pyramids. The Danish traveller pronounced the investigation of such antiquities an undertaking worthy of the patronage of a prince or a nation. The journals of his tours show how early, and how, almost year by year, Dr. Wilson devoted his little leisure to the scholarly study not only of the caves but of the inscriptions which give them a historical as well as architectural value. Nor was he alone in this. Commercial enterprise had early sent to Bengal the Ayrshire youth, James Fergusson, who, after a training in the Edinburgh High School, and ten years' experience of enterprise and travel among the people of India, published his *Illustrations of the Rock-Cut Temples* in 1845, and has ever since been the principal authority on this and allied subjects.

When in London, where his knowledge of the character of the cave and other alphabets enabled him to decipher certain papers in a concealed Indian hand, which were essential to adjusting a decision passed by the Admiralty Court at the Cape, and which had long lain uninterpreted,

Dr. Wilson had pressed his old project of a *Corpus Inscriptionum* in connection with a systematic study of the excavations. Mr. Fergusson was not less zealous, and he was able to be more persistent. The result seems to have been that the Royal Asiatic Society in 1844 moved the Court of Directors to order preliminary arrangements to be made for conducting antiquarian researches in India, as the phraseology went. In 1847 the Court finally approved of the detailed suggestions—"for examining, delineating, and recording some of the chief antiquities"—sent home by Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General. In the rest of India very little was done in those days of Sikh wars, beyond the publication of some papers by Majors Kittoe and Cunningham, and the enriching of the old India House in Leadenhall Street with some antiquities and drawings. But in Western and Central India Dr. Wilson was ready. The Bombay Government called the local Asiatic Society to its aid. On the 15th April 1848 it recommended that "authentic information as to the number and situation of all the monuments and cave-temples of antiquity in the territories should be obtained;" it sketched a plan of operations and urged immediate action. What became known as the Cave-Temple Commission for the next ten years was accordingly appointed by Government, consisting of Dr. Wilson, president; Dr. Stevenson; Mr. C. J. Erskine, of the Civil Service; Captain Lynch, of the Indian Navy; Mr. Harkness, of the Elphinstone College; Venaik Gungadhur Shastree; and Dr. Carter, secretary of the Society. Acting throughout with the authorities, and reporting also to the Society, they engaged Mr. Fallon as artist; Lieutenant Brett to copy inscriptions, and, at a later period, Captain Briggs to take photographs; and Vishnoo Shastree, the pundit of scholars like Mr. Law and Mr. Wathen, the Supreme Court translator, Mr. Murphy, and Dr. Wilson himself, to aid in the translation of the inscriptions. This pioneering work was

arrested by the Mutiny, and soon after a new race of critics, in ignorance of the past, anonymously attacked the Commission, or rather its native assistant, the Shastree. In the ten years of its active existence its whole expenditure did not much exceed £2350, represented by the paintings, measurements, casts, clearing out of caves, transcripts, and translations. For thirteen years the Commission, and Dr. Wilson above all his colleagues, gave the work their gratuitous and zealous labours; and not only they, but coadjutors like Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Walter Elliot of Madras, Colonel Meadows Taylor, Mr. Orlebar, and Dr. West, C.E. But to Dr. Wilson alone is it due that the enlightened orders of Lord Hardinge and the Directors bore fruit at all. In truth, from the first, in north-eastern and southern, as well as in western India, a scholar like the honorary president of the Asiatic Society, or an architectural authority like Mr. Fergusson, should have been set apart for the sole duty, with a staff of skilled assistants, instead of a beggarly expenditure at the rate of £200 a year.

Hence it became necessary, the moment the state of the country after 1857 allowed of action, to renew the enterprise, taught by the experience of the past. When, towards the end of 1861, engaged at Allahabad in completing his reorganisation of the North-Western government, Lord Canning resolved to appoint Colonel A. Cunningham Director of the Archæological Survey of India. From the young Duke of Wellington's time, at the beginning of the century, the East India Company had liberally carried out trigonometrical as well as topographical and revenue surveys of the peninsula. On the basis of this, now approaching completion, Lord Dalhousie had created a Geological Survey in 1856. And Lord Canning[1] completed the good work by thus rescuing for all time the fast perishing memorials which form the only history

[1] Minute by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council on the Antiquities of Upper India, dated 22d January 1862.

of India before the time of our own battle of Hastings, outside of the vague hints of philology and of a literature that defies historical criticism. The Archæological Survey has since been extended to Bombay,[1] where it is following up the investigations of Dr. Wilson and Mr. Fergusson on a uniform scale, and with the best results.

From the voluminous correspondence of the Cave-Temple Commission, all dictated or superintended by the missionary, who had a keener motive to impel him than even that of the scholar, we shall give only this official communication to Mr. Hart, Secretary to the Government, dated 9th April 1856. What Dr. Wilson with true foresight urged then, he had long before pressed on the Bengal Asiatic Society's consideration, and it is only now being achieved :—

"1. The Cave-Temple Commission have lately had their attention directed to the extreme desirableness of the publication, under the auspices of Government, of facsimiles or copies, with decipherments and translations, of all the ancient cave-temple inscriptions, rock inscriptions, pillar inscriptions, structural temple inscriptions, and copperplate charter inscriptions, etc., which are to be found within the wide extent of the British Empire in the East. The publication of such a *Corpus Inscriptionum* appears to them to be an object of such importance in an antiquarian and historical point of view—for it would embrace the most important *documenta* of Indian history—that it well merits the combined attention of Government, of our learned Societies, and of individual Orientalists. The work they conceive to be practicable, were it duly allotted to each presidency and administration in India. The Cave-Temple Commission would be gratified if the special attention of the supreme and subordinate Governments of this country were early directed to it, and to the devising of practical arrangements for its execution in concurrence with the honourable the Court of Directors in England.

[1] It is to be regretted that the India Office does not more freely circulate the valuable reports of General Cunningham and Mr. Burgess. The Secretary of State has shown an enlightened liberality, worthy of the old Company, in sanctioning the preparation, at the public expense, by Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Burgess, of an exhaustive and illustrated volume, describing the whole religious excavations of all India.

"2. Much has been done in India, especially during the last thirty years, to prepare the way for such a work as that now mentioned, especially by the various Asiatic Societies in India and Europe. The more remarkable antiquities of the country have to a considerable extent been discovered and explored. The key to the characters in which their inscriptions are written has been found. Many of these inscriptions have already been copied, deciphered, and translated, though not with absolute accuracy, yet with a tolerable degree of success. Extremely important results have been obtained from their investigation for the arrangement of Indian chronology, and the definite ascertainment of the great religious and political changes which have occurred in this great country in past ages.

"3. In producing the results now referred to, each of the presidencies of India has had its own share of credit; and much may be expected from any suitable and harmonious combination of their efforts which may be arranged and agreed upon.

"4. It seems very desirable that, till a general plan of co-operation is agreed upon between the presidencies, the efforts of all the parties likely to be auxiliary in the case, should be zealously directed to the expediting of those measures which may tend to bring about the final accomplishment of the object to be derived. Let the copying of inscriptions proceed, especially by photography, which has been practically shown by Captain Briggs to be peculiarly applicable to the larger inscriptions of the Hindus. Let the copies of the inscriptions which have been already made be collated with the originals, especially in all dubious cases. Let the more laborious work of decipherment and translation receive adequate attention; and let decipherments and translations already made—and that in some instances in very disadvantageous circumstances—be duly revised and perfected.

"5. It seems the more desirable that all this should be promptly done, that the parties who have been more immediately concerned in antiquarian discovery in India, and who may be supposed to be not the least zealous and competent in the cause, are rapidly diminishing in numbers, while their learned European advisers, such as Professors H. H. Wilson and Colonel Sykes, and their friends on the Continent, are advancing in years."

Dr. Wilson's Memoir on the Cave-Temples and Monasteries, forming some seventy pages of Volume III. of the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, was circulated by the Government to all the district and political officers in and around

the province, including great States like the Nizam's country. These were directed to afford the Commission all the information and assistance in their power in the prosecution of researches. The result was the publication by Dr. Wilson of a second Memoir in 1852, recording the new discoveries, for which Government had offered pecuniary rewards also, and embodying the results of the Commission's work on the larger caves like Elephanta. The Memoir had set many observers to work, with results of the most striking interest, such as those reported by Colonel Meadows Taylor from the Nizam's principality of Shorapoor,[1] and by Sir Walter Elliot from Southern India.

Henceforth, year after year, no new Governor-General, Governor, or Member of Council, landed at Bombay, and no traveller from Europe or America passed through it, without seeking the guidance of Dr. Wilson on a visit to one of the neighbouring groups of excavations. In velvet skull-cap and with long wand, the enthusiastic scholar, with the air of an old knight, would lead his friends through the caves, pouring forth his stores of knowledge with unflagging courtesy, and charming all by the rare combination of goodness and grace, historical and oriental lore, poetic quotation and scientific references, genial remark and childlike humour, till visitors, like the accomplished Lady Canning, declared they had never met such a man. Nor would he allow his guests—for he too often provided the luncheon—to go unprepared by study. He had written a lecture on the subject for the Bombay public, to whom, at the request of the Mechanics' Institute, he delivered it in the Town Hall. By the year 1864, when the present writer for the first time visited Bombay, the manuscript was well worn, and he solicited permission to

[1] See *The Story of My Life*, by the late Colonel Meadows Taylor, 1877, vol. ii.; and his *Notices of Cromlechs, Cairns, and other Ancient Scytho-Druidical Remains*, in vol. iv. of the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*.

publish it in the *Calcutta Review*. All were expected, and, as a rule were glad, to master the contents of this popular treatise, of which it was Dr. Wilson's last literary work to prepare a somewhat enlarged edition for the use of the Prince of Wales. We cannot give a more correct impression of one of those memorable days than by recalling the details of a visit, in Dr. Wilson's society, to the nearest and latest Brahmanical caves of Elephanta, followed by an inspection, unfortunately without his personal assistance, of the richer Buddhist caves of Karla.

"Standing on the west of the Malabar Hill, in the garden of 'the Cliff,' too rarely visited by the toiling missionary of Ambrolie till circumstances made it his last permanent residence, the spectator, as he looks eastward across the breadth of the harbour to the mainland, twelve miles off, lets his eye rest on a low mass of basalt crouching almost midway. He would pass it by as no more worthy of notice than the other rocks which made up the Septanesia of the Greek geographers, were he not told that this is Elephanta, once the head-quarters of Shivaism in the West. To that island, when it was connected with the mainland by a mole like that of old Tyre, thousands of devotees crowded that they might worship in the lofty expanse and amid the sculptured pillars of its rock-cut temples. Now the mole has disappeared, the colossal elephants which gave the spot its name are gone, and Messrs. Nicol and Co. are busy transporting much of its mass to the sedgy flats which the Elphinstone Land Company are transforming into priceless sites for wharves, warehouses, and docks, at the busiest part of busy Bombay. They courteously place one of their steamers at our disposal, and, accompanied by a party of engineers and sportsmen, we land below the rock-mansions which scholars from Erskine to Wilson, and their proximity to Bombay, have made familiar to every visitor. Too familiar, we may say; for until the present English guardian of the shrines was appointed, there were only too many sailors who, in their frolics, had chipped off colossal noses, and carried home to wife or sweetheart the monstrous ears and ear-rings of stone, the want of which now so sadly disfigures the bashful Parvatee in her bridal attire.

"We stand before the great temple, which covers almost a square of 133 feet, and leads on either side to two smaller sacella, that recede from it so as to leave the sides of the main excavation open to inspec-

tion. At Karla the first impression of awe, caused by the solemn gloom, soon changes into intense satisfaction with the perfection of the design and the chasteness of the ornamentation. Here the gloom is not so great, though the vistas are grander ; but the regularity of the pillars which run in parallel lines and at right angles with each other, and the comparative coarseness of the whole workmanship, at once convince us that we are inspecting work of a much later age than Asoka's, and undertaken by imitators who sought to produce by magnitude of design what they were incompetent to effect by artistic execution. Our disappointment is increased when we proceed, under the guidance of the great living scholar who is so familiar with every figure, to study the gigantic *bas reliefs* which stare passively from the rocky walls around. Fronting us is the great Trimoorti, or three-headed bust, representing, from the waist to a height of eighteen feet, the later deities, Shiva, Vishnoo, and Brahma, yet so carved as to make the whole a tribute to the glory of Shiva alone. The Hindoos of later days, who look to European teachers to read the riddle of such rocks, were wont to declare that the figure of Buddha, of which this is a copy, was only the Brahmanical artificer Vishwakarma holding the finger which he had cut in his workshop. As we look at the meaningless face of Brahma, and at the feline moustache and slobbering lips by which the artist would make Shiva look fierce, we feel an emotion of disgust, very different from that which is excited by the aspect of the Sphinx in the Memphian desert, as it 'gazes right on with calm eternal eyes.' The whole Trimoorti is decorated like a sovereign, with head and neck ornaments, which were fine specimens of carving before some Vandal mutilated them.

"A tableau on the right, on an equally colossal scale, pictures Shiva in his own character, with his wife Parvatee, standing upright, and surrounded not only by attendants and ascetics but by such deities as the four-faced Brahma on his waggon of geese, Indra upon his elephant, and Vishnoo on the lord of eagles, who are thus represented as his subordinates. To the left Shiva and his wife appear in a half male and half female form, with a similar *entourage*, and with his bull, the wild forest *gava*, which in Vedic times was eaten. A fourth *bas relief* shows Shiva with his bashful bride pushed forward by a ministering attendant, while before them kneels a priest with a vessel containing the bridal oil. In another part is a fifth, representing the two in the enjoyment of connubial felicity in their kailas or heaven, upheld by Ravan, the demon king of Ceylon. In a sixth group we have Shiva as Bhairava, terrible in form and fierce in aspect, with a garland of

human skulls around his neck, and performing a human sacrifice. We pause before this in horror and sadness, as we think of the age which could revel in the beliefs that colossal figure embodies. In one hand he holds a child upraised, a second brandishes a naked sword, a third has a bell to give warning of the fatal act, a fourth holds a vessel to receive the blood, while a fifth extends a screen ready to be dropped over the scene when the deed is done. And this is still the most popular of the Hindoo idols—this typifies the essence of Hindooism, and above it all are cut the mystic letters AUM or OM. We need not go over the other groups—in one the god and his wife are quarrelling, in others he appears as an ascetic surrounded by ascetics, in another is his elephant-headed, large-bellied son, Gunputi, and a procession of women carrying infants. We do not wonder at the Portuguese fathers who, when they entered this place, thought it to be an abode of devils transformed into stone as a punishment for their horrible wickedness, and, with iconoclastic folly, proceeded to deface the carvings.

"What an example of the gradual deterioration of Hindooism, as of all merely human religious systems, are these Elephanta excavations. The abominable, though still favourite personage, to whose deeds they are consecrated, is a being unknown even so late as the days of Munoo. Shiva is, in meaning, the productive one; but functions have been ascribed to him by sensual worshippers which have gradually led him to monopolise the whole pantheon. One of his names denotes that he is lord of all beasts, and then he has a trident and a bull. Another shows that he is the lord of prosperity; and as to the peasant all prosperity comes from the rivers which rise in ice-clad hills, he is the lord of mountains, and his wife is Parvatee, or mountain-born, and Doorga, or mountain-daughter. Dwelling in snows he must be an ascetic, and must preside over storms, so that he has stolen the Vedic name of Rudra. It follows that he is the lord of destruction and of great power; whence his name, Mahableshwar. At a very recent date his vile devotees borrowed for him, from the devil-worshipping aborigines, the symbol of the Linga. In a frenzy of adoration his worshippers call him—as may be heard every morning at sunrise from Gungootree to Saugur all down the Ganges—Mahadeva, the great god, the sun-god. Dissatisfied with the eclectic arrangement of the Puranas, which assigned to Brahma the function of the prayer-hearer, to Vishnoo that of the preserver, and to Shiva that of the destroyer, the devotees of the last claimed for him all three, and have embodied their belief in the colossal Trimoorti of Elephanta.

"What was the age which grovelled before so filthy a Belial as

this Shiva, and tunnelled for him such splendid temples as those of Elephanta, Salsette, and the Kailas of Elora? Dr Wilson agrees with Mr. Fergusson that it was that of the Chola Rajas, or the first half of the ninth century after Christ. The Lingaits, who are pictured on the rocks, did not, as a sect, appear in South India till that time, and the Chola Rajas were their patrons, wealthy and powerful enough to undertake such excavations. The Brahmanical rock-mansions are the most appropriate places for the study of that marvellous production of Southey's, the *Curse of Kehama*. The poet's imagination, feeding upon much reading and considerable erudition, has reproduced in that work the magnificent horrors of Hindooism with a reality which the visitor to the Caves of Elephanta, alike with the spectator of the cruel worship of Jugganath, can fully understand."[1]

Very different are the excavations at Karla, on the crest of the Western Ghauts, a few miles from Khandalla, near the head of the Bhore Ghaut, where Dr. Wilson heard Sir John Malcolm boast that he had made the first road, and saw not very many years after the magnificent works by which the present railway has ascended the heights on its way to Madras. Standing there, looking down on rich Bombay and round on the plains which stretch away to the Dekhan till they dip into the Bay of Bengal, the traveller, as he recalls the glories of Asoka's reign, feels that in these two thousand years Brahmanism and Muhammadanism have together denied to Southern Asia the splendour and the happiness which Buddhism then vainly promised, and Christianity now renders possible. From Khandalla a ride of ten miles takes the visitor to the foot of the amygdaloidal trap cliff of Karla, which the early Buddhists selected for their rock-mansions, with a regard to the picturesque and the comfortable worthy of their Cistercian imitators in this country.

"The ascent is easy, and the wretched Brahmanical guides, who are on the look-out for visitors, soon bring the stranger face to face with the most complete and architecturally most beautiful of the excavations in India, which are surpassed in antiquity only by the caves of Elora.

[1] *The Friend of India*, 22d June 1865.

In the far distance may be seen the smoke of the engines which are toiling up the Bhore Ghaut, a work pronounced by the natives themselves to be superior in difficulty and ingenuity, as well as utility, to the structures which they ascribe to the agency of the mythical Pandavas. The missionary has no longer any difficulty in convincing the ignorant Hindoos of the human origin of the Buddhist caves, unless indeed those of them who still consider railway engineers to be gods come down in the likeness of men.

"The visitor sees before him in the face of the hard rock what seems to be the approach to a gloomy cathedral, and when he enters he finds a vaulted building with pillared aisles, resembling, as Mr. Fergusson says, in arrangement and dimensions the choir of Norwich Cathedral. This tunnelled choir is the finest specimen extant of a Buddhist *chaitya* or temple. The vault is of horse-shoe shape, and there, in a wonderful state of preservation, are the wooden rafters which in Asoka's days must have lined the whole. In front of the temple is a wall-screen supporting a gallery, which is supposed to have been devoted to musicians. Running up from this on either side is a colonnade, the pillars having sculptured capitals; and at the end, where in a Christian church the altar would be placed, is the usual sculptured mass of rock called *Dhagob*, or receptacle of the relics of Buddha. Milton's 'dim, religious light' is excelled in effect by the awful gloom of this temple. The sculptures generally represent the aboriginal tribes doing obeisance to Buddha. We pass into the porch and find two recesses bounded by the wall-screen, and then outside the famous lion pillar, a monolith of exquisite architectural proportions, its capital supporting four figures of lions. This commemorative *stambha* seems to have been accompanied by another, the remains of which can be seen. We pass along the face of the rock for a slight distance to the *vihara*, or monastery, the second part of these vast groups of excavations. There, in cells leading off from great halls of two or three storeys, lived the *Bikshus* or cenobite mendicant monks, and not far from them are the detached cells reserved for the hermits. Besides the temple and the monastic cells we have the third provision of a *shala* or hall, in which the chapter must have met, and another reserved for the accommodation of pilgrims; while the establishment is completed by *annasatras*, or hospices, from which food was distributed to travellers. Not the least wonderful are the *pondhis* or cisterns, ever fresh reservoirs of cool water, in some cases of great depth. The water we found most refreshing. These vast structures are all cut in the living rock, and must have occupied an amount of time and labour not less than that required for the erection of the

pyramids. The finest cathedrals of Europe, from the Glasgow crypt and York Minster to St. Peter's and St. Paul's without the walls of Rome, do not excite such emotions as the Karla temple, lighted up only from the great arch at the doorway, by rays which fall directly on the dhagob, and with pillared aisles so arranged that the spectator imagines great vistas behind them dying away in the solemn gloom. Yet this glorious structure was dedicated to the worship of a man who taught doctrines which fell little short of atheism and materialism.

"When were the splendid rock-mansions of Karla excavated? Dr. Wilson says before the close of the third century B.C., and Professor Lassen agrees with him. Sakhya Muni, whose protest against the Brahmanical priestcraft which followed the close of the simpler Vedic age led to the foundation of Buddhism, died B.C. 543. In B.C. 263 Asoka despatched missionaries to propagate the faith in all the provinces from Kandahar to Ceylon. Of the disciple sent to the Maratha country it is said in the *Mahawanso* that he ordained thirteen thousand priests, and that eighty-four thousand persons attained the sanctification of the *Marga* or way. At this time the excavations were made, beginning with the most southerly at Elora. Then followed the Karla caves, which bear an inscription, thus translated by Dr. Wilson—'By the victorious and most exalted sovereign this rock-mansion has been established, the most excellent in Jambudwipa' (the generic name of India). The mention of a Yavan or Greek as having presented a pillar in the interior of the Karla caves, leads to the suspicion that Greeks had to do with their construction, just as Italians are believed to have aided in the elaboration of that triumph of modern architecture, the Taj Mahal. The earliest of the Buddhist rock-mansions were cut in the middle of the third century before Christ. The latest imitations of them are the Jain excavations, devoted to Parisnath, at Elora, which were made A.D. 1234."

When forwarding a copy of his *Memoir* to Professor Lassen, through Professor H. H. Wilson, at Oxford, Dr. Wilson wrote on the 3d December 1850 :—

"You will be glad to see that since my return to India several most important antiquities, long overlooked, have been brought to light. I should like to know how far you think I have succeeded in answering Professor H. H. Wilson's objections to the Buddhist character of the oldest of the rock-inscriptions of Girnár, and what you think of my conjecture that the *Devanam piya piyadasina* of these inscriptions

may be the *Devananpiatisso* of the *Mahawanso*. Any hints you may be disposed to give me about the prosecution of our further researches will be very acceptable. Along with the copy of my little *Memoir*, I have addressed one to your care for the Society of German Orientalists. I was much obliged to you for proposing me as a corresponding member of that most promising institution; and I beg you to thank the Society in my behalf for the honour which they have conferred upon me. The diploma of the Society—to which, as having been sent to me, reference is made by Professor Rödiger, in a letter addressed by him to my friend Mr. Isenberg—has not reached me; but I have received some numbers of the Society's Journal, which I highly value, and the continuation of which I shall be delighted to receive, making such an acknowledgment of them as the literary resources of Bombay may put in my power.

"I am glad to notice in the last number of your own Journal a translation of Mr. Walter Elliot's paper on the language of the Gonds. I take this tribe to be the *Kandali* or *Gondale* of Ptolemy.[1] The *Parvari* of the same author are undoubtedly the *Mahars* of our Maráthee country, who constantly distinguish themselves by this appellation, which may have some connection with the Rajpoot *Pramárs*, who, from the well-known legend of the *Agnikulas*, do not appear to have been of the Aryan race. If the *Bolingæ* or *Biolingæ* of Ptolemy are not mistakes for *Teiling* or *Tenlingi*, they may be intended to represent the *Bheels*. I am finding more and more remains of the Turanian language even among the mountain and forest tribes north of the Krishna, though they are more visible in particular vocables than grammatical forms. Of the later Scythian immigrations into India, I see indications in the *Sakháit* (Scythian) Kathis, from whom the province of *Káthiáwár* (the peninsula of Goojarat) derives its name. Ptolemy gives to this province the name of *Indo-Scythia*. I intend to revisit it next month, when I hope to be able to explore more fully than I have yet done the neighbourhood of Girnár, Walabhi, etc. Offer my kind regards to Mr. König. I have got a few Sanscrit pamphlets to send to him by the first opportunity."

"Bonn, 22*d April* 1851.—My Dear Sir.—I have had the pleasure of receiving your kind letter of the 3d December last, and the copy of your *Memoir* on the cave-temples and monasteries, and other ancient remains of the Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina religions of

[1] Query: Are these the originals of the *Chandals* of the Brahmanical books?—J. W.

Western India, which you had the goodness to present me with. I have read it with great profit, it being the first complete account of these remains. I am glad to learn that several important monuments of this kind, hitherto overlooked, have lately been discovered, and that the Indian Government has taken the necessary steps for their preservation and description before it would be too late. Your *Memoir* possesses an additional value for me because I have not been able to procure the historical researches of Thomas Bird, Esq., in which an account is given of some of the cave-temples. I agree with you in identifying the king *Devanam piya piyadasina* of the inscription at Girnar and in other places with *Asoka*. Besides the testimony of the *Mahawanso*, I adduce as a proof of their identity the repetition of that title by his successor *Dajaratha*, with the difference that he usually adds his own name to distinguish himself from his predecessor. Another instance of a title being used instead of a proper name by the Buddhists is the name *Dhannanvardhana*, given to Asoka's son *Kunâta* II., 270. As Asoka's authorship of the inscription found at Bhatra, can hardly be doubted, it may be presumed that also the others are to be ascribed to him. The chronological difficulty that *Maya*, who died 256 B.C., is mentioned in an inscription dated 246, I have proposed to obviate by the supposition that Asoka, shortly after his accession, had sent ambassadors to the Greek kings, and therefore recorded their names in his inscriptions.—*Ind. Ant, ii.*, 242. It is true that no allusions to any of the names of Buddha occur in them, *stupas* and *viharas* are however spoken of in the inscriptions of Dhauli, and the Bo tree appears with its sacred character in them.—*Ind. Ant. ii.*, 256. I may add that the prominent place which *dhann* occupies in the mind of the author of the inscriptions, speaks for his having been a Buddhist, and that Professor Wilson's hypothesis, that the shadow of a name should have been made use of in order to give authority to the promulgation, appears to me highly improbable.

"For the communication of the Nos. 77 and 95-97 of the Overland Summary of the *Christian Spectator*, I am particularly grateful, having found in them the translation of a part of my Indian Antiquities, and your interesting journal of your tour in Sindh. I should be highly delighted to receive the continuation of the first. I have, as you desired, presented your thanks to the Society of German Orientalists, and forwarded the copy of your *Memoir* to its secretary. I am sorry to learn from your letter that your diploma had not yet arrived. I have forwarded it through the same bookseller who sends the numbers of the *Zeitschrift* of that

Society; the last was the first of the fifth volume. You would oblige me much by letting me know whether you have received the diploma and all the numbers of the Journal formerly sent out, that I may inquire into the matter, and take care that in future no irregularity of that kind takes place.

"I have, in several passages of my work, i. pp. 20 and 101, stated my opinion that names of the original tribes were applied to the mixed castes from some prominent peculiarity of the former, and adduced the *Ghandali* as an instance, because they are mentioned by Ptolemy by the same name, *Kandali*. The *Gonds* seem to me to have no connection with them. Ptolemy's *Parvari* are very likely the same as the *Parvari*, or *Mahars*. I doubt whether the *Bolinga* may be the originals of the Telinga, because *Bhutirya* is found as the name of a country, though in a different situation. The originals of the *Bheels* are certainly the *Phyllotse* of Ptolemy. I think you are right in seeing indications of the Scythic immigration in *Sakhait Khathi* of the peninsula of Goojarat. I recommend much for your perusal a Memoir of *Vivien de Saint Martin*, published two years ago at Paris, in which it has been proved that the *Yuctahs* are of Tibetan origin, and not different from the white Huns, and that the Indian *Jàts* are their descendants.

"The second part of the second volume of my *Indian Antiquities* is at present going through the press. I hope to have it finished towards the end of the year. Mr. König has asked me to present his respectful compliments to you.—I am, my dear Sir, with great regard, your truly devoted CHR. LASSEN."

The correspondence of Dr. Wilson and Professor Westergaard at this time is so besprinkled with Zand words and letters, used in discussions referring to the latter's great edition of the Avasta text, as to be hopeless for quotation. One of the volumes was dedicated to the Bombay missionary. On the 21st of July 1857 Westergaard communicated to Dr. Wilson his publication of his edition of the Pahlavi *Bundehesh*, or original creation, "from a very old manuscript copy that Rask brought home from India." Dr. Wilson had written to Dr. Murray Mitchell—

"I am pleased at being anticipated by you in a notice of the papers of Drs. Spiegel and Roth, with which I have been engaged for some days. Mr. Westergaard wrote to me some time ago intimating his

opinion, that he had come to the conclusion that the principal personages of the Zand-Avasta, including Zoroaster, whom he has inclined to consider the planet Mercury, are entirely *mythical*. Dr. Roth's speculations are entirely in harmony with this idea. I feel a peculiar interest in them, because some of the analogies to which he refers had struck my own attention, as you will see from the notes at pp. 295 and 400 of my work *The Parsi Religion*. I have long been of opinion, and have taught, that the Vedic and ancient Persian worship are nearly identical in their religious principles. Bopp, I think, was the first to point out, from literal resemblance, the identity of *Homa* and *Soma;* and his opinion was acquiesced in by Burnouf. Burnouf identifies *Yimo* with *Yama;* but, *as far as I know*, I am the first person who has quoted the passage from the ninth *Há* of the Yaçna, which passage forms the ground-work of Dr. Roth's paper, and identified Vivanghas with Vivasvan. Burnouf may have made this identification in some article which I have not seen, or do not remember.

"Mr. Westergaard while advocating the extreme antiquity of the Zand language and mythus, and the genuineness of certain fragments in the Zand-Avasta, holds that the compilation of the Zand-Avasta probably took place in the days of Ardeshír Babegan, when the work, as appears from its frequent defiance of grammar and sense, was much corrupted and interpolated, and this to a great extent from being collected from imperfect recitations."

To his Brother-in-law he writes—

"Bombay, 15*th March* 1852.

"My Dear Mr. Dennistoun.—We have just returned from an extended journey together in the British Dekhan and Khándesh, in the course of which we have incidentally seen some of the greatest wonders of the west of India, both natural and artificial. Amongst the latter are the celebrated excavated temples and monasteries of Elora, Ajuntá, and other localities. We wished you had been with us to assist us in forming our judgment of their architectural forms, and sculptured and painted figures and ornaments, which, in the case of Ajuntá, are as old as the Christian era, and probably the workmanship of Bactrian artists introduced into India by its Buddhist sovereigns when their dominions touched on the Macedonian conquests to the north of India. They throw a flood of light on the manners and customs of this great country in ancient times, of which so little is known. Copies of some of the paintings you may see in the Museum at the India House.

"On the course of our tour I perused the whole of the *Dukes of*

Urbino, in the copy which you so kindly presented to Isabella and myself. I felt even greater interest in the work than when I dipped into the copy received for the library of our Asiatic Society. I think that it is needed for the completeness of Italian history; and that, in abundance of research, judiciousness of compilation and digest, vigour of style, and copiousness of illustration, it is all that can be desiderated. You have in every respect done the Dukes ample justice, without making them idols, when dealing with them as the heroes of your history. The collateral information which you have associated with them, though *their* position and actings are not always worthy of it, is most interesting in itself, and must be highly valued by the antiquarian, the artist, the historian, and the litterateur. I like much your pen-portraits of the poets, painters, and popes. With the accompanying engravings they give us a better idea of their *personnel* than we can get elsewhere. Though your work is too weighty and worthy for light readers, it will find its way to all good public and private libraries; and it will be a standard authority on the subjects of which it treats. Who wrote the notice of it in the *Edinburgh?* The *Revue des Deux Mondes*, with an article upon it, has just come to our Asiatic Society's library. I should like to know how the work is received in Italy. We get no Italian periodicals here, except the transactions of some of the learned Societies, though we have the best library in Asia."

To Mr. BUCHAN of Kelloe.

"BOMBAY, 12*th September* 1853.—During the past year the railway system has been introduced into India. It is certainly calculated to promote the interests of civilisation, but its desecration of the Sabbath is a sad drawback. We are anxious about the improvement of the steam navigation to Bombay, as various disasters have occurred in consequence of bad arrangements, and this monsoon a whole mail was lost on board a pilgrim ship, which went down with the loss of 186 souls. We have had a public meeting on the subject called by the Sheriff, and from the humane aspect of the subject I felt constrained to yield to the request of our merchants that I should take a part in the proceedings. We petition the Lords of the Treasury and the Directors of the East India Company."

Apart from the humane aspect of the question Dr. Wilson was in his right place as a leader in such a meeting, and no similar assembly for discussing questions involving the

moral and material good of the people of India or the prosperity of Bombay was held without him. It was in 1773 that a Mr. Holford had navigated the first English ship successfully from its harbour up the Red Sea to Suez. Niebuhr then wrote, "the passage has been found so short and convenient that the regency of Bombay now send their couriers by the way of Suez to England." Not till 1830 did Lord William Bentinck succeed in despatching the small Government steamer, the "Hugh Lindsay," from Bombay to Suez, after the failure of rewards to quicken the Cape voyage and open up the Euphrates route. But even that spent a month during March and April on a voyage which is now done regularly in twelve days, and will soon be accomplished in nine or ten. In 1843 the Peninsular and Oriental Company ran its first steamer from Suez to Calcutta. The development of railway communication in India was more rapid, thanks to Lord Dalhousie who had been paramount at the Board of Trade during the mania of 1848. What Lord Ellenborough had pronounced "moonshine" in 1843, when Sir M. Stephenson in eastern, Mr. Chapman in western, and Mr. Andrew in north-western India projected the railways which now pay from five to nine per cent, and are revolutionising native society and commerce, became an accomplished fact on the 16th April 1853. Then the first section completed in Asia was opened under a royal salute and the strains of the National Anthem, and the first train ran from Bombay island on to the mainland to Tanna, a distance of twenty-one miles. The twenty-one have now become nearly eight thousand.

On the lapse of the Satara territory the Beejapore library of Arabic works came into the possession of the Bombay Government, which asked Dr. Wilson to report on their value. In accordance with his suggestion the library was sent to the India Office. A catalogue raisonnée of it has since been made. At

a later period, when the University of Bombay received Dr. Haug's collection of MSS., Government consulted him on the question of the comparative injury to manuscripts by the climate of Western India. The reply is of permanent value :—

"The dangers to which the manuscripts are exposed in a tropical climate I have found to be the following :—1. Exposure to extreme heat and dry winds which curl up and otherwise injure the paper or skins on which they are written, and which render their ink pale and indistinct. 2. Exposure to damp, which injures the texture of their material, and which also makes their ink pale and indistinct. 3. Exposure to the white ant and fringe-tailed insect, which deposit in them their eggs, which, when hatched prove ravenous worms. 4. Exposure to dust containing minute particles of lime, which corrodes ink, and paper, and parchment. 5. Exposure to the ravages of rats, mice, and shrews, so abundant in warm countries.

"The first danger here specified is more likely to be encountered in the interior of India than on the coast. The second is more likely to be encountered on the coast than in the interior. The third is common more or less to all the provinces of India ; but on the whole, particularly in the matter of white ants, is more common in the interior than in Bombay. From the abundance of calcareous nodules in the Kunkur of the Dekhan, the mischief from lime is more likely to occur there than in Bombay, where there is comparatively little lime in the soil. The plague of vermin is universal in India. But on the whole I believe a fair conservation of manuscripts is practicable both in Bombay and the Dekhan. Rare and valuable manuscripts should be kept (wrapt up in calico) in boxes of camphor-wood within iron safes. Common and less valuable manuscripts may be kept in book-cases (with glass doors), on the shelves of which a little camphor is deposited. They should not be lodged with printed books, of which comparatively little care is taken. JOHN WILSON, D.D."

Soon after his return from Great Britain the Bombay Government expressed its anxiety to secure the services of Dr. Wilson as President of the Committee for the examination of civilians and officers in the native languages, vernacular and classical. The request recognised the missionary as the first scholar in Western India, and as better fitted than

any of the members of the services, civil or military, for the responsible duty of controlling examinations by which, long before those of the Civil Service Commissioners in this country, promotion and patronage in India had been wisely regulated. "Such an influential position might have been of use to him in various ways," Mrs. Wilson wrote to a friend in 1849, "and the services required would not have been for more than ten or twelve days in a year. However, he has declined, as he wishes to be quite free to give all his time and strength to missionary operations." In 1855 the proposal was thus received in a different, and to him unobjectionable because temporary form. The Secretary to Government thus addressed him :—

"BOMBAY CASTLE, 21*st November* 1855.

"With the view of enabling Government to judge whether any, and if so, what changes may be desirable in the constitution of the Civil and Military Examination Committee, the remuneration of its members and secretary, and the mode in which its business is transacted, both in and out of its Examination Sessions, I am desired to convey the request of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council that you will favour Government by examining into and reporting upon the efficiency and fairness of the present system, and stating your opinion as to any changes which you may consider called for. The members of the Examination Committee have been requested to meet you to give any information which you may require."

"31*st December* 1855.—Government will, I am desired to state, gladly avail themselves of your offer to occasionally attend the meetings of the Examination Committee, but they will feel still more gratified if you will do them the favour of acting as President of the Committee during its next session."

Dr. Wilson, who was associated with Major G. Pope, and Mr. Harkness, Principal of the Government College, gave himself to the work of inquiry, before report, with characteristic thoroughness. The constitution of the similar Examining Boards in Madras and Calcutta—the latter created by Lord Wellesley, and consisting of Dr. Sprenger, the first Arabic

scholar and biographer of Muhammad; Dr. K. M. Bannerjea, Dr. Duff's first convert; and Colonel N. Lees—was carefully studied in the light of his experience of the Bombay languages, people, and officials. The result was a report, submitted on the 15th August 1856, which has since regulated the professional examinations of Western India in the Oriental languages and literatures. The document, which called forth an expression of the thanks of Government, contains not only much information regarding such examinations, but a scheme for checking an arbitrary judgment on the part of examiners, which we commend to the Civil Service Commissioners, as sorely needed in the India Civil Service competitions at least.

Meanwhile, the Government of 1849 having failed to induce Dr. Wilson to act as official and permanent president of this Examination Committee, the Government of 1854 thus tried, most honourably, to attract to the public service what would have been the leisure time of most other men. The great Carey had long held a similar office, first as Professor in Lord Wellesley's College of Fort-William, and then as translator and examiner, while the same translatorship is to this hour worthily filled by a Baptist minister, the son of one of his colleagues. Connected with no society, early thrown upon their own resources for the spread of Christianity in Bengal, Carey, Marshman, Ward, and Mr. J. C. Marshman, C.S.I., contributed some £60,000 of their own earnings during half a century for missionary purposes, maintaining at one time so many as twenty-six agents besides themselves. In the case of the Scottish Churches the circumstances are very different, but the temptations held out to the ablest missionaries by the various departments of Government are not less specious and attractive. The Private Secretary thus addressed Dr. Wilson, whose reply may be imagined from his letter to Dr. Tweedie:—

"PARELL, *March* 11, 1854.

"MY DEAR SIR.—I am desired by the Governor to acquaint you of his intention, should it be acceptable to you, of appointing you Oriental translator to Government. The appointment has been created on the occasion of doing away with the Deputy Secretaryship in the Persian Department."

To DR. TWEEDIE.

"14*th April* 1854.—We have lately had favourable accounts from Abyssinia. Our native converts consider the agency there as primarily *their* mission, contributing to its support to their utmost ability, though it is principally, from their lack of adequate means, dependent on other resources. Their duty of contributing to the spread of the Gospel is amply recognised by them, though most of them are in some capacity or other themselves missionary agents. We are anxious to have an industrial establishment instituted for the converts and catechumens in Bombay, as a counteractive of the combinations and excommunications of caste. A regular source of legitimate missionary revenue in the care of all our institutions, we see in the encouragement of the natives in general to contribute, partially at least, to the education of their children. In this way we have, from the commencement of our Institution here, got a small sum annually from this source, which we have applied discretionally for its benefit from time to time, especially in providing prizes and school equipments. But something, I am persuaded, of a more systematic nature may easily be accomplished, and that without injury to the distinctly evangelistic feature of our operations. Self-expansion is a desideratum in every Christian institution.

"In connection with what I have now stated to you, I ought perhaps to mention that our new Governor, Lord Elphinstone, within the last few weeks made the offer to me of the superintendence of the work of Government Oriental Translation, which would occupy only a definite portion of my time, without interfering substantially with my missionary engagements, and at the same time secure a remuneration by which I could support a couple of additional missionaries, or enable me to contribute directly to the missionary cause the equivalent of the average annual income of our Auxiliary Society, which receives from us much care, and makes a considerable demand on our time for correspondence with Christian friends in various parts of the country. Without consulting any friend, I at once declined the proposal, with grateful acknowledgment of the kindnesses in which I know it originated. I did this because I believe that it is not the duty of any

minister of the Gospel to assume any secular engagement, however productive to the cause of Christ in a pecuniary point of view, while the Christian Church is willing to give him fair support in devoting himself wholly to the ministry of the Word and prayer, and to efforts subordinate and auxiliary to this ministry; and because I am of opinion that all our exertions in stirring up our brethren to contribute to the missionary cause, even when we could, by a partial secularisation of ourselves, maintain or extend the operations already in existence, are themselves of a spiritual character—the calling upon Christian men to discharge a Christian duty. On my mentioning this to Mr. Molesworth —the author of our admirable Marathee Dictionary, one of the most devoted Christians in India, and whose views of Church order generally agree with those of the brethren at Plymouth—he at once said, 'You have done quite right; no amount of pecuniary compensation can be put in the scale with the entirety of your missionary service.' I think we would be unanimous in our mission in a cause of this kind. For the extension of the missionary enterprise both at home and abroad we must trust to the promises, and providence, and Spirit of God. Though respected brethren in all the Churches may tell us that they 'see a limit' to their benevolent gifts or the spread of the blessed Gospel, we must, like Nelson, turn our blind eye to this signal of intermission, and act as if it were never made. The more our souls sympathise with the risen aud exalted Saviour, who now travails in ceaseless intercession for the accomplishment of the number of His elect and the establishment of His kingdom, the more readily shall we write *Holiness to the Lord* on all our possessions and acquirements. You will see from our report that last year we raised Rs. 7542 for our Bombay Mission. When the contributions for Poona and Satara are added, we perceive that we have had here a missionary income of £1200, exclusive of £400 raised for the purposes of the Free Church congregation to which we minister during the vacancy. Even this liberality may be much increased. It is the principal source of the support of our educational establishments. The permission which you give us, in your last most acceptable letter, of proceeding with the ordination of Mr. Narayan, will be acted upon as soon as possible. What our hopes are in connection with his ministry you well know."

When alluding to the offer of this appointment in a letter to Miss Douglas, Dr. Wilson wrote, "I declined acceptance, as I wish to be, what I have been since the beginning, *only a missionary*." Next to his ministrations to the spiritual needs

of the people of India his philanthropic interest in the efforts of the Government to save their bodies came hardly second. From the discovery of the practice of the murder of their female children by the proud and poor Rajkoomars of Benares by Jonathan Duncan in 1789, and the same Governor's attempts to put down the crime in Kathiawar, to which the Greek and Latin writers on India had drawn his attention as prevalent then at Barygaza or Broach, Dr. Wilson had joyously chronicled the facts down to the successful efforts of his early friend Colonel Walker. These had been more recently followed by the measures wisely devised by Sir J. P. Willoughby, Colonels Lang and Le Grand Jacob, and Mr. Malet and other officers, whose humane administration Dr. Wilson was in the habit of illustrating in lectures to the natives and in the press as "gratifying records of British benevolence." Thus he created a healthy native opinion on the crime, and stimulated Government to renewed vigilance, while he did justice to some of the most solid triumphs in the history of philanthropy in the East. On the 27th April 1857 he thus addressed Sir J. P. Willoughby. The result was, as he wrote to Dr. Tweedie, that Lord Elphinstone's Government submitted to impartial Christian review "the whole proceedings from first to last in connection with the great philanthropic, political, and judicial efforts for the suppression of the awful crime of infant murder." The Court of Directors warmly encouraged the undertaking, at a time when the question of what proved to be the last renewal of their Charter—that of 1853—was about to come before Parliament, and works like Sir John Kaye's history of its administration were being prepared in its defence. It was well that the Company enjoyed, on this side at least, the defence of one whose advocacy was all the more effectual that it was purely disinterested and non-political.

"It has occurred to me that after the happy issue of your wise,

kind, and strenuous efforts, mentioned by Major Lang, the time has now come for the publication of a succinct historical memoir of all the endeavours, with their various results, made by the Bombay Government for the suppression of the fearful crime. That work I am most willing to undertake as a gratifying record of most important blessings, the fruit of British rule, and as a token of the humble gratitude felt by many to the Government and its members and officials for the warm interest which they have ever evinced in the cause of philanthropy, provided it appear acceptable to them, and they will assist in securing its circulation in those quarters, both in India and home, where its influence may be most likely to be useful. I mention this to you for the consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, should you see fit in any form to lay the matter before the Board. I have no selfish end to procure in the proposal which I make. In early life I enjoyed the friendship of Colonel Walker when I lived under the roof of the Rev. Dr. Cormack, whom he chose as the historian of his efforts in India. I am well acquainted with the province and people of Kathiawar, with their past history, and with all that has been done for their amelioration. And I am only desirous of bringing into notice those bloodless conquests of love and peace, which are too apt to be overlooked, and which our nation should know, particularly at a time when the Government of India must pass under public review."

The *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India under the Government of Bombay, including notices of the Provinces and Tribes in which the Practice has prevailed*, was published early in 1855, and obtained a wide circulation. When, in 1870, the outbreak of the crime in Northern India led Sir William Muir to prepare, and the Government of India to pass, Act VIII. of that year, and the census of 1871 supplied new facts, Dr. Wilson was invited by the Bombay Government to review the state of the districts to which the preventive legislation was to be applied. A few months before his death he accordingly wrote a preface to Mr. H. R. Cooke's report.[1] In Kathiawar, it was proved, the crime had ceased as a custom of the Jadejas, the proud descendants of

[1] No. 147 of the New Series of *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government.*

the Yadavas of the Mahabharat epic. But the number of girls unbetrothed and unmarried was increasing, because no Rajpoot tribe in India will take a wife from its own proper or paternal clan, and the Jadejas were unpopular because of occasional intermarriage with Muhammadans. To the advance of an education and a civilisation which recognise the place of unmarried females in well-being and well-doing in the general community, Dr. Wilson looked for a permanent remedy while suggesting local ameliorations. But the only immediate check on the crime must be based on a general registration of births and deaths, such as the coming decennial census of 1881 should make a preliminary attempt to render possible amid so vast and varied and suspicious a population. Sir H. L. Anderson, when secretary to the Bombay Government, expressed to Dr. Wilson the congratulation of the Governor in Council on "the very able and successful" manner in which he had turned to account his access to the records connected with infanticide.

In 1848 Dr. Wilson had been consulted by the Government as to the publication of a revised edition of the Marathee and English dictionary compiled by Mr. Molesworth and George and Thomas Candy twenty years before. In Marathee as in Bengalee and to a less degree in the other vernaculars of India, the influence of a detailed knowledge of the people, English administration and education, and the progress of scholarship in the classical tongues from which the popular dialects are fed, had developed the vocabularies, and somewhat revealed or modified the grammatical expression of these vernaculars. Dr. Wilson replied that Mr. Molesworth's "unequalled attainments in the Marathee language, his experience in lexicography, and his acquaintance already with some thousands of unrecorded words," pointed him out as best qualified for the undertaking. In truth Dr. Wilson had, in his tours and his intercourse with the peasantry

as well as the learned Brahmans of Maharashtra, himself made extensive collections of words new to printed literature, which he had freely communicated to Mr. Molesworth. The result was the appearance in 1857 of the massive quarto which forms the second edition of a work pronounced to stand in the very first rank of dictionaries. Dr. Wilson was the more anxious to see Marathee thus satisfactorily placed among the few languages of men of which a satisfactory lexicon has been made, that the wants of Government and the public in connection with Goojaratee might be supplied. This was done by the Parsee convert Shapoorjee Eduljee eleven years afterwards, in an octavo volume of some nine hundred pages. But it should not be forgotten that in Marathee, as in forty of the languages of our Indian subjects and Chinese neighbours, Carey had first provided a dictionary in 1810, as well as a grammar and translation of the Scriptures. Besides his indirect contribution to the Marathee Dictionary of nearly a thousand quarto pages, Dr. Wilson prefaced it with what even the Germans would pronounce a model monograph, under the title of "Notes on the Constituent Elements, the Diffusion and the Application of the Marathee Language." A wealth of learning and information is scattered over the text and notes, while the summary with illustrative extracts of the four periods of Marathee literature is delightfully readable. He passes in review the early poetry, associating the popular gods of Western India with a modified pantheism, which preceded the rise of Sivajee; the brilliant era of Tukaram to the rise of the Peshwas; the strains of the priestly Moropant and the beginnings of prose chronicles under the Peshwas; and finally the British period, which began in 1818. As the Serampore missionaries created a Bengalee language and literature in the literary sense, so religion and philanthropy were the moving powers in generating and extending what may be denominated the reformed authorship of Maharashtra, from Mountstuart

Elphinstone to his nephew Lord Elphinstone, and the present day. "Its most valuable monument" Dr. Wilson declared to be "the translation of the whole of the Bible, by several hands, into the language of the people." The Notes thus conclude—"The reformed Marathee literature, and the introduction of typography and lithography into the West of India, have brought about a reaction in the native mind. There has been a *reproduction* of the olden literature. This result will not ultimately prove injurious to the cause of truth. It has furnished the means of comparison and judgment; and it will only enhance the victory when, by a higher influence than that of man, it is eventually secured."[1]

For some time Dr. Wilson had contemplated a new work on Muhammadanism, to take the place of his early *Refutation;* but he seems to have been soon drawn entirely to an attempt to grapple with the only enemy he had not yet directly attacked in the press. At every turn, as a missionary, a scholar, and a man, in closer social intercourse with the natives than any other foreigner, he was met by Caste. He had early set himself to the mastery of its origin and the secret of its power, and he had in his multifarious reading of the Hindoo literature noted the passages on the subject, from the *Rig-Veda* to the latest *Pooran.* He contemplated the early publication of an elaborate work on the subject, and in 1857 he was able to put to press the first volume. But his missionary work was too exacting, and his own ideal of an exhaustive treatment of the question on which Hindooism hangs in the last resort, was too high to permit him to yield to the solicitations of his friends not to delay. The prospect of the taking of the first census of the people of India, finally accomplished only in 1871-2, was a further reason, to his

[1] Dr. Wilson was the first to observe that the verses of the tailor Namdeva, the oldest popular poet of the Marathas, and contemporary with Kabeer, occur in that strange medley, the *Granth* of the Sikhs. See Dr. Trumpp's translation, also page 444 of this volume.

mind, for toiling at a work, for the perfecting of which he maintained a large correspondence with learned Brahmans for many years, from the venerable Rada Kishn, Runjeet Singh's pundit at Lahore, to the Namboories of Travancore. The result was that in publication he was anticipated by other scholars, notably by Mr. John Muir, D.C.L., in the invaluable *Sanskrit Texts*, and death left his work a splendid fragment. The first volume, virtually prepared and printed at this period, is a careful review of the origin and development of Caste as seen in Sanscrit, Buddhist, and Greek literature. The second volume, which begins a description of the castes as they are, does not proceed further than the most important of them all, the Brahmanical. The criticism of the book by so competent a writer as Mr. Rhys Davids may be accepted—"The thoroughness of the work he has done gives rise to the regret that he should have been unable to complete the inquiry."[1]

What contemporary as well as subsequent criticism, however, has recognised as the ablest of all the publications that Dr. Wilson threw off as mere bye-works almost every year, is his *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, or the social state of the Aryas on the banks of the Indus in the times of the Vedas, which appeared in 1858. Mr. Max Müller's *Chips* were then unknown, and his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* was only promised in the preface to his edition of the *Rig-Veda*. To the English reading public, both in India and elsewhere, this popular treatise of some ninety pages was the first revelation of what has long since become common-place. It was written with a grace as well as a power which so charmed all that the most competent critic, in the *Friend of India* of that day, thus took the author to task—"We wish some of the thousand friends of Dr. Wilson would compel him to

[1] *The Academy*, 6th July 1878.

do the public and himself a little justice. With a pen of unequalled clearness and learning, of which few are competent to measure the extent, he persists in wasting his strength on erudite little essays. . . . The world is craving for a painting with the details all filled in and bright with life and colour. It is Dr. Wilson's duty to supply the want, and he has no more right to leave the work to inferior artists than Titian to sell studies as finished productions." But Dr. Wilson was so much the Christian philanthropist that even his learning is saturated with his love for man in the highest sense, as expressed sometimes after a curious fashion. This is a note to this very treatise—"The MS. copy of the *Rig-Veda*, in my possession for many years, and which I originally acquired for J. S. Law, Esq., of the Bombay Civil Service, is a Christian trophy surrendered by a Brahman convert to Christianity, baptized at Bankote by the Rev. James Mitchell." Dr. Wilson would never have written his best book but for the public good. He prepared the nucleus of it as one of a course of lectures to the Bombay Mechanics' Institute, projected under "the considerate and vigorous government" of Lord Elphinstone. Other public lectures which belong to this period, but have not yet seen the light in a complete form, are those on the "Progress of Oriental Research in connection with Religious Inquiry," and on "The Six Schools of Indian Philosophy," delivered at the request of the Bombay Dialectic Association.

To Professor CH. LASSEN, Bonn.

"BOMBAY, 11*th September* 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR.—I have the pleasure of forwarding to you a series of photographs by my friend Mr. W. Johnson, illustrative of the Caves of Kárlá, with illustrative text from my own hand. They form the best specimens of the photographic art as applied in India; and as correctly representing our most interesting Buddhist remains; they could not be better bestowed than on the distinguished author of the *Indische Alterthumskunde*. I hope that they will reach you in safety

and be accepted by you as a token of my respect and esteem. The text accompanying the photographs is merely an extract from a popular lecture which I lately delivered to our local Mechanics' Institution. You will see from its eighth page that I attribute the original construction of the Caves of Kárlá to the Emperor *Asoka*. I found on the oldest of all their inscriptions, that above the elephants to the left of the porch, the greater portion of which you will see in one of the photographs. The form of the letters in this inscription is like that of the Girnár tablets; and the plan of the excavations befits the great Emperor. They are in a locality such as he would choose—the mouth of the easiest pass through the Sáhya Mountains to the Konkan.

"We are not making much real progress in the West of India in a sure decipherment of the cave inscriptions, though some of them we read at the first glance of the eye. Mr. Brett's copies, the foundation of the transliteration and translations of my friend the late Dr. Stevenson, have been found to be not so trustworthy as could be desired. A learned Brahman, Vishnoo Shastree, employed for some considerable time principally in converting the Magadhee of the inscriptions into the corresponding Sanscrit (as is quite necessary for the verification of any translations) has just died with his work incomplete and unedited, and but little appreciated by those who, on the one hand, have a shorter method of satisfying themselves with results, and, on the other, little sympathy with the errors into which every pundit is prone to fall. The work, it is obvious, must be left to private enterprise.

"I have at present a work on Caste in the press. I need not tell you how much I have been indebted in preparing it to your previous researches in Indian history. In connection with it I have been lately going over the Vedic works to which I have access. Last year I visited Rajpootana. The most curious fact I noticed there was that the temple of Brahma, at the Pokhur lake (mentioned by Colonel Tod), is not under the care of the Hindoo priesthood but of voluntary devotees.

"I suppose, from your plan, that your great work on India will soon come to its close. All will be thankful if you are spared to finish it. I am, my dear Sir, very truly and respectfully yours,

"JOHN WILSON."

From Professor GOLDSTÜCKER.

"LONDON, *September* 3, 1862.

"DEAR SIR.—The extreme kindness with which you exerted yourself on behalf of the literary wishes I some time ago expressed to our mutual and excellent friend Mr. John Muir, while laying me under

the deepest obligation to you, gives me the advantage of addressing these words to you not as a total stranger, for there is no link which connects human minds better than that of gratitude. Allow me therefore, in the first instance, to thank you most sincerely for your great obligingness in not only procuring me the book which Colonel Lang was good enough to bring home for me, but also enabling me to entertain hopes for getting a copy of the 'Mahábháshya' and 'Tutáta.' The price asked for the former deters me at present from availing myself of the offer, but I should feel very happy to possess 'Tutáta.' It may be desirable to ascertain whether the work, described by your pundit, is really that of 'Tutáta,' and not the 'Várttikas' of Kumarila, whom some late commentators—I believe wrongly—identify with the celebrated Mimansist; but as I do not wish to add to the inconvenience you so kindly have already incurred by asking you to verify this literary point, I shall gladly defer to your own judgment, and request your pundit to order the book for me if he considers it worth 150 rupees. In this case I should feel greatly obliged to you if you informed me whether you allow me to pay the amount to a Bombay firm in London or to a bookseller who is connected with Bombay.

"As I do not know whether Mr. Muir was kind enough, in a letter to you, to allude to the pursuits in which I am engaged, you allow me perhaps briefly to mention them; for I should feel truly happy if, by coinciding with yours, they enabled me to become useful to you.

"About twenty years ago I conceived the plan of collecting materials for a comprehensive history of Hindu philosophy. I began with the Púrva Mimánsá; but as it compelled me to enter into the endless domain of Vaidik researches, which at that time had scarcely been taken up by any one except Colebrooke, my progress was slow; and it is only now that I shall feel competent to lay some of my results before the public. As I intend to give first the principal works of each system—so far as they may not yet be known—I shall commence with the latest but the clearest Mimánsá work, Madhava's 'Jaiminiya-nyaya-mala-vistara' (60 sheets of which are already struck off); the next will be Jaimini's 'Sutras,' and then the 'Commentary' of Sabara, and the 'Várttikas' of Kumárila; and if possible older works amongst which I count that of Tutáta, to judge from quotations; which, however, are not safe enough to be entirely credible.

"Besides this branch of Sanskrit literature, it was especially the grammatical literature which occupied me most, partly because I felt convinced that it embodies the greatest scientific achievement of ancient India, and partly because it yields the only safe means for judging of

questions of ancient Hindu chronology. Its importance in this respect I endeavoured to show in one of my last publications (the introduction to the 'Mánava Kalpa Sutra'); and I may add that having been induced by a sharp attack of Professor Weber to re-examine the results I arrived at then, I shall have soon occasion of adducing further proof for their correctness, and of giving new results. Having thus become familiar with the 'Mahábháshya' and its commentaries, and having made very extensive indices of this portion of Sanscrit literature, it would have been my greatest desire to prepare a critical edition of the 'Mahábháshya,' for which my materials have been gradually collecting during twenty-two years; but the material difficulties which oppose themselves to such a plan are so great, that my intention, I fear, will have to remain amongst the *pia desideria* of my mind.

"Between these two directions my Dictionary, as you are probably aware, steers slowly along. It was originally intended (and actually commenced) as a third edition of Wilson's work; but necessity was stronger than myself, and in view of the reckless and unconscientious proceedings of the German Sanscrit Dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth, which, in my opinion, falsifies the very sources of Sanscrit studies, no choice is left to me but to go on as I do now. I should say, however, that I have now the possibility of bringing out three to four parts yearly, and that I hope thus to complete the work, if I am spared, in about eight years.

"I have encroached on your patience too much to venture in this letter on any questions of detail. I should feel delighted, however, if our correspondence gave me the possibility of entering into matters on which your life in India, and your intercourse with the pundits, enables you to entertain more unbiassed views than we may have in Europe. I am alluding, amongst others, to the interpretation of the *Vedas*. You know, no doubt, the sad havoc which is made in Germany of the greatest Hindu scholars and divines, and the supreme conceit with which a newfangled method of reading Vedic hymns has been started into life. It supersedes everything, and places the whole religious development of India into the air. As I am told by learned natives that there exists an *ancient* Tamul version of the *Vedas*, it would be a matter of great importance to ascertain whether such is the case, and if so, to compare Sayana's commentary with such a version. This is one of the many instances where it is necessary to be in India in order to obtain the materials required, and where we poor Europeans are left helpless.

"Muir's fourth volume of the *Original Sanskrit Texts* has progressed

as far as p. 240. This work is one of the most useful and of the most conscientious which have been published of late. The less it is pretending the greater its influence will be. Natives of rank whom I know here have admitted to me that their orthodoxy has received a very salutary shock by it. Its effect must necessarily be much greater than the *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy* by Professor Banerjea, which, though very cleverly written, do not do justice to Hindu philosophy.

"As I mentioned before, my preface to the M. K.·S., which is also separately printed under the title 'Pánini,' etc., I ought to have apologised to you for the pleasure I did myself to send you a copy of each, with the request of accepting them as a mark of my sincere regards, and of my gratitude for your great kindness. Being convinced of your indulgence, I could only have wished that this feeble attempt of pointing out the importance of 'Panini' had been worthier of being offered to you than it is.—Believe me, dear Sir, very faithfully yours, TH. GOLDSTÜCKER."

Alas! this most ripe scholar was cut off all too soon for the cause of Orientalism, but not before he had enriched *Chambers's Cyclopædia* with the ablest articles on the philosophies of India to be found in English literature, and had trained several of the Competition-Wallas who are forming a new school of learning in the East.

All through his administration Lord Elphinstone's correspondence with Dr. Wilson was frequent on social, statistical, and oriental, as well as political subjects. We have only his Lordship's replies. The Government of India had disallowed the appointment of Professor Green as editor of those selections from the Bombay records for which Dr. Wilson had long craved; arguing that the duty of editing was discharged by the secretaries of the other provincial Governments. Lord Elphinstone wrote, when communicating this to Dr. Wilson:—

"DAPOORIE, *9th August* 1854. . . . I know that there is a great deal to be said on the other side—that, for instance, these Governments have no military, naval, or political departments (or at least very little in these departments, the Government of India relieving them of these

matters), and that they have Boards of Revenue which relieve the Government of all the revenue details, which are here gone into in the first instance in the Secretary's office, and which take up nearly the whole time of one of our four secretaries. Still it is not easy to convince people at a distance, who are used to a different system, that this is the case, and I can see that it must appear preposterous, that with four secretaries we should require some one to help us to perform a duty which is discharged by the single secretary in Bengal, and in the North-west Provinces. I regret this very much myself, for I was anxious to collect and digest a great deal of statistical information, which I think would be of great value—but which at present I see no means of arranging.

"I hope we shall be able to give the Syrian Archbishop and his attendants a free passage to Suez by the steamer which leaves on the 30th, and I will request Sir H. Leeke to desire that he shall be treated with proper respect. I shall also be most happy to contribute to his means of reaching Damascus from Egypt, and I enclose a draft for 200 rupees for this purpose. I am sorry thet General Cullen should have treated this poor Archbishop with any want of courtesy. I am sure it must have been unintentional—or at least that he may have been led into a very short style of correspondence from his experience of the rival Metran's character.

"I am extremely glad to find that you approve of our having acknowledged the good spirit shown by the natives of Bombay on the late day of prayer and humiliation. I thought that it would have been both ungrateful and impolitic to let such manifestations pass without notice. Your translation of the Jaina prayer is particularly interesting. I thought the Jains, like some other sects of Buddhists, denied the *providence* but not the *existence* of God, whom they supposed to be in a state of quiescent beatitude, into which ultimately they hoped to be absorbed. Though not deeply versed in their religious tenets, I must say that I was very much interested in your account of their Jati's visit to you, and of his prayer. I am also much obliged to you for the number of the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, and have read with much interest your account of the origin and progress of Brahmanism and Caste. I was present the other day at the examination of some of the senior classes at your mission school here. Mr. Mitchell seems to have a very good way with his pupils, and, as far as one can judge from such a cursory visit, he has succeeded in opening their understandings, and consequently in weakening the bonds of Caste. It was a very gratifying visit. I cannot end this letter without asking you to

read a pamphlet which the Bishop of Bombay was good enough to place in my hands. It is the *Charge* of the Bishop of Victoria, and gives a most interesting account of the Chinese War in its religious aspect. I think, perhaps, your son might transfer some of it to the columns of the *Bombay Times* with great advantage, and I am sure that many of his readers would appreciate it. The philological parts will no doubt interest you greatly. I confess I think from reading it that the Pope was right in adopting *Teen Choo*, though, now that the Chinese themselves have returned to the original *Shang te*, I agree with the Bishop that they have taken the question out of our hands, and that our missionaries can only use the name which they themselves have applied to God. Believe me, in haste, my dear Dr. Wilson, yours most truly, ELPHINSTONE."

"*Wednesday.*—I hope you may be disengaged on Friday, as I want you to meet Major Cunningham of the Bengal Engineers (Allan Cunningham's son), who is interested as you are in Indian Archæology, and who has written a book, which I have not read, about Buddhist Topes, etc., and another about Tibet, which I have only been able to look into. I met him some years ago in the wilds between that country and Simla. You will also meet Colonel Jacob."

"*Monday, 2d April.*—Would you and Mrs. Wilson excuse a short invitation and dine here to-morrow, to meet Colonel Rawlinson, who is just arrived from Baghdad?"

"*Thursday, 6th March.*—I beg to return your valuable book upon Palmyra and Baalbek, with many thanks. The Duc de Vallombrosa recognised the general accuracy of the delineations, but he told me that the temples have become much more ruinous than they were when these drawings were taken. The nine great pillars, for instance, in the principal temple are reduced to six.

"I don't know if you or Mrs. Wilson care about music. If so, perhaps you might like to come here to-night; the Choral Society meet here, and I hope we shall have some good music."

CHAPTER XVI.

1857-1864.

THE MUTINY AND ITS GOOD FRUIT.

The year 1857 a fruitful period—The alleged causes of the Mutiny—Western India quiet in spite of them—The Bombay fabble—Lord Elphinstone assisted by Dr. Wilson and Mr. Forjett—Deciphering the Treasonable Letters of the Natives—The Massacre of Missionaries at Sialkot—Lord Elphinstone's correspondence with Dr. Wilson—Loyalty of Bombay city—Dr. Wilson's Humiliation and Thanksgiving Lectures—The Government of India constitutionally Christian—United Presbyterian Mission to Rajpootana—Mr. Shoolbred's narrative of Tour with Dr. and Mrs. Wilson—Timidity of the authorities—Mrs. Wilson's letters—Dr. Wilson's interview with the late Gaikwar—With the Maharaja Tukht Singh of Joudhpore—With Holkar—The Education Despatch of 1854—The result of co-operation between the Missionaries and Government—Dr. Wilson's criticism of the new policy—The three Universities founded in the height of the Mutiny—Dr. Wilson's influence on the Bombay University Regulations—Appointed Vice-Chancellor—Eulogy of Native Benefactors at laying Foundation-stone of University Hall—Correspondence with Governor on the death and character of Mountstuart Elphinstone.

" Large, England, is the debt
Thou owest to heathendom ;
To India most of all, where Providence,
Giving thee thy dominion there in trust,
Upholds its baseless strength."

" Regard the expanded Orient, from the shores
Of scorch'd Arabia and the Persian Sea,
To where the inhospitable ocean roars
Against the rocks of frozen Tartary ;
Look next at those Australian isles which lie
Thick as the stars that stud the wintry sky ;

" There let thy mind contemplative survey
That spacious region where in elder time
Earth's unremember'd conquerors held the sway ;
And science, trusting in her skill sublime,
With lore abstruse the sculptur'd walls o'erspread,
Its import now forgotten with the dead.

" From Nile and Congo's undiscover'd springs
To the four seas which gird the unhappy land,
Behold it left a prey to barbarous Kings,
The Robber or the Trader's ruthless hand ;
Sinning and suffering, everywhere unblest,
Behold her wretched sons, oppressing and opprest !

" To England is the Eastern empire given,
And hers the sceptre of the circling main ;
Shall she not then diffuse the word of Heaven
Through all the regions of her trusted reign
Wage against evil things the hallow'd strife,
And sow with liberal hand the seeds of life !

" By strenuous efforts in a rightful cause
Gloriously hath she surpass'd her ancient fame,
And won in arms the astonish'd World's applause.
Yet may she win in peace a nobler name,
And Nations which now lie in error blind,
Hail her the Friend and Teacher of Mankind ! "

SOUTHEY : *Carmen Nuptiale* for the Princess Charlotte.

CHAPTER XVI.

WHETHER it hereafter proves true that the history of the British Empire of India began only with the Mutiny campaigns of 1857-1858, to which the century's conquests and administrative experiments of the East India Company were but a prelude, the *annus tristis* was also the *annus mirabilis* —remarkable for the birth of missionary extension and educational reform from the very womb of massacre and revolt. From 1857 Christian missions and philanthropy in India received an impetus which they feel to this hour. Dr. Wilson was the first to guide that to the establishment of the United Presbyterian Church amid the eighteen principalities of Rajpootana. In the smoke of the Mutiny and its punishment the three Universities were legislatively called into existence, and the seeds of systems of primary education were sown. The answer of the Christian rulers of India to the brief but bitter madness of its pampered soldiery and pensioned princes was—more light. There may still be doubt how far the administrative changes, politically and financially, of the Government of the Empress are an improvement on the system under which the Company won and built up the empire it bequeathed to the crown. There can be none as to the vast, even infinite, benefit of the new régime on the side of education and of the complete toleration of all religions, not excluding Christianity as the legislation of the Company did in spite of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Dalhousie.

The panic wave of military and political unrest, which swept over Northern India from the Hooghly to the Upper

Indus, found and left the great Western Province peaceable and loyal. In none of the eloquent misrepresentations which he called "history," has the late Sir John Kaye been more unfortunate than in his account of Bombay. According to the obsolete school who see in that very progress, which is the sole justification of our Eastern Empire at all, an excuse for revolt, the causes of mutiny abounded more in the land of the Marathas than in any other. Annexation, lapse, resumption of holdings, confiscation of rent-free tenures, and the proselytism of Christian missionaries with the consent and educational co-operation of the Government—the five causes of the Mutiny according to some short-sighted conservatives—had been altogether more luxuriant in the West of India than in Oudh or the Delhi territory, or anywhere else. Yet it would be easy to prove that it was these very causes—the extinction, legally and equitably, of centres of intrigue; the care for the peasantry abandoned to irresponsible talookdars; the intelligence and benevolence of reformers like Dr. Wilson and the authorities whom he stirred up, which kept the panic to the north of the Vindhyas, or to two or three isolated spots where there was not even the ordinary garrison to keep the peace.

But the temper of the Bombay army, and the intelligence of the Bombay people in and out of the capital, were severely tested. So far as the mutiny assumed a Hindoo aspect it was Bombay in its origin. The infamous Nana Dhoondopunt, whom Sir John Malcolm has been blamed for treating so generously, gave himself out as the political representative of his adoptive father, the last of the Peshwas, and as the head of Hindooism. As he had sent his *quondam* menial Azimoollah to be lionised in London, and to see the weakness of England in the early stages of the Crimean War, so the Satara agent, Rungo Bapoojee, had been active in the old India House. It was to Maharashtra that the ringleaders of the Bengal sepoys looked for the rousing of the whole west

and south of India. In reply to a missive from the 75th Bengal Native Infantry a sepoy wrote from Bengal in an intercepted letter—"We are your children; do with us as it may seem best to you; in your salvation is our safety. We are all of one mind; on your intimation we shall come running." Poona and Satara had memories of Sivajee and his generals, of Maratha ambition and Hindoo glories, not second to Delhi in Muhammadan eyes. But Poona and Satara were names to conjure with only in the far-off Ganges valley. Of Western India itself the statement of Dr. Wilson at the time is true—"Incipient mutiny in the Bombay army at Kolhapore, Ahmedabad, Kurachee, and some other stations, was early discovered and readily crushed." At two places only did it become overt, Kolhapore and Nurgoond. Of the fifteen hundred English massacred by the sepoys and rabble in 1857-58, of whom 240 were military officers, 4 were chaplains, and 10 were missionaries and their wives, only one fell in Western India the civilian Mr. Manson. Yet by the three approaches of Rajpootana, of the Vindhyas, and of Nagpore and Hyderabad, the mutineers of the north vainly tried to reach Maharashtra under Tathya Topya and Bala Rao. Instead of their succeeding it was from Bombay that the first help was sent to Lord Canning in the despatch of the troops of the Persian expedition; and from Bombay that Sir Hugh Rose, at a later period, restored peace right up through central India to the Ganges.

While the Mutiny was purely military in its origin, and owed its opportunity to the reduction of the British troops from thirty-seven to twenty-two regiments for the Crimean and Persian wars, in spite of the unanswered protest of Lord Dalhousie, the sepoys found the vilest confederates and agents in the swashbuckler rabble of the great cities and cantonments. Bombay was such a city. To this day the fanatical passions of the Parsee and the Muhammadan sometimes blaze up into a conflict, while the Hindoos there are the boldest in all

India. Around the three communities whom English law and institutions, born of the Christian faith, have made at once independent and wealthy, there has gradually gathered the scum of Asia and Africa, sailors and traders, adventurers and pilgrims, criminals and loafers, slave-dealers and eunuch or boy and girl kidnappers, such as the polygamous and sexual cults of the East require as their ministrants. Two men knew these well—the missionary who had spent his life among them, as he had seen the population doubling to above half a million; and Mr. Forjett, the commissioner of police, who had justly held the balance of law between proselytisers and votaries of all creeds. A government like that of the Turk would have made of Bombay at this time what Damascus became in the Syrian massacres soon after. But Lord Elphinstone was not only a firm and wise ruler, favouring none, and fair to all of whatever faith: He was a daring statesman, who had the first virtue of a true ruler, that of knowing his agents on the one hand and his duty to his country on the other. He sent away his European troops to Lord Canning. And, whether against the still unknown temper of the sepoys or the mixed multitude of the capital, he trusted the irresponsible missionary and the responsible police commissioner, while he made all proper military arrangements. Mr. Forjett has lately told his part of the tale in those exciting days, and with becoming modesty as well as accuracy. The unconscious testimony he bears to the missionary's influence for good is invaluable, as coming from such a source.[1] Dr. Wilson's share was this.

The Mutiny in Bengal was not many days old when the Government of India determined that the new cheap postal and telegraph arrangements should not become the instruments of intrigue. Accordingly, all the authorities received instructions to intercept native or vernacular letters, and to

[1] *Our Real Danger in India.* By C. Forjett. 1877.

forward them for examination and translation by confidential and skilled persons named. When found treasonable the letters were submitted to the secretaries to Government. In Bombay letters so intercepted were sent to Dr. Wilson. Just as our beleagured countrymen and countrywomen in cities like Lucknow, and in sequestered hiding-places, had recourse to French and to the use of the Greek letters in their desperate attempts to communicate with their friends, so the sepoy ring-leaders resorted to all sorts of dialects and characters to blind the post-office. No man then in all India was so equal to their resources as the scholar, who for more than twenty years had been translating alphabets and inscriptions for historical and philanthropic ends. In the last edition of his lecture on the "Religious Excavations" he makes this slight reference to a confidential service, of a value which no reward and no honour could adequately recognise. Alluding to James Prinsep's deciphering of the rock inscriptions he writes :—

"The key to the character was found by his tracing backwards—from the current Devanagaree—various forms of older letters, of which the Nagaree is the maturer type, adapted to more rapid writing than the original. Our own assurance respecting it was derived from a comparison of copperplate inscriptions in the hands of Vishnoo Shástree, in which we noticed the accordance in number and position of certain letters and words connected with initial salutations of the gods, and the royal signatures on other legible grants, which betokened an agreement in value in the respective characters, as was found to be the case when they were critically examined and compared. By following out this principle, we were able to make out some of the most difficult letters which came into the hands of our vigilant officials during the late Mutiny. We now see very clearly that the great trouble taken with the adjustment of the cave character would have been unnecessary if we had noticed sufficiently early its correspondence with the Phœnician and Greek alphabets, from a combination of which it is manifestly derived, with most ingenious adaptations to the orthoëpical expression of the Sanscrit and other languages, most creditable to the ingenuity of the Indians, or those by whom they were adapted to these languages."

Thus the whole miserable tragedy of the Mutiny on its

western side passed before Dr. Wilson, who, moreover, kept up a close correspondence with the Governor. That was of too confidential a character for Dr. Wilson to have kept even copies of it, but Lord Elphinstone's letters to him reveal an alliance in the interests of order, of civilisation, and of their country's good, of the highest honour to both.

Dr. WILSON to his Sister.

"30*th July* 1857.—This mail, like some which have preceded it, conveys very heavy tidings to Britain. The mutiny and revolt of the Bengal sepoys still continues, and their murderous courses are only beginning to be checked. Many of our countrymen — men, women, and children—have been treacherously butchered by them. Five or six missionaries are among the number slain. Among these, I regret to say, is the Rev. Thomas Hunter, of the Church of Scotland's Mission at Sialkot in the Punjab (the brother of Mr. Hunter of Nagpore), who was destroyed, along with his wife and infant child, on the 9th of this month. They were in Bombay for a few months before they went to their station. We were acquainted with them, and liked them much. We have not heard of the fate of two converts who were with them. Their station was a new one, and very distant; and it is to be regretted that they went to it before they were more fully acquainted with the country and its languages. The whole of the native army of the Bombay Presidency (as well as that of Madras) has hitherto remained staunch to the British interests. All, thank God, is very quiet in the city of Bombay. So much is this the case, that at a large meeting of Natives and Europeans held lately in our Town-Hall, and presided over by the Governor, I offered to walk through any of the streets or lanes in the blackest night without a weapon of defence. How long this security may continue is dependent on the will of a gracious Providence. A plot for the murder of the Europeans is suspected to have been formed at Poona, but it has been mercifully detected.

"I enclose copies of some hymns we have used at a prayer-meeting held in Ambrolie in connection with the crisis, and attended by great multitudes. Be sure you let my dear mother know that we are both quite well and safe at present. I hope you all pray for us and for the cause of Christ in India."

To Miss DOUGLAS.

"6*th May* 1858.—In the pacification of India a good deal remains to be done, though victory, except in incidental foolish attacks, has in

the mercy of God always followed the movements of our troops. The Bombay armies, both in Rajpootana and Central India, have done all that was needful in these important provinces, and much circumscribed the field of action. Sir Colin Campbell is very careful of the lives of his men, and his plan is evidently that of a gradual advance. I don't think he will be allowed to rest during the hot and rainy months. It is a great mercy that we have been kept free from alarm in Bombay, and that all the plots in this Presidency have been discovered before they could be carried into effect. The plots of the Satara and Kolhapore nobles are of three or four years' standing, and have had no connection with the Mutiny, except in so far as one set of evil men has encouraged another set of evil men.

"You will be glad to hear that the spirit of our native Church continues to be most exemplary. The young men and others who joined it last year are a great accession to it, and all is love and harmony within its enclosure."

LORD ELPHINSTONE TO DR. WILSON.

"*Tuesday, 8th* ——, 1857.

"My Dear Dr. Wilson.—It was very good of you to remember our conversation about the wild tribes in the North Konkan, and I am much indebted to you for your little volume on the *Evangelization of India*, in which you give an account of these tribes. I have always taken a great interest in those poor outcasts of humanity, the aboriginal tribes who are scattered throughout the peninsula of India. I have received with great regret very discouraging reports on the subject of the attempts which have been made in this Presidency to raise them a little in the scale of humanity. I fear that very little has been effected in this way, and that we cannot hope for any rapid progress. The best thing that I have heard was from Mr. Mitchell at Poona, that the Mhar and Mhang schools at that place were making great progress, and that a native had taken a great share in the work of establishing and supporting them.

"Your account of the feelings of the Mussulman population is very satisfactory. I have never given in to the idea of insurrection and conspiracy which seems to haunt many people. As long as the native army are faithful there is no fear of a popular rising; and although unfortunately we have had one or two cases of mutiny in the Bombay Army, I do not see any signs of general defection. We may now very shortly expect to receive European reinforcements, and I hope that the troops we asked the Government of the Cape to send us are now close

at hand. With God's blessing I believe that we shall be spared the trials and calamities through which our neighbours have passed, and I am sure that we have great reason to be thankful. I beg to enclose a draft for my subscription to the native female school, and remain, my dear Dr. Wilson, very sincerely yours, ELPHINSTONE."

"I beg to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Wilson. I shall not fail to send the Notes on the Maratha language to my uncle. He still takes as keen an interest in all that is passing in this country as ever, but I am afraid that he is not much more able to appreciate a critical paper on the Maratha than I am myself!"

"*April* 29, 1859.

"MY DEAR DR. WILSON.—I send you Sir Robert Hamilton's memo. upon Tantia Topey. It appears that his father was a follower of Bajee Rao's, and that Tantia was a playfellow of the Nana's. Dangan, who has been on General Mansfield's staff in Oudh, says that they always pronounce Tantia Topey's name as Sir R. Hamilton spells it, *Topye*, and that they speak of Nana Sahib as *Nana Rao*.

"I have just received a telegram from Bombay with news from England up to the 4th. It seems that on that day Lord Derby announced in the House of Lords, and Mr. Disraeli in the Commons, that as soon as certain money bills, and bills connected with India, were passed, it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to dissolve Parliament. The foreign news does not look pacific, and I believe that soon India will be the quietest place in the world, though we may still have little episodes like the Nuggur Parkur disturbance and Adil Mahomed's party in the Hoshungabad district.—Believe me, sincerely yours, ELPHINSTONE."

How accurately Dr. Wilson had gauged the temper of the various communities of Bombay was soon seen in the united and loyal movement which they made on the 15th December 1858, in a public meeting summoned to consider the propriety of erecting an Economic and Natural History Museum, with pleasure gardens, "to be styled, in our Sovereign's honour, the Victoria Museum and Gardens," presided over by a Hindoo friend of Dr. Wilson, Mr. Jugganath Sunkersett. The united Hindoos, Parsees, and Muhammadans determined to show that they appreciated the blessings of a just Government, under which the city had risen in wealth and import-

ance. The crowd raised fifty thousand rupees on the spot. But far more important was this language in the mouth of its chairman: "No Empire has been more consecrated by time, none more perfectly consolidated, none more great in intellect, more overwhelming in power, more infinite in resources; and yet it is not on its awful might that it is founded, nor on the force of its naval and military greatness, but supremely in the devotion of its people." Not a few at the Mohurrum festival of 1857 had distrusted the Muhammadans alone, and the police commissioner summoned a meeting of the leaders, at which we meet for the first time in this history with the name of one who had become second only to Dr. Wilson in his identification with the interests of the natives of Bombay. Dr. George Birdwood, now C.S.I., and his father General Birdwood, had early come under Dr. Wilson's influence; and at this, as in all other movements for the good of the natives, that young member of the Medical Service, and Professor in the Grant Medical College, was prominent. Even the Wahabee Kazee, or high priest of the Bombay Muhammadans, offered his services to keep the peace, while the chief native officer of police was a Wahabee. When the clever detection of the plot of the sepoys of the Bombay garrison at Sonapore, to rise and proclaim the sovereignty of the Nana as Peshwa of the Dekhan, took place, and the mutineers were blown from guns, all fear of even a local riot was passed. In Lord Elphinstone's opinion, Bombay city saved Poona and Hyderabad, and even Madras. So did Nagpore, and it must not be forgotten how well Madras did its duty to the empire by its European troops under Neill, although the family system and evil arrangements as to its native officers had long demoralised its sepoy army as a fighting and disciplined force. While in Bengal there was only one white soldier to twenty-five sepoys in May 1857, the proportion in Madras was one to seventeen,

and in Bombay one to ten, and in the last many sepoys were Jews and Christians.

"Shall there be evil in a city and the Lord hath not done it?" were the words of Amos from which Dr. Wilson lectured to the whole Christian community of Bombay, in a sermon afterwards circulated all over the country under the title of *The Indian Military Revolt viewed in its Religious Aspects.* The calm, impartial, native-loving evangelist looked beyond the passions the crimes and the follies of the time, and deprecated "that indiscriminate party and personal inculpation to which many are too prone to resort in these sad days of trouble and rebuke." These were the warnings he uttered, against an under-estimate of the Christian and an over-estimate of the Gentile character so common among Europeans in India and at home; against Caste, the great evil; against "hedging up any bodies of our servants or subjects in India from general enlightenment and Christian instruction;" against "shortcomings in the supervision, discipline, and employment of our native army and native officials;" against a defective Christian example on our own part; against failure "in enterprises of Christian beneficence, and in works calculated to promote the advancement of European civilisation;" against forgetfulness of our dependence in a heathen land on the subduing and restraining grace of God; and against the danger of remaining without a personal interest in the salvation of Christ. Still better was his sermon on the General Thanksgiving-day on the prophet Ezekiel's message—"Ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have wrought with you for my name's sake." The events of two years had developed, the Empire had been proclaimed, and the preacher found these eight causes for gratitude—the close of such a war; its restricted limits; the marvellous supply of a military and civil agency for the suppression of anarchy; the safety of Western India; the stead-

fastness of the native Church, even to martyrdom; the administrative reforms; the lessons to the natives themselves; and the increased zeal in Great Britain for their good. Dr. Wilson, like all observers on the spot who knew the facts, made this admission—"Our highest civil authorities were asleep when the catastrophe happened." Lord Canning's own confession of his fatal mistakes, especially that of not disarming the Dinapore sepoys and so precipitating the horrors of Cawnpore and delays of Lucknow, is sufficient. But the incapacity of his paralysed advisers bore the one good fruit on his part of an apparently calm clemency, even in the face of the five stern Acts; and Dr. Wilson noted with satisfaction, in a letter to Mr. C. Fraser Tytler, C.S., that the first Sabbath after the proclamation of the Empire "both Lord and Lady Canning sent a contribution to the missions at Allahabad," where the first Viceroy of the Crown then was. A little later he wrote, "So they have at last got hold of Tatya 'Topi'—Tokya, I think it will prove to be, for I know some of his family, as I opine, at Toka on the Godavery."

The events of 1857 awoke the conscience of the English in India and at home. Governors like John Lawrence, and the Punjab school whom he had reared, became puritans almost of a Cromwellian stamp, in such public minutes as that from his pen which reviewed the relation of our Government to Christianity. The present Lord Kinnaird had headed an association to bring about the public and emphatic recognition of the duty of the Government of India to vindicate its character as a Christian administration. When asked to join in this movement Dr. Wilson's broader knowledge and truer comprehension of the position led him to return this answer: While approving of the object he pronounced the movement inexpedient, because it was better to act on the indisputable fact that the British Government in all its dependencies *is* Christian, than to make a mere avowal

founded on the apprehension that the Indian authorities questioned this. Writing on the 19th May 1860, he said:—

"1. What we ought to do is to assail every act done contrary to our constitutional standing when it occurs. We are stronger, I conceive, in our defiance of all parties violating our constitution than we should be after the most forcible declaration of duty, which might give rise to the surmise that we had doubts of the tenableness of our own position till its principle be reasserted.

"2. Notwithstanding all the sins and shortcomings of the British Government in India, it has not yet ventured to question in any categorical form, 'the right, privilege, and duty of every Christian to support and promote the Christian religion, or directly called upon any Christian subject of the British Crown to relinquish his Christian rights and privileges.' I do not see the propriety of our insinuating that it has in any general form denied the existence of the rights and privileges here referred to, however inconsistently it may have acted on particular occasions with the existence of these rights and privileges.

"3. The Government of India has done, and dare do nothing to prevent its Christian servants giving their private funds to religious societies. An attempt to do something like this by the Directors of the East India Company proved abortive. In the face of Lord Ellenborough we find all the religious Societies in India getting their usual open support from Government officials, even of the highest standing—as for example Lord Elphinstone, who was the official Patron of the Bombay Bible Society, and in his own name a contributor to all the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational and Lutheran Missions in our neighbourhood. No officials, as far as I know, have been challenged for acting in their private capacity in our evangelistic committees for visiting and examining our mission schools, or of late years for speaking on religious subjects, or distributing bibles, books, or tracts. An unnecessary limit seems to have been hinted at in connection with the attendance of officials at native baptisms, but better seek to remove this limit on its individual demerits by discussions in Parliament and other appliances, than to assail it by a Declaration embracing principles which are yet unchallenged. Even as matters stand it is just as likely that the Government will take no more notice of the attendance at native baptisms as that any real Christian official will neglect to attend them (when Christian expediency requires him to countenance them) because of the partial restriction of Government.

"4. A Bill is at present before the Legislative Council, the object of which is to free the officials of Government from taking any part as

such in the management of Hindoo and Muhammadan endowments. It may be better to watch this bill than to seek subscriptions to a document embracing with various other matters the principle on which it is founded."

Lord Canning had called on Mr. R. N. Cust, then a high civil officer in the Punjab, for an explanation of his presence at the baptism of a sepoy, and had effectually stopped the work of inquiry in the loyal regiment of Muzbee or low-caste Sikhs. But these proved to be the last flickerings of a spirit of antagonism to liberty which was more ignorant or timid than it was malicious. The battle for full toleration and equity, begun when Dr. Wilson landed in Lord William Bentinck's time, was near its close, and such an association as that proposed would only have postponed that close by unnecessarily rousing antagonisms.

Besides the Vernacular Education Society, the special efforts of the Bible, Tract, and great Missionary Societies, and the establishment of an American mission in Oudh, as the results of the Mutiny, the most important and permanently fruitful enterprise was that of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Dr. Wilson had by himself, or by the agents he stimulated, seen the whole field of western and central India, from Bombay to Kathiawar and Sindh, and from Satara to Nagpore, mapped out by the church, while to Mesopotamia, Arabia, Abyssinia, and eastern Africa, the divine message had sounded out. He had in desire long before taken possession of Rajpootana, and now he sent his brother Kirk in Scotland thither. *This* was for him the outcome of the Mutiny, the atonement alike for the dark ignorance that prompted and the swift vengeance that overtook its leaders.

At the close of 1858 the Rev. Dr. Somerville, foreign secretary of the United Presbyterian Church—which represents the earlier seceders from the Established Kirk, as the Free Church consists of the later—along with Mr. Cooper, his old

colleague in the Konkan, who had become minister of Fala, turned to Dr. Wilson for advice and help in the projected mission to Rajpootana. The case was just that of the Irish Presbyterian Church in Kathiawar over again. Once more Dr. Wilson expressed his "peculiar pleasure," and his gratitude to God that this work was to be done at last. With Rajpootana as a mission field only three others could be compared, he wrote on the 3d March 1859—the Muhammadan state of the Nizam, and the Maratha principalities of Sindia and Holkar, which shut in Rajpootana to the south. But to their claims of area, population, spiritual destitution and influence on others, Rajpootana added the advantage of a central field more directly under British rule at that time, while it was in the line of Presbyterian missions in the west and north-west of India "among whom the most friendly relations and co-operations, if not absolute union, at no distant day will doubtless exist." The English fear of the hot winds he met in his own pleasant way, by declaring, from his experience, that they are not particularly unhealthy or restrictive of missionary labour:—

"The late Archdeacon of Bombay, Mr. Jeffreys, whom Mr. Cooper must well remember, used to say to the ladies complaining of the Indian climate, 'Heat you must have. But you may be either stewed or grilled as you like. If you wish to be stewed just remain in Bombay, if you wish to be grilled go to Goojarat or the Dekhan.' Mr. (now Bishop) French, of Agra, when in my house the other day (he is on his way to Europe), incidentally said to me, 'I have sometimes thought of going to Ajmer from Agra to pass the hot winds.' The convalescent station of Mount Aboo is accessible to the invalids of Rajpootana seeking to avoid them. General Low, whom you mention with much satisfaction, is a party from whom you get every valuable information respecting Rajpootana. Independently of his opinion, I had come to the conclusion that two of your first missionaries should be settled at Beawur, both from the influence of that place on the whole of Rajpootana, as the general seat of the political agency, and from the opportunity which it will give the mission of acting on an interesting aboriginal tribe, the Mers (Mairs), of whom you will find full information in a work of Colonel Dixon."

Then follow, in this and the subsequent correspondence, exhaustive details, topographical, political, historical, and ethnological, regarding the Rajpoots and their country. The twenty years' work of the mission which he established at Beawur, side by side with administrative progress and the annual extension of railways and roads, have since incorporated the wild States and warlike princes of the deserts, hills, and small cities of Rajastan, in one now civilised territory. Dr. Wilson's letters remain a proof of his unconquerable zeal, rare self-denial, and statesmanlike breadth of view, which, in language most creditable to it, the Church he assisted again and again strove to acknowledge.

The Rev. Messrs. Williamson Shoolbred, M.A., and Steel, able students of the University of Edinburgh in their day, were the two missionaries sent forth as pioneers. Dr. Wilson had urged their arrival at Bombay in October, that, going with them, he might introduce them to the Maharaja of Jodhpore, the first king in point of importance in Rajpootana, whose acquaintance he had made in Goojarat in 1840, and who had often referred to the intercourse since; as well as to Sir George Lawrence, the Governor-General's agent, who had there succeeded his lamented brother Sir Henry. We leave Mr. Shoolbred to describe his intercourse with Dr. and Mrs. Wilson in the tour which they made together by sea to Surat, and thence for thirty marches to Beawur, during which, at Erinpoora, Mr. Steel died, as Mr. Ker had done under similar circumstances in Kathiawar:—

"From the end of October 1859, till the middle of March 1860, we were thrown constantly together. As Dr. Wilson moved among the élite of the European society of Bombay, or was honoured in the brilliant receptions of native princes, or mingled among the crowds in the native bazaars, or gathered the village peasantry around him that he might tell them of a Saviour; in the house and by the way, in bright drawing-rooms and dingy dâk bungalows, in health and in sickness, I had abundant opportunities of observing and admiring the true

Christian gentleman and devoted missionary of the Cross. In those days, before railways were known or dreamt of in Rajpootana, we made the long journey from Surat to Beawur on horseback or bullock-cart. This in itself involves an amount of hardness and roughness which often severely tries the patience and ruffles the temper even of the most amiable of men. But these trials were greatly intensified during that sad journey by the illness and death of my colleague, Mr. Steel, which protracted the journey, and shed the deepest gloom over the most of its hours. In these trying circumstances, however, the true nobility of his character only shone more clearly out. Never do I remember his temper to have been ruffled or his patience to have given way. His own and his dear wife's deep sympathy with the sufferer, and the affectionate kindness with which they watched over and nursed him, could scarcely have been surpassed by his own parents' loving care. All that their great kindness and cheering presence was to me in that hard beginning of my missionary career I would vainly strive to express. What struck me most in Dr. Wilson's character was, perhaps, the rare blending of deep scholarliness with the utmost buoyancy, almost boyishness, of heart. On the literature, philology, and ethnology of India, he was a perfect mine of learning, and delighted to pour out his treasures in the most lavish way into the ear of a sympathising listener. But such was the fresh buoyancy of his nature that a string of pleasantries and puns would succeed a deep disquisition on some obscure philological point, just as the lights and shadows chase each other across the summer hills. I remember his winding up an interesting account of the geology of Elephanta by placing in my hand what, but for its lightness, I would have deemed a specimen of conglomerate rock; and then, after enjoying my puzzled look, laughingly informing me that it was a piece of Scotch plumcake as it appeared after the long voyage to India. Conversations on graver matters at the breakfast-table were now and again relieved by showers of linguistic puns. Punning on the Marathee names for butter, honey, and sugar, he would smilingly ask, 'Isn't it a strange thing that people in India eat *muck* and *mud* on their bread, and sweeten their tea with *misery?*' And then, when it came to the desert, and attention was called to the large *pamalo* (a species of shaddock) forming the centre dish, he would propound the conundrum, 'Why is the *pamalo* like William the Third of England?' To which came the obvious answer, 'Because it is the Prince of Orange.' Thus, too, on the journey, many a trying and anxious moment was relieved by little pleasantries that flowed spontaneously from the depths of a simple and loving heart,

which long contact with the world and knowledge of men had failed to rob of its fresh boyishness.

"His devotion to archæological studies was very great, and he never missed an opportunity of prosecuting them. I remember his relating how, when eager to visit the interior of a famous Hindoo temple, he had been almost foiled by the Brahman in charge having insisted on his taking off his boots; and how he had surmounted the difficulty by getting the Brahman to carry him through the temple on his back for a consideration, and how, as he lingered longer than his sacred 'beast of burden' bargained for, and the bearer complained of his increasing weight, he easily coaxed him into setting him down, boots and all, on the holy pavement, and was allowed unmolested to pursue his archæological inquiries to a close.

"On our journey up country when we arrived at the ancient town of Sidhpore, one of the Hindoos' sacred places of pilgrimage, his eagerness to visit the shrines was irrepressible. He would scarcely wait till our early dinner was over, and while the sun was still high and hot he hurried me off with him to the town. With characteristic self-forgetfulness he would have exposed himself and me, unprotected, to the fierce sunshine, had not Mrs. Wilson, with her ever watchful care, furnished us with umbrellas, and insisted on our using them. The eager archæologist climbed the one hundred and twenty steps leading to the shrines with an alacrity that put to shame his younger companion, and sent my pulse up to fever point. Through the long afternoon and evening he dragged me from shrine to shrine, examining, inquiring, and as often informing those whom he questioned, and finished up by gathering round us a great crowd in the bazaar, and for a full half-hour preaching to these dark idolaters Christ the Saviour, with a power and fervour which his previous labours seemed to have left wholly unexhausted.

"And this leads me to speak of the admirable balance in Dr. Wilson's character, which ever kept him from sinking the missionary in the man of science, or, in his omnivorous eagerness in the pursuit of knowledge, from forgetting the still higher and nobler work of the Christian missionary—the enlightening and saving of heathen souls. I had been delighted, while in Bombay, to see him with his students in the Institution, pouring out to them the treasures of his almost exhaustless knowledge, and seeking earnestly to lead them to the foot of the Cross. Chiefly had I been touched by seeing how he moved among the members of his Native Church, and was looked up to by them as a dear and loving father, to whom they could come with all

their griefs and troubles, ever sure of warm sympathy, consolation, and aid. No less was I delighted on the journey by his constant devoted labours as an evangelist. Whether in the Raja's palace or beside the village well, to prince and peasant alike, he eagerly seized every opportunity of speaking a word for Christ. And I was ever and again constrained to admire the ease with which he adapted his addresses to the character of his audience, and the readiness with which he won their attention and in many cases enlisted their sympathies in favour of his message. And here I would note another contrast in his character, no less striking than that to which I have already called attention. As a writer or speaker of English Dr. Wilson was apt to be somewhat stiff and stilted. His style was heavy and his periods Johnsonian. For this reason he was less effective as an English preacher than his richly varied knowledge and great ability ought to have made him. Judging of his power to persuade solely from his English style, it is not to be wondered at that Dr. Norman Macleod gave expression to the opinion, that even a century of such preaching would fail to make converts. But had the genial Doctor understood the Indian vernacular, and heard Dr. Wilson preach in that, he would have found reason not only to modify but reverse his judgment. As a vernacular preacher he was simple, direct, and effective. Even with my imperfect knowledge of the language in those days, I felt this, and could note the effect which he produced in winning the attention, and not rarely even the sympathies of his audiences. During the whole journey, so long as he could make himself understood in Hindostanee, he continued to preach in the towns and villages through which we passed; and it was only when, after penetrating into Marwar, he found the people with their uncouth dialects unable to understand him, that he was reluctantly obliged to desist. His journal of the tour will show how eagerly he then devoted himself to the study of the dialectic varieties of the Marwaree, so as to form the key to its mastery. But his evangelistic efforts were not confined to these more public ministrations. He no less eagerly seized every opportunity while conversing with individual natives of turning the conversation on Christ and His Gospel. With our small guard of Sikh cavalry, and specially with their bright and intelligent Náik, during many a long and weary march he kept up the most lively and interesting conversations on religion as he walked his little hill pony beside their tall and imposing chargers. It was his delight to draw them out about their sacred *Granth* and its tenets, and to show the more excellent way and sure salvation which Christ offers to all who come to him by faith.

"In his whole character and conduct indeed, he seemed to me the *beau idéal* of a Christian missionary—uniting in one the scholar, the gentleman, and the evangelist, and consecrating all his scholarship, his great acquirements, his knowledge of men and of the world, to the cherished and absorbing work of commending his Lord and Master to the hearts and consciences of men. Like the great Apostle of the Gentiles he was willing to become all things to all men, if by any means he might win some.

"I have already spoken of the great kindness and comfort ministered by Dr. and Mrs. Wilson to my lamented colleague so long as he lived, and to myself. In like manner I could speak at great length of his most valuable services in introducing me to my future field of labour at Beawur; and in breaking up and smoothing my path by his most judicious and valuable advice and counsel. But feeling that I have already unduly extended my notice, I must forbear. I would only add that the true breadth of the great man's nature came out while initiating an English service at Beawur. Finding that the greater number of English residents at the station were Episcopalians, he at once arranged that their wishes should be met by the commanding officer's reading the Church of England Service, while the missionaries' should comprise a brief Presbyterian service, with preaching at its close. He himself began this mixed service, which has been found to work admirably for many years. I shall ever cherish the memory of Dr. Wilson as one of the greatest and best of men and missionaries. I regard his loss with all the greater regret that such a combination of high qualities as he presented is singularly rare, and that with him, I fear, has passed away the last of a noble type of Christian missionary."

The opening of a Christian Mission among the caste-bound and native tribes of Rajpootana seemed to some in India a delicate experiment just after the Mutiny, and, indeed, as its fruit. But Sir George Edmonstone, then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces of which Ajmer was a part, did not, demi-officially through Sir George Couper, his secretary and now his successor, do more than write thus of the missionaries, after recommending Nusseerabad instead of Beawur as their head-quarters:—"These gentlemen cannot be interfered with, and all that can be done is to beg them to be undemonstrative in their operations; to refrain from declaring

that they are there with the purpose of converting any particular tribe; and generally, to exercise their functions unobtrusively and with discretion." This called forth from Dr. Wilson an expression of "due appreciation of the kind consideration in which the communication originated," his reasons for preferring Beawur, and a reply to the doubtless unconscious and certainly well-meant attempt of the officials to smuggle the mission into the province. These hints, he wrote, would meet with the respectful attention of Mr. Shoolbred and those who might join him, but "their evangelistic commission is to all classes of the people, whom it is their admitted duty to conciliate and not unreasonably to offend, even while they stand on the basis of that religious toleration and civil protection which are extended to all classes of religionists in this country both in profession and in proselytism." Dr. Wilson had fought for this freedom, and had purchased it with the great price of thirty years' toil, and the Mutiny had confirmed the expediency as well as justice of the claim. Colonel Eden was officiating for Sir George Lawrence at the time, March 1860, or no such correspondence would have taken place probably. It has proved to be the last of the kind even in Native States. But cities like Hyderabad, Indore, and Gwalior are still without missionaries, although the Rev. Narayan Sheshadri has a prosperous mission at Jalna, in the Nizam's country, and Dr. Valentine has, like Dr. Boughton at the court of the Emperor Shah Jehan, used the physician's art for still nobler ends in the court of Jeypore.

How baseless were even the lurking relics of apprehension in the Lieutenant-Governor's letter was soon proved by the princes of Rajpootana and Indore themselves, in the avidity with which they sought Dr. Wilson's presence and the honour with which they received the great missionary and his wife. We supplement the gaps in his journal of this tour by the letters of Mrs. Wilson, who was foremost in all

the toil of a journey of 1500 miles by bullock cart, half of it in the hot season, and in all the tender solicitude of watching by the dying bed of Mr. Steel. At Baroda the Gaikwar, Khunde Rao, whose brother and successor was recently banished by Lord Northbrook, was most complimentary to Dr. Wilson at a private audience, especially on the many books the missionary had written, which his Highness pronounced as "works of great difficulty." Dr. Wilson made vain attempts to induce the Gaikwar to found a secondary school in his capital, and a system of primary schools throughout the State.

Mrs. WILSON to her Sisters, the Misses DENNISTOUN.

". . . All the leaders and gentlemen at Baroda kindly called for us, and we spent a pleasant evening with the Resident, Major Wallace, whom we had formerly known in Bombay. My husband had an interesting interview with the Gaikwar, and presented him with a copy of the Bible, after directing his attention to some of the important truths contained in it. He also advised him to establish schools, and to encourage education among his subjects. He replied, that they had no desire for learning. I fear he does not set them a good example, as his chief pleasure is in looking at wrestling and wild beasts fighting. To his last wrestler he lately gave a lakh of rupees (£10,000)! The translator to his Highness was formerly a pupil of our Institution in Bombay, and another old pupil is instructing his brother in English, and also teaching an English school under the auspices of the chaplain. These two young men were delighted to see us, and were very useful to us. The latter took us out in one of the Gaikwar's carriages to see his country palace. It is a small bungalow in the midst of a large garden. The house is full of very handsome carved furniture, the walls are covered with mirrors and splendid lamps, and there is a most extraordinary collection of nick-nacks from Paris, such as musical boxes and clocks, with singing birds and dancing figures, and many other curious things."

DR. WILSON'S JOURNAL.

"*9th February* 1860.—My chief missionary labours under this date have been of a conversational character, and principally directed to visitors from the camp at this place of the Jodhpore Legion, the horsemen of which, who are mostly Sikhs from the Punjab, understand Hindostanee pretty well, though few of them are able to read it. Some

moonshees and others I have supplied with tracts and copies of the New Testament. The colporteurs have visited several of the neighbouring villages; but having no books in the language of the province —the Marwaree—they have not been very successful in the disposal of their stores. On Sabbath the 22d January, after preaching in Hindostanee and Marathee to our servants and others, I baptized in the open air a Brahman, from the Himalaya mountains, near Kangra, named Chinturám. This young man, of twenty-three years of age, has accompanied us from Bombay, where, for a year and a half residing in the General Assembly's Institution, he had enjoyed the public services of our Mission. He was educated through the Hindostanee, both in Government and Mission schools (those of the Church of England and American Presbyterians in the North-Western Provinces), and has considerable intelligence. On the cruel murder by the mutineers of the Rev. Mr. Hunter and Mrs. Hunter, at Siálkot, where they had been founding a mission in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, he attached himself, from motives of benevolence, to a convert who had accompanied them thither, and assisted in reconducting him to Bombay, where he (Chinturam) was very anxious to make my personal acquaintance, on account of the impression which the perusal of my *Exposure of Hindooism* in Hindee had made on his mind in his first religious inquiries. He left Bombay with us, desiring to make a profession of Christianity in his native country; but quickened by the divine word which he had often heard from my lips on this journey, he found that he could no longer delay publicly espousing the cause of the Lord. I have a high opinion of his Christian character.

"JODHPORE, 15*th February*.—This Marwar is the darkest province of India in which I have ever been; and greatly is it to be regretted that it has never hitherto been visited by any missionary of the Cross. I saw much of a fearful and obscure character at Pálee, its commercial capital, and here, at its political capital, I find matters in a most extraordinary position both religiously and socially. The Maharaja Tukht Singh (whom we saw at Ahmednuggur in 1840) is giving me a most kind reception, and has appointed a grand durbar on my account this evening, at the close of which Mrs. Wilson and I start again for Pálee, which through relays of bullocks, furnished us by the Raja, we hope to reach to-morrow forenoon, though the distance over sandy roads is forty-two miles. Captain Nixon, the Political Agent, is absent investigating a case of Traga (S. Tyaga), in which a Charana has killed his mother, to bring her blood in a local quarrel upon an opposing party; but we are most kindly treated by Mrs. Nixon, with whom we are staying. Yesterday

I spent many hours with the learned men of the durbar. The chief Brahman is positively like another Sayana Acharya, interpreting the Vedas by the ancient helps to their understanding. The chief Charan has mastered the *Mahabharata* and all the local chronicles of the Rajpoots, on which Colonel Tod drew so copiously and credulously. Both these worthies think that Hindooism (as 'prophesied') is nearly at its end. The blood of all the princes they held to be corrupted by unholy matrimonial alliances, and a departure from the established institutes of their faith. Their *achara* they consider worse than that of Soodras (low castes). They are in possession of rich literary treasures, grammatical and expository, of which Europeans have yet heard nothing. They were very much interested in the sketch I gave them of the European investigation of the Vedas, and allowed that it explains much which they had observed, while it leaves many difficulties (principally founded on the erroneous idea of the 'eternity' of the Vedas) unsolved. A report of all that passed between us on Hindooism and Christianity would fill a number of the *Oriental Christian Spectator*. I see that the Maharaja has a very difficult part to play in the midst of the various *powers* by which he is surrounded. 'Non-interference' has hitherto been the cruel and unjust maxim of the British Government with the Rajpoot States. It is perfectly incompatible with our guarantee to preserve the internal peace of the provinces. Its corollary is 'Safe Tyranny.'"

Mrs. Wilson to her Sisters.

"Ambrolie, Bombay, 11*th April* 1860.—You will be thankful to hear that, through the goodness of God, we have reached our home in safety after a most fatiguing journey. We left our kind friends at Beawur on the evening of the 9th March for Nusseerabad, where we stayed for two days, and on the 12th left by bullock train, *via* Indore, Malligaum, etc. The advantage of this train is that you can get changes of bullocks every six or eight miles, which enables you to get over the ground more rapidly than by daily stages of ten or twenty miles with the same bullocks as we used to travel. Our desire was to get home as soon as possible, though the fatigue should be greater, but I should not like to do it again in similar circumstances, as it was too trying for my dear husband. We could not get a spring cart, and were obliged to travel in a common village cart, with a roof of bamboos, and covered with carpets, in which we had to lie by day and night, as the roof was too low for us to sit up.

"Between Neemuch and Mhow there are no traveller's bungalows, nor any place of shelter, so for some days we just halted for some

hours in the middle of the day under some trees, for a little rest and refreshment, quite in gypsy style. When we got to Mhow we hoped to get a more comfortable cart; and we got one much larger and higher in the roof, but it was made of iron, and was very rough, and the noise it made was something fearful. Sleep in it was impossible, and Dr. Wilson got quite knocked up and had a good deal of fever during the last ten days of the journey. I wonder how I stood it so well, for I could sleep neither by day nor by night, and the heat was great, in the day time from 95 to 104°, with a high scorching wind, blowing up the dust in tornadoes, and making us as black as sweeps. We travelled in this way about 700 miles, and the Lord in His great mercy brought us here, in peace and safety, on the evening of the 5th. The last forty miles of our journey was by the railway, and when we got into it the change was most agreeable and soothing to the brain, and to our bones, which had been sorely shaken for three weeks.

"We got to Neemuch on 16th March, and spent two days with friends; on Sabbath my husband conducted worship in the library. There is neither a church nor a chaplain there, though the European troops amount to fully 1500. It is very sad to see so many large stations without any means of grace. Our next halting-place was Indore, where we spent two days, chiefly with Sir Richmond and Lady Shakespeare. They are very kind, good people. On the afternoon of Friday there was a grand durbar held, when Holkar had the right of adoption granted to him, and he was presented with some handsome presents by the Government for his fidelity during the Mutiny. (He was true to the British, though his loyalty was rather doubtful at the time.) Dr. Wilson had some conversation with him, but of course that was not the time nor the place for any religious discussion. When we were preparing to leave next day Holkar sent a very urgent request that my husband should meet him in the afternoon at his country palace, as he was most anxious to see him again, and he offered to send us on to Mhow in the evening in his carriage with changes of horses. Dr. Wilson was delighted to have an opportunity of presenting him with a copy of the Bible and other books, and of conversing with him on the Christian religion. I had intended to sit in the carriage in the garden of the palace during the interview, but Holkar very politely sent for me, and begged of me to sit down beside himself and all the learned Brahmans, whom he had assembled to have a discussion with the learned Doctor from Bombay.

"Holkar is a pleasant looking man about thirty, he was quite plainly dressed, but wore some handsome jewels. He sat in a chair at the end of a long table. At one side sat his prime minister, then Dr.

Wilson and myself, and some of his courtiers. On his other side sat a row of learned Pundits and Brahmans, who had been called together for the occasion. At Holkar's request Dr. Wilson and they entered into a discussion on the sacred books of the Hindus and other kindred subjects. They got quite frightened when my husband repeated some Sanscrit quotations, and when they saw how well prepared he was to argue with them, and to point out the absurdities of their system. Holkar and some others who were present seemed to enjoy their discomfiture. We proceeded to Mhow in his carriage (fourteen miles), where we arrived late at night, and were kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. Paton. They were quite strangers to us; he is the chaplain to the 72d Highlanders, he is of the Established Church, and had lately married a lady from Edinburgh. We spent two days with them very pleasantly. He seems to be a good man, and well suited for the work to which he has been called. At six o'clock on Sabbath morning Dr. Wilson preached to about 800 soldiers and officers.[1]

"Our next Sabbath was spent at Malligaum, where my dear husband was very poorly, but he was able to take the Marathee service in a schoolroom at the request of the missionaries of the Church Mission, two of whom are stationed there. We reached home on the following Thursday evening, when we received such a warm welcome from the dear converts and others as quite affected us. Their faces beamed with delight on seeing us restored to them after so many trials; and we felt truly thankful to be reunited to them. We feel the soft sea breeze very pleasant, and my dear husband is gradually recovering. He is very busy preparing his reports to go by this mail for the General Assembly.

"Our good friends Dr. and Mrs. Miller leave this evening by the home mail. We shall miss them very much. He has been appointed as elder to the Assembly, and I hope whilst he is at home he may be of use to our mission. There was a large meeting here last evening, a farewell party to the Millers—there were at it about thirty Europeans and a number of converts. After tea an address from the native church to them was read by Mr. Dhunjeebhoy, expressing their gratitude for Dr. Miller's medical aid extended to them, and for many other acts of kindness and sympathy, and they presented him with a very handsome Bible, and Mrs. Miller with Cowper's works."

Dr. WILSON to Dr. EDDOWES.

". . . . We were often as much covered with dust on the road as

[1] He had preached to the same 72d Highlanders at Cape Town in 1823.

the sweeps with soot in chimneys in my young days. Yet we had some pleasant interludes by the way, as at Chittor, Neemuch, Jawara, Indore, etc. The Nawab of Jawara, and Holkar, and their people, I found very inquisitive on the subject of religion, as I had found some other Rajas. Nothing would satisfy Holkar but a long and formal discussion between his Brahmans and myself. He acted as chairman, and that in an impartial spirit. At the close he said to Mrs. Wilson, who was accommodated near the arena, 'I shall never forget this day; I have got much new light to-day.' He was evidently much disappointed by the appearance made by the Brahmans. They put several questions to me, which the Maharaja declared to be inept; and he himself took their place, boldly asking, 'Why do you kill animals?' My answer was in substance as follows:—'Maharaja, that is a question for yourself as well as for me. You kill all sorts of clean animals for food, except cows. For the same reason that you kill fowls, goats, sheep, etc., I kill cows, getting suitable food from them not forbidden by God. I admire the Sanscrit language. The best word for *man* in it is *manushya*, which means '*he that has a mind.*' The word for cattle is *pashu* (Latin, *pecu*), 'that which may be tied.' Man is an intellectual and moral being, created for the service of God; cattle are created for the service of man. The Vedas show that the ancient Hindus ate them, and you may eat them too. Death is not to them what it is to us. Even the pain which they suffer at death by violence may be very slight. Dr. Livingstone, when he was overpowered by a lion, from a sort of electrical excitement which he experienced suffered no pain.' 'Yes,' said the Maharaja, 'the question is my own, and you have given a good answer to it. I am always troubled by my friends opposite.' I attribute all the scrupulosity about the use of animal food to the doctrine of the Hindus about birth after birth. I think it would have done the heart of some of our more timid Politicals good to have seen all these go off in good temper on both sides."

Not the least service done by Dr. Wilson to the United Presbyterian Mission was that of making over to it the convert Chinturam. Soon after he received in Bombay, and sped on their way, the first detachment of colleagues for Mr. Shoolbred—Dr. Robson, and Mr. Martin.

But the new or extended agencies of the Churches of Great Britain, the United States, and Germany fell short in far-reaching consequences of the catholic system of public instruction

which was legislatively established in 1857. That system was directly the work of the missionary party. It was, and is still, the result not of a compromise but of co-operation between the Government or secular State and all non-government or proselytising bodies, Heathen and Christian, who choose to give a sound education to the people in addition to any religious instruction of which the State, as the ruler of millions of men of differing creeds, cults, and customs, can officially take no cognisance at this stage. The State, however, does not ignore natural or even revealed religion. But, calling Universities into existence, and placing them under an executive largely separate from itself, the Government at once puts the higher education in its proper place of self-developing independence, and it provides bodies competent to examine students of all the great religions, as they appear in the literature, the philosophy, the history, the laws, and in fact the sacred books of each. Questions long discussed in the Christian Parliament of the mother country, and not concluded even yet for Ireland, were in 1857, under far more conflicting circumstances, settled for ever on the true basis of complete toleration, and fearless confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth. And the men who brought that about were John Marshman, heir of the Serampore men; Alexander Duff; and John Wilson.

Everywhere in India the East India Company first refused to teach or to tolerate teachers, and when compelled by Parliament under the influence of Charles Grant, Wilberforce, and Zachary Macaulay, taught Hindooism and Muhammadanism only, while intolerant to all dissent from either. By 1835 Dr. Duff, Macaulay, and the Anglicists under Lord William Bentinck, gradually changed that in Eastern and Dr. Wilson in Western India. But till 1854 these and other educational reformers were discouraged by Government, as such, because they were also Christian proselytisers. The

Government and the independent systems of public instruction went on side by side. All the public money was given to the former which was neutral only in profession and Hindoo-Muhammadan in practice, the latter being maintained by the Churches of the West so far as it was Christian, and by a few educated native gentlemen so far as it was aggressively Hindoo. When in 1853 the Company applied to Parliament for what proved to be its last charter, the evidence given by most of the experts, and especially by Dr. Duff and Mr. Marshman, showed the folly of the rivalry on every side—of principle, of even secular efficiency, of economy. Lord Northbrook, accordingly, when private secretary to the present Lord Halifax who was then President of the old Board of Control, drafted a despatch from all the evidence, and also from the notes of Dr. Duff; and the Court of Directors sent that out to Lord Dalhousie, with instructions to carry it into effect. That Governor-General, who had been helping Mr. Thomason with his thousands of primary circle schools in Upper India, and was maintaining the Bethune girls' school out of his own pocket, was delighted with this despatch of July 1854. At the foundation it placed vernacular schools for the millions, and then a secondary and partly English school in every district or county. Then it recognised existing colleges, State and independent, Hindoo, Muhammadan, and Christian, Parsee and East Indian; offering grants in aid to all on the test of secular efficiency, while maintaining its own until endowed, or independent but aided effort as in England, could relieve it of the burden of direct teaching. The whole arch was bound together by the three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, chiefly examining bodies like that of London, but fitted to have Chairs of their own in time, as some now have. The Senate of each consisted of worthy representatives of all educational agencies, of whatever creed. The Syndicate or executive body appointed by the

Arts, Law, Medical, and Engineering Faculties of the Senate, regulated the whole education of the country by fixing standards and text-books, and selecting the examiners for degrees. Theoretically the scheme was perfect.

Practically the new policy has worked well, just because men of the wisdom, experience, and tact as well as principle of Wilson and Duff, were able to preside at the launching of what they had designed. In a letter to their committee in Edinburgh, written by Dr. Wilson and signed also by Mr. Nesbit not long before his death, they reviewed the provisions of the despatch. Unhappily the succession, as Governor, of Sir George Clerk, who, with all his merits retained the Company's political prejudices against Christian missions, and the action of Directors and Inspectors of Public Instruction, obstructed the fair working of the new system of grants in aid until the appointment of Sir Alexander Grant as head of the department. But that opposition was temporary, and it did not affect the more independent University and colleges.

"BOMBAY, 16*th May* 1855.—Your important letter on the Despatch to the Government of India on the subject of Education was duly received, and copies of it have been forwarded by Dr. Wilson to the Dekhan and Nagpore. We rejoice to learn from it that our Committee at home are disposed to concur in our co-operation with Government in carrying its provisions into effect in so far as they may be found to apply to our missionary establishments. The issue of that Despatch, we conceive, constitutes a new and promising epoch in connection with the intellectual and moral enlightenment of this great country. It fully recognises important principles for which we have long and strenuously contended in this Presidency. It forms a discriminative and judicious estimate of the comparative claims of the vernacular and learned languages of India and of English as media of instruction. It makes a very cordial acknowledgment of the benefits derived by India from the missionary enterprise. It makes the Bible accessible for purposes of consultation to inquisitive youth within the walls of the Government seminaries. It permits the communication to them at extra hours of Christian instruction, voluntarily imparted and volun-

tarily received. It promises certain grants in aid of secular instruction, for certain definite objects, to all private scholastic institutions permitting Government inspection and exacting a fee, however small, from the pupils. It proposes the foundation of Universities at the Presidencies, for granting honours and degrees to India youth of requisite attainments. It sanctions the affiliation with these Universities of all seminaries rightly conducted and furnishing the requisite amount of education. It has our full approbation as far as it goes, and we shall rejoice to find its provisions speedily carried into effect in the spirit in which it has been framed.

"In referring to the moral relations of that Despatch, we must mention, what the members of our Committee cannot have failed to notice, that it offers the same assistance in the communication of sound secular instruction to seminaries founded and conducted on heathen principles that it does to those which are founded and conducted on Christian principles. In doing so, it does not seem to us to recognise any principle of religious latitudinarianism. It simply offers to all a common blessing, without adopting any action with reference to higher blessings on the one hand, or to what may prove an injury and a curse on the other. It leaves its own expression of respect to Christian institutions to remain unmodified by what it proposes to do with reference to those of another character. Sound secular instruction, imparted without any ignoring or depreciating of Christianity, can in no degree favour heathenism or error of any kind. To a certain extent it will be a counteraction of that error. The grants-in-aid will, we hope, be so administered, according to the Despatch, as to go to the encouragement and support only of sound secular knowledge. We do not see that such an appropriation of them will increase the resources of heathenism. To a certain extent it will direct the native resources to what is good, as they will be needed for that effort which is required to secure the progress in secular knowledge which the Government inspection demands. While we make these remarks, we do not in any degree compromise our own views of the supreme importance of the combination of right religious education and training with secular instruction.

"But it is with the probable effects of the Despatch on our missionary undertakings that we have most to do, though we have considered this reference to its general moral bearings essential to our judgment of its acceptability to the Christian community. It will open a wide field to the operation of our Bible and Tract Societies and missionary presses. It will call for an increase of missionary agency, with a view to the hallowing of the secular instruction which it

directly encourages. It will do more than this. It will aid the missionary institutions in that department of their labours which embraces secular knowledge. But missionaries and their supporters must vow before God and man not to dilute or diminish their religious instruction in their seminaries on this account. While, as hitherto, they communicate a sound secular instruction, they must never fail to act on the principle of combining this instruction with that of an infinitely higher character.

"To Government inspection, conducted as we trust it will be in a courteous, liberal, and impartial spirit, we cannot object; while of course we repudiate all right on the part of Government to interfere with the management of our seminaries. Government is entitled to see to the faithful appropriation of its own educational grants.

"To the exaction of a fee from such of our pupils as may be willing and able to pay it, as a condition of our receiving Government help, we do not object. In fact, in a modified form, we have all along acted on this principle to a certain extent in our higher seminary in Bombay. It is our rule to exact an admission fee of one rupee from the pupils for the reasons mentioned at p. 484 of Dr. Wilson's *Evangelization of India*. The advanced pupils generally aid us in instructing the lower classes, partly in compensation for the instruction which they themselves receive in our College Department. We are willing to extend our demands in that Institution and in all our schools, without excluding from their benefits any who may be unable or unwilling to make a money payment. The evangelistic feature of our educational establishment must be preserved. To the poor, who are not the least hopeful in a missionary point of view, the Gospel must be taught in all our schools without money and without price. We are willing to adopt the principle of payment, as far as it may be practicable, as a *rule*, but we must have full liberty to make *exceptions* whenever they may be proper and expedient. We should never be excused by our own consciences, or by our Christian brethren at home and abroad, were we to act otherwise. We hope that Government will give us full latitude in this matter. At all events, we must follow in regard to it our own solemn convictions. The Government, we believe, will place the charitable support which our schools receive in the place, in some instances, of the fees which are elsewhere exacted. It is perhaps not a matter of much consequence that *all* our vernacular schools, which are almost wholly devoted to the communication of scriptural knowledge, should in present circumstances be connected with the Government scheme."

It was on the 18th July 1857, in the darkest hour of the mutiny, that the University of Bombay received its charter. We applaud the inhabitants of Leyden, said Dr. Wilson afterwards, when speaking as its Vice-Chancellor, who concerted measures for founding a University even during the terrible siege of their town by the Spaniards in 1573, when 6000 of their number perished by famine and pestilence, and who devoted to that University the remission of taxes offered them as a reward for their patriotism. Shall we, he asked, withhold the meed of praise from the Government of India? Fortunately it was to Lord Elphinstone, who, with Dr Wilson's advice, had proved himself an educational reformer in Madras, that the duty fell of organising the new academic body.

LORD ELPHINSTONE TO DR. WILSON.

"MAHABLESHWAR, 21*st April* 1855.

"MY DEAR DR. WILSON. . . . . I wanted to ask you if you would consent to be one of the Senate of our new University? You are aware that it is not to be a place of education, but rather a body which is to examine the students of other places of education, and to confer degrees. In fact it is to be, I imagine, the touchstone by which the teaching of the different affiliated Institutions, and in some measure of all the educational Institutions in the Presidency is to be tested. I am most anxious that it should have the perfect confidence of all those who are interested in native education, and that the Senate should fairly represent all who are engaged or interested in this great work. With this object in view I trust that you will not refuse to be nominated to it. The office is purely honorary, and need not be in any degree burdensome."

"19*th September* 1855.

"I assure you that I was very much gratified to hear from you that the views I have adopted on University matters are so much in accordance with your own. I fear that I have laid too little stress on the study of Sanscrit. When I first came to India, eighteen years ago, there was a great controversy going on between the supporters of the old system of teaching Sanscrit and Arabic in the Government colleges, and those who thought that these studies were useless, or even worse than useless; and that European literature and science, taught

through the medium of the English language, should take their place. I sided with the latter, though even then I thought that they went too far in insisting upon the English as the sole medium of instruction; but though I always felt that the cultivation of the living languages of India was most important, I am afraid that I altogether overlooked the importance, even with reference to the critical study and improvement of these languages, of the Sanscrit. I have just glanced over the articles in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, which you have been good enough to send me, and I feel that in my ignorance I have not hitherto given due weight to the considerations which induce you to recommend its study. I must not allow you to give me credit which I do not deserve. When we were asked to give our opinions upon these questions I was much at a loss, not having been at a University myself, and not having had any opportunity of considering them."

Long and detailed were the discussions of the new Senate in working out regulations for the University. The share which Dr. Wilson had in these, and the success with which he secured due recognition of the Christian Philosophy and Literature, side by side with the non-Christian, and solely on the ground of confidence in truth and academic fitness, is seen in the following extracts from letters to Dr. Duff, who passed through Bombay on his return to Scotland at the close of 1863. Dr. Wilson wrote with the experience not only of one of the founders of the University, but as a member of Syndicate, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and an examiner in Sanscrit, Persian, Hebrew, Marathee, Goojaratee, and Hindostanee:—

"Had it not been for most strenuous and almost self-destroying efforts and exertions which I made from day to day during the first discussion of the bye-laws, there would have been no recognition in them, as subjects of study, of Moral Philosophy, of Jewish History, and of the Evidences of Christianity in the case of undergraduates electing them; and had we not had a good backing in the addition to the Senate in 1864 of Messrs. Aitken, Dhunjeebhoy, and Stothert, I verily believe that good which has been since effected in other matters might not have been realised. Our combined yet independent action in the frequent meetings of the Senate and in the Faculty to which we belong, is of a most salutary character, while, as calls are made upon us, we can engage in the University examinations without an interruption of our mission work."

"I send you the list of books (independent of those mentioned in our bye-laws), which we have lately chosen in our University, for a cycle of five years in advance of 1870. You will see from it that even in our University studies there is a good foundation for Christian tuition in the case of ardent, judicious, and otherwise competent missionaries. This remark has special reference to the *English* books prescribed, in connection with which the truths of Christianity may be easily and systematically taught. [A Lecture which I delivered some three years ago on the Foundational Facts of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, was attended by about 700 students.] In our Sanscrit course, till the B.A. is passed, we have prescribed the *Tarkasangraha*, the fundamental treatise of the Nyaya (the Theistic Philosophy holding, however, the eternity of atoms formed, fashioned, and directed by a Creator). The same Philosophy reappears in three of the five years in the M.A. course. From the *Vedanta*, which we have admitted for two years, we have eliminated the Brahma Sútras, with the Commentary of that formidable sophist Shankaracharya. The whole Sanscrit course I have all along most profitably contrasted with Christianity. Our Hebrew studies, not yet announced for the cycle, are from the Bible, which can maintain its place spite the Arabic Koran. For our systematic Biblical reading and lecturing we can maintain a due place, by insisting on the *conditions* of our missionary Institutions. It is a fact that the eagerness for graduation is a *temptation* to many young men to confine their attention to the studies prescribed by the Universities; but what would be the consequence if, instead of opposing that temptation, we were to withdraw from the arena? What would soon be the character of the Universities themselves? What would soon be the state of the educated mind of India, which rules the native world? What ——? I may go on for hours suggesting most lamentable consequences."

From the first meeting of the Senate to the last which he was able to attend, Dr. Wilson guided the course of the University of Bombay with affectionate solicitude and cultured catholicity of spirit. When the Government appointed the zealous Christian missionary and uncompromising proselytiser, Vice-Chancellor, it at once proclaimed practically the final abandonment of the last relics of the distrust of truth, and won the applause of educated men of all creeds and races in India. The Governor-General had offered the similar honorary but very influential office, of virtual director

of the whole education of millions, to the good and the scholarly Bishop Cotton, who too modestly declined it. Had Dr. Duff remained longer in India he would have been nominated by Lord Lawrence. As Vice-Chancellor of Bombay, when, in the resplendent robes of his office, he took the chief part in the ceremonial of laying the foundation-stone of the University building designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, he thus chronicled the endowments presented by his native and non-Christian friends—endowments to be increased by himself in the foundation of the John Wilson Chair of Comparative Philology.

"The personal benevolence which we are required to acknowledge preceded that of the Government. Mr. Cowasjee Jehanghier Readymoney furnished the University in 1863 with one lakh of rupees (£10,000), now very considerably increased by accumulated interest, towards the erection of a University Hall. In 1864 Mr. Premchund Roychund presented us with two lakhs of rupees for the erection of a Library, and in the same year with another two lakhs of rupees for the erection of a Tower, to contain a large clock and a set of joy bells. Independently of the buildings, several most valuable endowments have been conferred on the University, as Rs. 20,000 in four per cent Government securities, by the Hon. Munguldass Nathoobhoy, for establishing a travelling fellowship; Rs. 5000 (£500), by the family of the late Mr. Manockjee Limjee, for a gold medal to be given for the best English Essay on a prescribed subject; Rs. 10,000 by Mr. Bungwandass Purshotumdass, for a Sanscrit scholarship; Rs. 5000 by Mr. Homejee Cursetjee Dady Shet, for an annual gold medal for the best English Poem on a given subject offered in competition; an endowment of six Sanscrit scholarships (three of Rs. 25 each, and three of Rs. 20 each per mensem), amounting altogether to Rs. 30,000, by Mr. Vinayekrao Jugonnathjee Sunkersett, in memory of his late father, the Hon. Jugonnath Sunkersett, one of the greatest supporters of education in the Bombay Presidency; Rs. 4500 by His Highness the Jam of Nowanuggur, for an English scholarship to be held by a native of Kathiawar; Rs. 5000 in four per cent notes, by Mr. Cowasjee Jehanghier Readymoney, for founding a Latin Scholarship; and Rs. 5000 from the members of the Civil Service and other gentlemen, for an annual gold medal, as a prize in law, for the commemoration of the accomplishments and worth of the Hon. Alexander

Kinloch Forbes, Judge of the High Court, and Vice-Chancellor of this University. In all these great and generous gifts, the liberality of Bombay, according to its wont, has been most distinguished and exemplary.

"Our University, thus auspiciously begun, will, it is confidently believed, continue to flourish. Under its direction and superintendence the inquisitive and ingenious Indian youth may effectively study the rich and varied languages, literature, history, and laws of England, of Italy, of Greece, of Judea, of Arabia, and of India; have his mind disciplined and exercised by the sciences of mathematical demonstration and investigation, and of the dialectic art; expatiate in the near and remote, minute and grand regions of physical science; contemplate what are still more wonderful, the faculties, functions, intuitions, and phenomena of the human mind; dwell on the moral relationship of man to his Maker and to his fellow-creatures; consider the economy of social and national Government in all its connections; prepare himself for the practice of the healing art, for the administration of justice, or for the application of engineering in all its departments, to the necessities, convenience, and gratification of the human family; and train himself for the discharge of the general duties of life in the most varied circumstances. Its influence on the intellectual and moral state of its *alumni* on their ultimate position in this world, and on their prospects with regard to that which is to come, may surely be expected to be beneficial in no common degree. It is not merely with its *alumni*, however, that it will have to do. It will affect through them the whole community of Western India, if not of distant provinces and countries. It will, with the blessing of God, which we implore in its behalf, be for ages an eminent instrumentality in the enlightenment, civilisation, and regeneration of THE EAST."

It was in May 1860 that Bombay lost the services of its Governor, Lord Elphinstone, who had guided the province through perilous times with rare firmness, wisdom, and self-sacrifice. He died soon after, leaving a name worthy to be placed beside that of his greater uncle's, and perpetuated by more than one institution and building in the capital where he ruled so well. Writing to Mr. C. Fraser Tytler, C.S., of the death of "our much loved and honoured friend," Dr. Wilson alludes to this correspondence, which has a touching interest for every scholar and Bombay man:—

DR. WILSON TO LORD ELPHINSTONE ON THE HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE'S DEATH.

"DEESA, *6th December* 1860.

"MY DEAR LORD ELPHINSTONE.—I have been very sorry to see in the papers which have reached me at this station this morning the intimation of the death of your uncle, the distinguished and venerated Mountstuart Elphinstone. I hope I am not guilty of unseemly intrusion when I say that I most sincerely sympathise with your Lordship in this bereavement, which you must keenly and deeply feel, as that by which the most endeared human sympathy and invaluable encouragement and support, extended to you from your earliest years, are withdrawn from you, even when, by absence in this remote land, on account of our national exigencies, you have been denied the mournful satisfaction of their last expression to yourself. I do feel much for you in the view of the rupture which has been made in the case of the tenderest of ties, and of the greatness of the loss which you have sustained; and I fervently pray that the God of all grace may minister to you that resignation and consolation which are needful. They are to be found only in the source from which, I am sure, it will be your privilege to seek them—in the recognition of the allwise and righteous sovereignty of God; in the thankful admission of the greatness of the divine favour extended to yourself, as well as to the public, for such a lengthened period as that for which Mr. Elphinstone was spared after his retirement from active life in India; in the treasure of hallowed reminiscences which must ever remain with you as the most precious legacy of the departed; in that free access which we all have to the peace and comfort vouchsafed to us by our merciful and faithful High-Priest; and in that salutary improvement which, by His word and Spirit, we may make of all our trials and afflictions.

"I see from the papers that Mr. Elphinstone's death was of a sudden character, as is often the case with those of his advanced years. The calmness and peace, and peculiar occupations of the life which he has so long led in his retirement, however, have been favourable to his contemplation of those great and abiding interests which are paramount under our relationship to our Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer. I have often been struck with the high moral tone of his State papers and publications, and with the respect which he cherished and expressed for the great principles and ordinances of our holy faith, as contrasted with those by which the religious systems of India are characterised. The subdued moderation of his desires for earthly fame and honour—

which, notwithstanding, will be the position of his memory in connexion with the history of India till latest ages—teaches a lesson which it will be profitable to all to learn.

"Though—solely owing to his own declinature—never at the helm of supreme power in India, it will, I doubt not, be found that in the comprehension of the mind and feeling of India; in the adaptation to the circumstances of this country of public measures; in prompt but calm energy even in troublous times; in soundness of judgment; in suavity, grace, and dignity of intercommunion with Natives and European functionaries; and in the impartiality, disinterestedness, beneficence, and wisdom of administration, he was actually the greatest of our Indian statesmen. Comparison of him with the great names of Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and Lord Metcalfe, is the most legitimate; and in making this comparison, it will be seen that in the excellences now alluded to he excelled them all. Though not to the degree of a Clive, a Hastings, a Wellesley, or a Cornwallis, a founder of our Indian Empire, he was eminently a confirmer and conservator of that empire, whose high principle and meritorious example will be respected and imitated the more that they are known. In point of fact, he had most to do with the movements which led to the acquisition of the Maráthá country; and the work of its settlement, so satisfactory and permanent (to the weal of its people and the peace of all India), was peculiarly his own. His diplomatic and governmental services, with which he may be said to have begun and ended his public career, were great successes. As a traveller he was enterprising, discreet, exact, and truthful. As a historian he will be long valued for his observation, research, judiciousness, and faithfulness. On reading his *History of India* one constantly feels that he knew both the country and the people of whom he writes. His own biography, appear when it may, will be an invaluable boon to our nation and the civilised world.

"I am perhaps going wrong when I make these remarks to your Lordship; but I know that one of the first effects of your grief will be that of leading you to looking to the excellence which is removed from this earthly sphere, where, however, it is destined to be ever remembered.

"We have been much retarded in our journey to Rajpootana by the severe illness of both the young missionaries, particularly at Kaira and this station. The doctor, however, has told us that we may now move on in a couple of days. We expect to get to the station of Beawur, where we shall rest for a little, in the course of a fortnight. I propose to visit from it Nusseerabad, Ajmer, and Jodhpore before setting out on my return to Bombay. The whole of the country

through which we are passing is quiet and well affected to the British Government.

"Mrs. Wilson joins me in the expression of the deepest sympathy, and I am, my dear Lord Elphinstone, with great regard, yours very respectfully, JOHN WILSON."

"BOMBAY, 13*th January* 1860.—I feel very grateful to you for the sympathy you express upon the loss I have sustained in my uncle's death. Of all the men I have ever known I loved and respected him the most. Upon all occasions of difficulty I looked to him for counsel and encouragement. I was in frequent correspondence with him to the last, and I feel that his place can never be supplied. On the other hand, although his death was very sudden I cannot say that I was surprised at it. When I came out to India my hopes of seeing him again in this world were very slight; he was then seventy-four, and his health was always delicate, yet as years passed away, and as he continued to write to me with his usual vigour and interest in this country, I could not but hope that I should be permitted to see him again; and as the time of my probable return approached this hope grew stronger. It was with feelings of sorrow and disappointment, therefore, rather than of surprise, that I received the account of his death. There is, indeed, much for which I can never be sufficiently thankful. In the first place, that it pleased God to allow my dear uncle to retain the possession of his intellect unimpaired to the last. Of all things the saddest is to see a great mind in decay, and this trial I have been spared in his case. Then I have every reason to believe that his death, though at the last sudden, did not find him unprepared. He made some slight alterations in his will within a month of his death, and a letter was found with it addressed to me, in which he begs that his papers may not hastily, or without due reservation, be made over to any one for publication. All his papers were found in the most admirable order, and I have requested that they may be kept exactly as he left them until I return. He has remembered most of his relations and all his servants in his will, and more than one of his bequests show his delicacy and thoughtfulness towards others. He was indeed one of those who delighted in doing good by stealth.

"I had written thus far when I was interrupted, and I have but little time to finish this letter. Mr. Walter Elliot, who went home by the last steamer, begged me to remember him to you, and to say how much he regretted your absence. I am happy to say that he is in excellent health; few people go home after thirty-nine years' service looking so hale and hearty.

"I have no doubt that your journey will be one of great interest to you. I was very much pleased with Ajmer. There is an old Jain or Buddhist temple turned into a mosque, which is very curious; the outside is quite Mahometan, and the carving is very fine in its way, but the interior is evidently of a different style, and the lotus and lozenge, and bell and chain ornaments all belong to the Jains or Buddhists.

"I have been reading a review of two works, with which I dare say you are well acquainted, but which were both new to me—*Christianity and Mankind*, by Mr. Bunsen, and the *History of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church*, by M. de Pressensé, a French Protestant, and, I think, a minister. They must both be very remarkable works, and the review of them by M. Milsand in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* is well worth reading. But I must bring this letter to a close. I beg you once more to accept my most sincere thanks for your kind sympathy, and I must also ask you to convey them to Mrs. Wilson, with my very kind remembrance. I hope that you will both derive much benefit and pleasure from your tour, and that you will be able to return to Bombay before the weather becomes hot.—Believe me, my dear Dr. Wilson, yours most sincerely, ELPHINSTONE."

Very beautiful were the relations, of which these glimpses have been given, between the Governor and the Missionary. Good reason had Lord Elphinstone to remark to Dr. H. Miller that to no man was he so indebted personally, for public and private services, as to Dr. Wilson, on whom he could not prevail to accept so much as the value of a shoe-latchet. When, in public meeting, moving the adoption of the farewell address which the province selected him to present to the retiring Governor, Dr. Wilson especially referred to his Excellency's "constant recognition of the great principles of religious toleration and humanity," especially in the suppression of hook-swinging, and in securing to all, out-caste as well as Brahman, access to the public wells and cisterns.

CHAPTER XVII.

1862-1865.

THE KRISHNA ORGIES—DR. WILSON AMONG THE EDUCATED NATIVES.

Brahmanism opposed to Rational Humanity—The Stages of its Corruption—Krishna Worship—The Four Krishna Reformers—Young Bombay—Vallabh the Royal Teacher of Deified Adultery—Trade of Bombay taxed for the Maharajas—A Courageous Editor—The Trial—Mr. Chisholm Anstey—Dr. Wilson's evidence—Sir Joseph Arnould's Judgment—Public Opinion—Testimonial to Kursundas Mooljee—Advice to Hindoos to Travel—Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's Benevolent Institution—Influence of Dr. Wilson in Hindoo and Parsee Families—Rai Bahadoor Tirmal Rao—"Uncle" Wilson—A Hindoo Lady learning to read at Sixty—Intercourse with Native Princes—Raja Dinkur Rao—Prince of Johanna—The Converts' Address to Dr. Wilson on the Thirtieth Anniversary of his Landing—Reviews his Missionary Policy—Building of the Native Church and Manse—The services and drowning of Stephen Hislop.

"In hac disceptatione hujuscemodi ratiocinatio summam quæstionis absolvit. Proponunt Græci: Si dii tales colendi sunt, profecto etiam tales homines honorandi. Assumunt Romani: Sed nullo modo tales homines honorandi sunt. Concludunt Christiani: Nullo modo igitur dii tales colendi sunt."

S. AUR. AUGUSTINI: *De Civitate Dei.*

"Primarily he attacks a flagrant social enormity and scandal. For generations the hereditary high priests of his sect had, as he believed, committed whoredom with the daughters of his people. Like the sons of Eli they had done this openly at the gates of the temple—like the sons of Eli they had done this under the pretended sanction and in the abused name of religion. This is the thing he denounces. It would be a waste of words to point out that in denouncing it vehemently, bitterly, indignantly, he was within the strict limits of his duty as a public writer. The interests of society require that wickedness such as this should be sternly exposed and unrelentingly hunted down. If to write vehemently, bitterly, indignantly, on such a subject as this be libellous, than were the Prophets of old libellers; then were the early Fathers of the Church libellers; then have all earnest men in all time been libellers, who have published to the world, in the fit language of generous indignation, their scorn of hypocrisy and their hatred of vice. . . . . .

"It seems impossible that this matter should have been discussed thus openly before a population so intelligent as that of the natives of Western India without producing its results. It has probably taught some to think; it must have led many to inquire. It is not a question of theology that has been before us! it is a question of morality. The principle for which the defendant and his witnesses have been contending is simply this—that what is morally wrong cannot be theologically right; that when practices which sap the very foundations of morality, which involve a violation of the eternal and immutable laws of Right, are established in the name and under the sanction of Religion, they ought, for the common welfare of society, and in the interests of humanity itself, to be publicly denounced and exposed. They have denounced—they have exposed them. At a risk and to a cost which we cannot adequately measure, these men have done determined battle against a foul and powerful delusion. They have dared to look Custom and Error boldly in the face, and proclaim before the world of their votaries that their Evil is not Good, that their Lie is not the Truth. In thus doing they have done bravely and well. It may be allowable to express a hope that what they have done will not have been in vain; that the seed they have sown will bear its fruit; that their courage and consistency will be rewarded by a steady increase in the number of those whom their words and their examples have quickened into thought and animated to resistance, whose homes they have helped to cleanse from loathsome lewdness and whose souls they have set free from a debasing bondage."

SIR JOSEPH ARNOULD: *Judgment in the Maharaj Libel Case.*

CHAPTER XVII.

THE late Canon Mozley, a Christian philosopher who has been pronounced, with some justice, the Bishop Butler of this generation, published an Essay on "Indian Conversion," twenty years ago.[1] Writing before the comparatively rapid development of the Church of India, the Protestant sections of which already form a varied community of more than three hundred thousand souls, he argued, on the ground of reason alone, that Brahmanism will be gradually but completely demolished by the fair and solid contact of Christianity with it. For Brahmanism is at disagreement with the original type of rational humanity; with the religious type and the moral standard in human nature; with physical truth, and with the ends of society. Not less convincing is the historical argument; and when both are looked at together in the light of time, as the factor in the world's changes, the conclusion is overpowering, apart from Scripture. From the monotheism and nature-worship of the early Vedic hymns and Zoroastrian *gathas*, to the polytheism and sacerdotal caste which provoked the Buddhist reform, what a change! And yet it is spread over, at least, twelve centuries. Arrested for a time by men like Asoka, the Brahmanical corruption leavened the whole lump of Asiatic life, whether Hindoo or Buddhist, till, at the close of the next twelve centuries, the faith of Gautama was wiped out in blood all over the peninsula, and only the conforming Jains remained to tell of the impotence of the creed that had cut its

[1] *Bentley's Quarterly*, Jan. 1859, republished in his *Essays, Historical and Theological*, 1878, with a Sketch of the lamented theologian's career.

temples and monasteries out of the living rock, that had subdued Tibet and China, Burma and Ceylon. Triumphant Brahmanism entered on the third stage of its descending progress ten centuries ago, with all its evils intensified, and afterwards but little checked by the iconoclastic fanaticism of the Muhammadan invasion. Ceasing to spread, save among the aborigines it had long scorned, when it did not reduce them to the worst slavery, Brahmanism was driven in on itself. For nearly a century it found a protection alike against Mussulman intolerance and Christian light in the encouragement of the East Indian Company, which Charles Grant and Wilberforce first stopped by the Charter of 1833.

After the persecution of Buddhism there arose the latest development of the Hindoo system in the worship of Krishna. Thenceforth Brahmanism was to act on the elastic policy of finding a place for every sect, every sentiment, every god, every deified hero or saint, that would consent, even indirectly, to affiliate itself. Like the Paganism of the Roman empire, the Brahmanism which emerged from the struggle with Buddhism, wounded and wise, would have included Christianity itself, if that had consented to be dragged at its chariot wheels. Krishna, on his best side, it was not difficult to identify with Christ, sufficiently to satisfy the uneducated. The Jesuits of the Madura Mission themselves favoured the identification, and forged Vedas to prove it. So saturated is the Bhagavat Puran of this period with Christian-like sentiment, that it is still a subject of discussion whether the similarity was not designed.

Krishna, the god of love in the Oriental sense of lust, has ever since marked the accelerating corruption of popular Hindooism. At first, like Buddhism, a concession to the discontent with caste, sacerdotalism, exclusiveness, and rigidity, the Krishna worship seems to rest on the idea of brotherhood including even Muhammadans. From the teaching of

Ramanuj and Ramanand there arose four reformers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in each of the great provinces of Hindooism. Kabeer, the weaver, was the Hindee; Nanuk, the herd-boy, was the Punjabee or Sikh; Chaitunya, the Brahman, was the Bengalee; and Tukaram, the shopkeeper, was the Marathee teacher, singer, and priest. Each was the Vates of his countrymen. Dr. Wilson early became familiar with their teaching, especially with that of Tukaram, a poet who has of late been frequently translated into English, while the whole *Adi Granth*, or scriptures of Nanuk, has been recently turned into English by Dr. Trumpp. All wrote in the vernacular; all proclaimed the brotherhood of Vishnoo in his Krishna form; and all, as developed by their followers, ended in the deification and practice of lust and intolerant cruelty. The Jugganath car-worship, on which a lurid light has been thrown by the recent trial and banishment to the Andamans of its deified representative, the Raja of Pooree, for murder by torture, is of the same reformed school.

Gradually Brahmanism found that its subtle policy of widening the bonds of Hindooism so as to include all apparently conforming sects, though on the whole successful, encouraged low-caste fanatics to claim, as pontiffs, the adoration and very substantial revenues of the people. The Vaishnava brotherhoods have thus honeycombed the old sacerdotalism with secret, and generally filthy and execrable, cults all over India south and west of the Ganges. Their leaders have established the most frequented shrines, for which whole armies of debased recruiters tout for pilgrims; and they have become wandering popes, who travel with all the pomp and pride of the gods they represent. The regular Brahmans resent this, not on moral but on pecuniary grounds, and strive to compete with their rivals. Thus the deterioration goes on, till India presents the same state of things which is so accurately pictured in the second or third century

romance of *The Clementines*, the same crowd of Antinomian sects, like the Nicolaitans, through which the paganism of the empire vainly tried to compete with the only Faith that has ever enforced continence and purity. He who would learn what Hindooism now is, whether Brahmanical or Vaishnava, will find the materials in the great treatise of Dr. Norman Chevers on Medical Jurisprudence in India, and in the collection of *libri execrandi* in the Bodleian, made by the late Horace Hayman Wilson for his work on *The Religious Sects of the Hindoos.*

Against such teaching and practices there has always been that outraged native opinion which will yet cast forth the whole system responsible for them. So far as the class of educated reformers, in the true sense of the word, has not yet found its way into the Christian Church, but has become known as "Young Bombay" or "Young Bengal," they are indirectly the offspring of the education and influences of the cultured missionaries. In Bombay Dr. Wilson was the teacher, the adviser, the friend, of all such non-Christian or almost Christian natives. To them, in a hundred ways, the most precious portion not only of such morning leisure as he could claim, but of his working hours, was gladly given up. By the press, the college, lectures, the Asiatic Society, public meetings, discussions, social intercourse, and often substantial patronage, he made himself their example and their guide. Poor and rich, low and high caste, pundit and English-speaking, they all knew him; for they, and their fathers, and their children sat at his feet during nigh half a century. In the light of the future, we believe his work among and for the non-Christian natives who resided in or passed through Bombay, to have exceeded in influence that which created the native church. It extended even where he was not personally known; it returned to him in the most unexpected ways. How he was to the natives as to the Europeans of

Bombay a great and recognised moral force, all the more because of his Hindoo and Muhammadan discussions and Parsee controversies, was seen in what is popularly known as the Maharaj libel case.

When, at the end of the fifteenth century, Nanuk was gathering his Sikhs or disciples in the Punjab, Vallabh, son of a Brahman of Bijanuggur, went to the north of India as acharya or religious teacher. "To Krishna," he taught his followers, "dedicate body, soul, and possessions"—*tan, man, dhan.* Krishna is to be worshipped in the person of the gooroo or teacher, who himself becomes the god. The teacher is therefore to be addressed as a King or Maharaj; his followers are to worship him by sexual intercourse, or by witnessing such intercourse. While gods, the Vallabacharyas are also gopees, or herd-women devoted to Krishna according to the scandalous legend; and hence they dress as women, with long hair, female ornaments, and toe-rings. The union with the Maharajas, of the wives and daughters of the devotees, according to the vow of dedication, is union with Krishna, as in the Ras Lila. Hence, like the parallel sect of the Shaktees, or worshippers of the female principle in Bengal, the carnal love-meetings of the married followers, known as Ras Mandalis. Hence every Vallabacharya temple becomes the scene of adultery under so-called divine sanction. This faith is professed, these practices were followed, by the largest and wealthiest of the Hindoo communities of Western India, whose scripture is the tenth book of the Bhagavat Puran, translated from Sanscrit into the Brijabasha dialect as *Prem Sagur*, or the Ocean of Love. The Bhattias, Marwarees, and Lowanas—the men who, as clerks and partners in mercantile houses, as capitalists and shopkeepers, come most closely into contact with Europeans—were the men who adored the Maharajas, and whose wives and daughters were thus publicly debauched. Numbering probably not fewer than half a million in Western

India, they paid the Maharajas' dues, according to a fixed tariff, on every article they sold, the real payer being the consumer of course. Thus these pontiffs of Krishna waxed fat with organised adultery and an ever-increasing tax on half the trade of Bombay. The impost of a farthing on every ten pounds' worth of Lancashire goods sold, yielded two temples alone £5300 in one year. Not one important article of trade escaped a similar impost.

The Brahmans of the island, being beggars chiefly, receive alms from the Vaishnava, as well as Siva sects; and this the Maharaj pontiffs in 1855 determined to stop, as an interference with their rights. Their followers consented, on the condition of reforms in the temple abuses, such as the cessation by the Maharajas of adulterous intercourse with their females at the winter service at four in the morning, and the pollution of young girls, the ever-increasing extortion, the taking of bribes in cases of arbitration, the summoning of worshippers to the shrines at all hours to attend the idol, and the beating of the crowds to hasten their passage through the temple. The promises were given but never carried out. The ignorant Maharajas were defeated in a public discussion with the Brahmans who knew Sanscrit; and their dignity was lowered by the order of the Supreme Court that they must attend when parties in a case, although they objected to sit lower than a European.

Editing the *Satya Prokash*, or "Light of Truth," one of the sixteen Goojaratee newspapers, was a youth Kursundass Mooljee, who was one of their followers and familiar with their practices. He became the centre of the reformers; and against him the Maharajas hired a Parsee, the editor of our old friend the *Chabook*, or "Whip." Kursundass welcomed the arrival of Judoonath Brizruthunjee from Surat, as a Maharaj who was said to have himself espoused the cause of reform so far as to establish a female school. But one of

the reforming party having caught the new-comer in the very act of adultery in the temple, it became necessary to expose that Maharaj also. Formerly the principal men of the community had signed a "slavery bond," vowing to excommunicate Kursundass, and to procure the passing of an Act to exempt the Maharajas from attendance in courts of justice. Only when that had been signed were the temples opened and the enforced fasting ceased. Kursundass then published an article headed "The Primitive Religion of the Hindoos and the present Heterodox Opinions," in which not only the whole sect but Judoonath Maharaj by name was charged with doctrines and practices involving "shamelessness, subtlety, immodesty, rascality, and deceit." This appeared on the 21st October 1860. Seven months after the Maharaj brought an action for libel in the Supreme Court against the editor and printer, laying the damages at Rs. 5000. At the same time he induced his leading followers to refuse to give evidence under pain of excommunication. Two of these were sentenced to heavy fines for conspiracy to defeat the ends of justice, and then the main case proceeded. From the 26th January 1862 it lasted forty days, for twenty-four of which it was before Sir M. Sausse, the Chief Justice, and Sir Joseph Arnould, Puisne Judge.

The success of the defendant, who pleaded justification, was due to two men. Mr. Chisholm Anstey, his senior counsel, supplied the legal learning and forensic skill with all that persistence which, when not erratic as too often in his case, made him an antagonist to be feared whether in Parliament, at the bar, or on the bench. Dr. Wilson contributed the learning and the uprightness required to convict the Maharaj out of his own books. Some thirty other witnesses on either side were heard, including Judoonath himself, and the expenses amounted to £6000, of which he had to pay the greater part. We have prefixed to this Chapter two passages from

Sir Joseph Arnould's judgment. Of Dr. Wilson's evidence the accomplished Judge remarked—"Dr. Wilson, who has studied this subject with that comprehensive range of thought (the result of varied erudition) which has made his name a foremost one among the living Orientalists of Europe—Dr. Wilson says: 'The sect of Vallabacharya is a new sect, inasmuch as it has selected the god Krishna in one of his aspects, that of his adolescence, and raised him to supremacy in that aspect. It is a new sect in as far as it has established the *pusthti-marg*, or way of enjoyment, in a natural and carnal sense.' I agree with Dr. Wilson in thinking that, 'all things considered, the alleged libel is a very mild expostulation,' involving an 'appeal to the principle that preceptors of religion, unless they purify themselves, cannot expect success to attend their labours.'" And the author of the volume which contains a history of the whole sect and trial[1] expresses native opinion when he writes: "Dr. Wilson's labours in this trial deserve special notice. He placed at the disposal of the defendant his rich and multifarious stores of learning, which proved of surpassing value. Throughout the whole trial this learned missionary ably sustained the character which he fills in the estimation of the natives of India—that of a philanthropist." All the journals of India, native and European, rejoiced at the vindication of morality and purity.

Under cross-examination Dr. Wilson testified to his witnessing great abominations practised by the Vallabacharyan sectaries, from which he turned away with disgust. So little informed were the English counsel for the ignorant Maharaj that they submitted as a description of the sect a work applicable to another altogether, and Dr. Wilson turned the tables on them. But in re-publishing a report of the trial in the *Oriental Christian Spectator* he wrote—

[1] *History of the Sect of the Maharajas or Vallabacharyas in Western India.* London, 1865.

"Its insertion in the instructions of the counsel for the prosecution shows the unprincipled and unscrupulous measures of the prompters in this case, and the difficulties under which unsuspecting English gentlemen laboured in dealing with it." It should not be overlooked that Dr. Wilson did not know Kursundass Mooljee. The movement was a purely native one for reform within the sect to which the principal Hindoo traders of Bombay belonged. Till he was summoned to the witness-box, with translations of forgotten dialects and exposures of iniquities unmentionable save for the ends of justice and morality, the natives had fought alone. And he rejoiced in their courage, which he thus publicly acknowledged at a later date:—"The educated Brahmans of the present day now bid fair to take a leading part in destroying both ignorance and error. This is specially the case in Western India among many learned and honest-minded gentlemen, such as Dr. Bhau Daji, Rao Saheb Vishvanath, Narayan Mandalik, Mahadeva Govind Ranade, and Ramkrishna Gopal Bhundarkur." When all was over Mr. Kursundass Mooljee resolved to visit England, an account of his travels in which he subsequently published in Goojaratee. Then it was that Dr. Wilson headed all classes in Bombay at a meeting called to raise funds in honour of the earnest reformer, and thus counselled the great mercantile community of the Hindoos:—

"A most horrible system of immorality, impurity, and iniquity, long practised in Western and Northern India, had been exposed and reprobated in a most effective manner, not only on the bench of justice, but (by the help of the public press) throughout the whole length and breadth of India. Only one thing remained to be done on behalf of Mr. Kursundass by the friends of reform in Bombay, and that was to present him with a substantial and permanent token of their approbation, esteem, and gratitude. It was pleasing to find that this public intimation was made to him at a favourable time—when he and the esteemed friend, Rao Bahadoor Ramchundra Balkrishna, under whose happy roof the present meeting was being held, were about to brave

the prejudices and forces of caste and superstition by leaving for a season the soil of India, and proceeding to the blessed climes of Europe, both for their self-improvement and making legitimate commercial arrangements which would be beneficial to their country. Their contemplated voyage and journey, they have been told, was contrary to the direct injunctions of what have been called the Shastres; and it must at once be freely and unceremoniously admitted that this is a fact. The Shastres do interdict foreign travel. But what of the works themselves so called? They (meaning by them the *Smŕitis* or law books) are the products of the darkest age of Indian history. Though in some instances they contain traditional information of a curious kind, their legislation respecting social life is often of the most puerile and foolish character. It is exactly in many respects what we might expect if we were to collect the Bairagees and other devotees of Walkeshwar, Mumbadevi, and Nasik, and fill with them the Council Chamber. Who, nowadays, is prepared to abide by the decision of the law books in regard either to moving or resting? I have seen the attempt made to follow them (after their violation by a compact of service with a European) by a learned pundit employed to teach the Marathee language to a member of my own family. Carefully did he survey the interior of his house, a few yards distant from the spot where the meeting had assembled together. He was pleased to find the floor covered with matting of vegetable origin, and to discover a chair on which to squat himself made of the same material. The difficulty in the way of his getting through the duties of the day without inconvenient ceremonial defilement, was seen at the entrance to the residence. There lay a rug of animal material, which he could not overstep without a great effort of muscular power. It was only by a hop, step, and jump that he could clear it. Sometimes he fell short of the mark, and then had to be on the look-out for the tail of a cow to touch for atonement on the way home (laughter). Are any of the rational opponents of foreign travel on the score of its opposition to the Shastres prepared to befool themselves by really making the Shastres thus the rule of their movements in common life? (laughter and applause). Are they even prepared to sit according to the Shastres, and to undergo the well-known penalty to be inflicted on Soodras (low-castes) for seating themselves on the same couch with a Brahman? Away with this nonsense. Imitate the ancient Indians, who, as we learn from the Vedas, were not afraid to go on distant voyages for mercantile and other purposes. Imitate in this matter the Bhatyas, to whose com-

munity the worthy chairman belongs; who for the purposes of commerce are found on the shores of Arabia, both in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and on the coasts of Africa even as far south as Mozambique, and who have used these liberties from time immemorial. Messrs. Kursundass and Ramchundra are to be congratulated, not only for the valuable example which they are showing to their countrymen on this occasion, but for the prospects of self-improvement which lie before them. The friends present who have been already in Europe can give, and have given, through the press, strong testimony in this matter. Indian travel in Europe, too, bids fair to be as instructive to the natives of India as European travel in India to the natives of Europe. Our intending travellers are looking in a right direction. They go to the centre of civilisation and philanthropy; and they will there take lessons in civilisation and philanthropy, as well as see their great parent and nourisher, the Christianity of the Bible, in vigorous action. Let them look not only at London, but at England in its length and breadth; and not merely at England, but at Scotland, where certainly they will have a warm reception. (Applause.)"

Dr. Wilson had himself suggested and drawn up the appeal for a public recognition of "the disinterested efforts of Kursundass Mooljee to improve the state of Goojaratee society, and especially of his courageous conduct, truthfulness, and singleness of purpose in the management of the Maharaj libel case." His name is followed by that of the Parsee reformer, Ardaseer Framjee. Christianity, Hindooism, and Zoroastianism were thus seen happily allied in the cause of morality and humanity. The result, with all that it involved, was worth Dr. Wilson's thirty years' strivings. On the same day he assisted Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor, in examining the hundreds of Parsee youth, boys and girls, who crowded the classes of the Benevolent Institution endowed by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy. The learned controversialist, whose uncompromising but tolerant zeal for his Master had years before excited a panic among the community when several of their ablest youths were baptized into Christ, hailing the pursuit of truth in every form, "referred to the intelli-

gence and enterprise of the Parsee community, who would not only be patrons of learning in India, like the noble Jeejeebhoy family, but participants of its great advantages." The Governor followed, congratulating the dowager Lady Jamsetjee on the results of her encouragement of female education.

The subtle influence of Dr. Wilson and his teaching, permeating generations of non-Christian native society, not only in the capital but in distant cities and stations, may be best seen if we select one of the many Hindoo families to whom he always was, in the childlike language of the grateful people of India, "Kaka" or Uncle Wilson; just as soldiers and administrators like Nicholson, Edwardes, and Abbot, were among the wild Afghan tribes of our north-west frontier. For forty years, and with four of its generations whom he educated, Dr. Wilson and his wife maintained a closer personal intercourse and more affectionate correspondence with the family of the Hindoo Tirmal Rao, than we have any example of. The now aged and honoured judge, whom in 1836, his father took from Dharwar in the far south, to be educated in Bombay, tells the story so well in his quaint English that we need not summarise the sixty-five letters from Dr. Wilson which he prizes. This communication is introduced by his son, the Bombay High Court Interpreter and Senior Canarese and Marathee Translator, who writes to us—"He knew four generations of our family. He loved me and my brother Venkut Rao most tenderly. He very often remarked, in the meetings of his friends, that our father completed his education under him, that we had been his pupils, and that he looked upon us as his grandchildren. You heard the same observation from his lips when he formally introduced us to you in one of those meetings convened by him for your sake."

From Rao Bahadoor Tirmal Rao Venkutesh, Pensioned Judge and First Class Honorary Magistrate.

"10*th February* 1878.—As my country is situated at the distance of about 350 miles from Bombay, no one in those days sent their children to Bombay to be educated. In 1836 my late father had occasion to go to Bombay on some business, and was struck with the English education that was imparted to the young men in the Government school there, and his European friends advised him to send me to Bombay. It was determined that I should be placed under the care of the then Rev. Dr. J. Wilson, in preference to being put into the Government school. I went to his house to pay my respects to him for the first time. I remember perfectly well how kindly he received me and what encouragement he gave me. He directed me to see him in his house both in the mornings and evenings every day, besides meeting him in the school. For some time Mathematics seemed to me to be a dry and useless study. He therefore, on one occasion, passed his hands over the figure of the 5th proposition of the first book of Euclid in such a peculiar manner, and explained matters to me so clearly, that from that moment I began to take great liking for Mathematics. He taught me more of Geography, Astronomy, Zoology, general History, and Scripture, in course of his conversations in his house than in the regular classes in the schools. He appointed the late Rev. R. Nesbit to teach me literature specially, in addition to what I learnt in the classes, and permitted me also attend the lectures given in Logic, Geology, Botany, and Chemistry in the Elphinstone College by Professors Orlebar, Harkness, and Bell. Dr. Wilson's mode of teaching was so entertaining that we never felt that we were studying, but we used to think that we were playing with him. He treated us more like our father than any one else. He attended upon us during our sickness personally. In those days my wife was quite illiterate. He impressed upon my mind the advantages of female education, and made me teach her to read and write. At the same time he got his sisters-in-law, the Misses Anna and Hay Bayne, to undertake the education of my wife.

"During nights Dr. Wilson took me out in open air, and made me acquainted with the different planets and constellations. He used daily to pray to God in my behalf, and direct my mind towards God. On Sundays he regularly took me to his church to hear him preach. In fact the trouble that he took to educate me and the students of his classes was really inconceivable. After leaving his school he brought me prominently to the notice of the then Governor, Sir R. Grant, and

other officers of the State, and it was in a measure owing to his recommendations that I obtained the offices that I held afterwards. Dr. Wilson always looked upon me as one of his earliest scholars, and loved me to excess. Twenty years afterwards it pleased God to enable me to place several of my children under the personal care of the Rev. Dr. Wilson and his late partner, Mrs. Isabella Wilson, for educational purposes. It would be impossible for me to express adequately the peculiar pleasure with which they undertook the task, and how well they executed it. Dr. Wilson had the charge of the education of the boys, and Mrs. Wilson that of the girls. It was owing wholly to Dr. Wilson's prayers, training, trouble, and exertions that my two boys, Jayasattia Boohrao Tirmal, and Venkutrao Rookmangad (now my legal nephew), have been so well educated. The former now holds a very responsible office in the Honourable the High Court of Judicature at Bombay. The latter obtained the degree of B.A. during Dr. Wilson's lifetime; and it is a pity that the latter did not live long enough to see Venkut Rao become an LL.B. also, which degree the University of Bombay has just conferred upon him.

"The above is a partial account of Dr. Wilson's dealings with my family alone. He treated several hundreds of other families in a similar manner. After leaving his college and returning to my country I continued to visit him once in two years or so, and spent several days with him. The whole of his time used to be occupied in doing some public good or other. He wrote and published hundreds of tracts, and several books on religious, educational, historical, and other subjects in English, Marathee, Goojaratee, and other languages. He assisted people of all classes in various ways. His dealings with all were kind, considerate, and honourable throughout; so much so that natives of all classes and creeds feared and honoured him more than they did any other person. In course of time he had won the hearts of the people so much that they were convinced that nothing could go wrong with him. His very name, or, as the natives called him, '*Wilson Kaka*' (*i. e.* Uncle Wilson), was sufficient to inspire any one with the fullest confidence.

"He first arrived in India in 1829-30. Since that time, up to his death in 1875, no less than eighteen Governors ruled over the Western Presidency. Each, in his turn, did what good lay in his power to the country. There is no wonder in that, as all of them were invested with official power, and had at their command money and men. Dr. Wilson was a poor man, without power or money. Nevertheless, he did more good to India, and still more so to the Presidency of Bombay,

in the way of educating people, composing books suited to their wants, in various languages and on different subjects, inducing them to be loyal subjects of the British Crown, collecting ancient manuscripts and histories of the country, etc. etc., than all the eighteen Governors put together. He was the father of several religious and educational Institutions. Dr. Wilson was held in the greatest esteem by the successive Governors, Commanders-in-Chief, members of Council, Judges of the High Court, and almost all the other officers of the State, and the native nobility. I know of no one to whom greater respect was paid than to Dr. Wilson. It may be considered that I am exaggerating his virtues and usefulness, but there are thousands and thousands of Europeans and Natives who would be glad to corroborate my assertions, and I challenge every one and all to contradict me if they possibly can. Dr. Wilson was an extraordinary man. Of his learning, travels, and other good deeds in England and elsewhere, I leave it to better hands than myself to describe. I only say what I have seen and known. It is difficult to find another man like him. I am really sorry that my knowledge of the English language is so limited that I am not able to express more vividly the varied learning and usefulness of Dr. Wilson."

In all the offices of friendship and affection common to men and women of all countries, save that intercourse from which Hindoo caste alone shuts out its votaries, Dr. and Mrs. Wilson, and the Misses Bayne for a time, were one with this Hindoo family. Children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, came successively to the Ambrolie Institution, and to the Girls' School, while they spent their holiday and leisure hours in the missionary's home, as English youths would have done. Of all he wrote in 1857, "I know of no instance of any family residing at such a distance from the seat of the Western Presidency making such judicious arrangements for the culture and training of its young members." At the frequent social gatherings of old students in the mission-house, as in the grateful support of the college and schools, they were foremost. When the aged mother of Tirmal Rao passed away, Dr. Wilson wrote, amid the hurry of his duties in England, to her son, his student of 1836, "I deeply sym-

pathise with every one of you. Your mother was no common woman. It tells much in her favour that she was assiduous in her endeavours to promote your well-being, and that of all the members and connections of your family; that she encouraged you all in the acquisition of knowledge; and that she encouraged the work of female education in India by learning to read herself, when she had in her life numbered threescore years. The day must come when we ourselves must make the great transition and appear before the omniscient and righteous Judge. May God in His mercy impart to every one of us that salvation from the curse and pollution of sin of which we stand in need, and which is freely offered to all who confide in the great atonement of the Son of God. Of this atonement your dear mother had heard, though not so fully as you yourself have done." Such cases as this are by no means rare in the varied transition states of thought and progress through which India is passing under British rule and missionary agencies of all kinds. In Bengal whole families or clans, like the Dutts, have together taken the step which seals all, and have publicly professed Christ.

Very similar to this among the Parsees was Dr. Wilson's relations with another Judge, Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee, lasting over forty years. So with Dadoba Pandurang since 1834, one of the University Examiners and an early reformer. The Native Princes, Muhammadan and Hindoo, rarely visited the capital without seeking an interview with one who had been a welcome preacher in their durbars; and on such occasions of rejoicing as marriages, they sent him *khureetas*, or letters of honour, illuminated with the perfect taste of the Oriental, and delicately besprinkled with gold dust. When a distinguished Native statesman like the Raja Dinkur Rao, who did so much for Gwalior and for Lord Canning's Administration in 1858-62, visited Bombay, he carried an introduction to Dr. Wilson from Sir Richmond Shakespeare. Lord Canning

testified of that astute Marathee:—"Seldom has a ruler been served in troublous times by a more faithful, fearless, or able minister," for his counsel saved the Maharaja of Gwalior in 1857. When still more distant potentates, like Sultan Abdou of Joanna, repeated his visit to India, the Government, changed every five years, turned to Dr. Wilson for information regarding him. The intercourse of an earlier year, renewed on that occasion, resulted in this farewell letter from the petty but important prince, whose broken English is not discreditable to one who had so few opportunities as this ruler of the Comoro Islands, in the once notorious slave route of the Mozambique Channel:—

"KURACHEE, *4th December* 1858.

"SIR.—I have the honour most respectfully to apprize you of my safe arrival in Kurachee. I am extremely sorry that I did not confess the true which is in Christ during my stay at Bombay. I have also not been comfortable since I have left you and your very kind lady, although the Right Honourable Lord Elphinstone have been very kind to me, and allow me to have in Kurachee five rupees a-day and a passage to my country. But this does not make me comfortable whenever I think this—for God so loved the world that he gave his begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life. I hope you will be so kind as to recommend me to one Missionary in Kurachee, and to whom I will confess Christ before I will leave Kurachee. Should this letter find you in the full enjoyment of health and prosperity I shall never forget you and your kind lady. I return you thousand thanks, for your kindness was to me to shew me the true, and I hope God that you and your very kind lady may live long in good health and prosperity."

But dearest of all to John Wilson were his children in the faith, gathered out of every kindred, and tribe, and tongue; barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, from all the lands around the Indian Ocean. On the thirtieth anniversary of his landing at Bombay the whole adult community, of more than two hundred souls, presented him with a loving address, and a copy of the *Hexapla*, as best typifying his work and the tie which

bound them to him and to each other. The address was signed in their name by the representative Parsee and Brahman now ordained Christian ministers, the Revs. Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee and Narayan Sheshadri. Its tenor is seen in his reply, which is full of suggestiveness alike to the Church of India and to those Western Churches which have been privileged, all too slowly and coldly, to lay its foundations.

"The love and affection which you have ever borne to me since before my delighted eyes you one by one, and two by two in some instances, passed from the darkness of heathenism and error into the light and grace of the Lord, has, next to your steady and consistent adherence to the cause of Christ and your advancement in usefulness, proved the greatest ministerial solace and comfort which I have enjoyed in the hallowed evangelistic enterprise in which it is my privilege, under a deep sense of personal unworthiness, to engage in this great and promising though still benighted land. I feel that the bond which unites us together in mutual respect and confidence is of a permanent character, and I earnestly pray that it may be more and more sanctified to us all by the spirit of the glorious Saviour by Whom we have been redeemed and Whom we seek to serve.

"You express your belief that good has followed my labours in India. This, as you see and acknowledge, is, to any extent that it may have been realised, the consequence entirely of the divine blessing, which I ever desire to acknowledge with humility and praise. I thank God on all occasions for bringing me to the shores of India, on which my affections were strongly set from my youthful days, though I was ready to be sent as a Missionary of the Cross to any part of the world which might be selected for me by the wisdom of the Church seeking for divine direction. I bless God for my appointment to found the Scottish Missions at the seat of the Western Presidency of India, the peculiar importance of which I had begun to discern before I left my native land, and for the great and effectual door of usefulness which His gracious providence here opened for myself, and for the esteemed brethren in the ministry—particularly my dear brother Mr Nesbit—who came to my assistance after a considerable number of years had been passed by me in solitary but not unfruitful labours in this mission. I have constantly sought to use all available instrumentalities and opportunities for the prosecution of the work in which I have been engaged; and while I more and more earnestly pray the Lord to pardon

my numerous shortcomings and offences in His work, I more and more seek to give him the undivided praise for what has been accomplished. It is in His name that I have sought to advance His cause by speech and writing, and by teaching and preaching, both among young and old, in schools and seminaries of learning both for males and females, in the lecture room of this house, and in places of public concourse both in this city and neighbourhood, and in distant districts of this land. A similar assurance I can give you in behalf of the Lord's devoted ministerial services in Bombay and in the contiguous Presidencies, many of whom we have been privileged to welcome to this land, and some of whom, as our dear brethren of the Irish Presbyterian, to introduce in the first instance to the field of their labours.

"While I thank God for the multitudes near us and afar off in India, who by the labours of all his servants in this land have become ashamed of the gods and idols, and doctrines and rites of their varied superstitions; and while I see many, particularly of the young in this place and neighbourhood apparently not far from the kingdom of God, I especially rejoice, with thankfulness to God, in those who, like yourselves, have altogether entered the Christian fold, and who by their spirit and temper, as well as their walk and conversation, give good evidence that they belong not only to the visible but invisible Church of Christ. I view you emphatically as, under God, the hope of this mission. You are the first fruits into Christ in this locality, and have the Christian character to exhibit to those who are bone of your bone and flesh of your flesh. You have the truth of Christ to declare to multitudes from whom, both privately and publicly, you may obtain a hearing. In this work some of you, who have been called to the ministry, have been honoured yourselves to win souls to Christ; while others of you have brought some of your relations and connections under the sound of the Gospel, and in a good degree aided in their Christian instruction. In the work of personally endeavouring to promote the enlightenment and conversion of your countrymen I trust you will all more and more abound. This work must not be suffered to devolve wholly, or even principally, on the officials of the Christian Church, necessary though they be for its advancement. What would you think of a regiment of soldiers who would be content to trust to its officers for the whole fighting against the common enemy? I should be glad to see in you all the activity and zeal of the Christians of apostolical times, not only in your own mutual edification and comfort, but in your efforts to convey to those around you the knowledge of the true God and Jesus Christ whom he has sent.

"My dear brethren Messrs. Dhunjeebhoy and Narayan, in handing me your address and request, have expressed to me their special gratitude for what I have from time to time sought to do for the native missionary in the matters, as I take it, of his being called to labour as an evangelist, set apart for his great work by the solemnities and vows of ordination—God's own ordinance, and in his being permitted to share in the common councils and deliberations of the Christian ministry and mission with which he is connected. For one to have done less than I have done in this matter would have been to sacrifice the deepest convictions of my judgment and conscience, both as far as Christian right and Christian expediency are concerned. You know that our mission in general fully concurred in the views which I have been led to take of the questions raised, and that no serious opposition was ever offered to the principles which they recognised in the head-quarters of presbytery in Scotland. While we seek for the due probation of entrants into the holy ministry, abroad as well as at home, we must remember that when the probation has been satisfactorily rendered, all due privileges should not only be greatly but joyfully and thankfully accorded. Probation in such a land as India, filled with people of a strange countenance and a strange tongue, and what is more, a strange heart, is needed certainly as much by the missionaries from the West as those raised up in the field of labour in the East. They cannot, without the greatest injury to themselves and the enterprise in which they are engaged, be free of the judgment and experience of those who may be supposed best to know the people and languages, and creeds and customs of India. A common council is the essential characteristic of presbytery. While it gives full scope to the judgment and conscience of all, it gives the fullest scope to the gifts of all for the information of that judgment and conscience. There is even peculiar potency in its administration, because from time to time it can select its own agencies for work to be done by individuals and committees."

The practical outcome of this address was the erection of that ecclesiastically becoming church, in which the native congregation under its own called native minister have worshipped since 1869. Aided by friends like Dr. Hugh Miller and Mr. James Burns in the west of Scotland, and themselves contributing ten thousand rupees out of their scanty income, the native church raised the structure at

Ambrolie, of which Mr. Emerson was architect, with a manse, at the cost of £6000. In this, as in every Christian and philanthropic movement which he advocated, Dr. Wilson's personal subscriptions were almost lavishly generous, for he knew the force of example. The converts who, as elders and members, bestirred themselves to erect this memorial of their gratitude, were—Manuel Gomes, Mikhail Joseph, Yohan Prem, Baba Pudmanjee, Bapu Mazda, Behramjee Kersajee, Khan Singh, Mattathias Cohen, Kashinath Vishvanath, Wasudeva Pandurang, Shapoorjee Eduljee, and Rewa Ramjee. More significant than any statue of John Wilson is this Christian temple of his converts, on the spot where he lived and laboured for nigh half a century.

In 1863 the Christian civilisation of India suffered a loss second only to that of those other pioneers Wilson and Duff. The Rev. Stephen Hislop of Nagpore had proved himself worthy to stand beside them, alike in the intensity of his devotion and the breadth of his culture. Aided by Mr. Hunter, he had built up the mission to the Hindoos and Gonds of Central India, through all the difficulties of bad feudatory rule, annexation, caste disputes, and the misgovernment even of British officers for a short time. The Rev. J. G. and Mrs. Cooper, who still carry on his work in his spirit, helped him. How when he was mistaken for another in 1853 he was nearly put to death by a riotous mob in Nagpore, and how he was the means of preparing the Government against the mutiny and projected massacre by the sepoys and Mussulman rabble of Nagpore, Mr. Hunter has told.[1] Were it becoming so long as some of the actors are alive, we could add the details of his service which, through the *Friend of India* and privately, opened the eyes of Lord Canning to the misrule that followed the Mutiny, and resulted in the

[1] See the well-written *History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa*, by the Rev. Robert Hunter, M.A. 1873.

creation of the Central Provinces under Sir R. Temple as first Chief Commissioner. In all that related to the neglected territory, its varied people of five tongues, its simple but savage hill Gonds, its geology and unparalleled mineral resources, its schools, native officials, and administrative needs, Sir R. Temple found Hislop his counsellor. The missionary was more to the country than ten regiments or a whole establishment of civil officers were to it. Dr. Wilson rejoiced in his work, so like his own—spiritual, scientific, philanthropic. But all too soon Hislop was removed suddenly, while the Chief Commissioner and the Bombay philanthropist, each in his own way, published unavailing lamentations and eulogies. It was on the 4th September, after a long break in the latter rain, when Hislop and Sir R. Temple had gone out to examine the Scythian stones at Takulghat, and Hislop remained behind to examine a Government school, that the missionary disappeared. In the interval between Sir R. Temple crossing a stream and the missionary reaching it on his way to the camp, the water had been swollen by sudden rain, and Stephen Hislop was drowned. His riderless horse told the tale too late to do more than rescue the dear remains. Another martyr to duty had his name written in the great roll of Christian men who have died as well as lived for the people of India. Foremost among his supporters was the friend of Judson, Sir Henry Durand, when, for a time, that officer was the Political Resident at Nagpore.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1865-1868.

NEW BOMBAY—DR. WILSON AMONG THE EUROPEANS—DR. LIVINGSTONE—THE ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION.

The Changes in Anglo-Indian Society—Dr. Wilson leaves Ambrolie for "The Cliff"—The Memories of Thirty Years—American Slavery and Bombay Cotton—Rise of Prices in India—The Bombay Mania of 1863-66—The Crash in 1867—Dr. Wilson's Letters on the Crisis—His Hospitalities—Distinguished Visitors from 1863 to 1870—Mission in South Arabia—Letters to Dr. John Muir—Discoveries in East Africa—Origin of Nyassa Settlement—Lord Elphinstone's Letter—Dr. Livingstone's First Visit—His Organisation of last Expedition—Address in the Town Hall—Chuma and Wykatané—Letters from Dr. Livingstone by Mr. H. M. Stanley—The Abyssinian Converts, Gabru and Maricha Warka—A Father in Christ—Four Years' Imprisonment of Captives by Theodorus—Sir George Yule's Offer of Rs. 20,000—Military Authorities apply to Dr. Wilson—His Abyssinian Converts become Counsellors of Prince Kassai—The Prince, now King John of Ethiopia—Dr. Wilson entrusted by Government with more Abyssinian Youths—The Light radiating from Bombay.

"Thy borders are in the midst of the seas;
Thy builders have perfected thy beauty.
Of cypresses of Senir they made all thy planks,
Cedars from Lebanon they took to make masts for thee;
Of the oaks of Bashan they made thine oars,
Thy benches they made of ivory,
Inlaid in box-wood, from the islands of Chittim.
Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt, is thy sail, to serve thee for a banner;
Blue and purple from the isles of Elishah is thine awning.
The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad are thy rowers.
Thy wise men, O Tyre, are in thee, they are thy pilots.
The ancients of Gebal and its wise men are in thee thy calkers.
All the ships of the sea, and their mariners, are in thee,
To traffic in thy merchandise.
Persia and Lud and Phut are in thine army, thy men of war;
They hang up shield and helmet in thee,
They give splendour to thee.
The men of Arvad, and thine army,
Are upon thy oaks round about;
And the Gammadim are in thy towers;
They hang up their shields upon thy walls round about;
They make thy beauty perfect.
Tarshish tradeth with thee
For an abundance of all kinds of goods;
With silver, iron, tin, and lead,
They pay for thy wares.
Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they also trade with thee;
They trade with thee with persons of men and vessels of brass.
From the house of Togarmah,
They pay for thy wares in riding-horses and mules.
The men of Dedan trade with thee;
Many islands are at thy hand for trade;
They bring to thee in barter horns of ivory and ebony.
Syria tradeth with thee
For a multitude of the wares of thy making;
They pay for thy wares
With carbuncles, purple, and broidered work,
And fine linen, and coral and rubies.
Judah and the land of Israel, they trade with thee;
They trade with thee with wheat of Minnith,
And sweet cakes and honey, and oil and balm.
Damascus tradeth with thee
For a multitude of wares of thy making,
For a multitude of all sorts of goods,
With the wine of Helbon, and white wool.
Vedan and Javan offer yarn in thy fairs;
Wrought iron, cassia, and calamus are in thy market.
Dedan tradeth with thee in coverings for riding.
Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they are at thy hand for trade,
The merchants of Sheba and Raamah they trade with thee."

EZEKIEL xxvii. 4-22.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Nor the least of the results of the Mutiny was a change in Anglo-Indian society. On the one hand the influx of artisans for the railways, and of adventurers from Australia with consignments of horses or in search of employment, was accompanied by the military mistake which disbanded the East India Company's European army, flooded the cities and stations with discontented and injured soldiers, and in too many cases doomed the widows and wives of the men who had regained the empire to a life of shame. The "loafer" class was called into existence, and for the first time in our history white prostitution was seen in India. Now the ablest even of the English authorities who were responsible for the blunder, in spite of the protests of Lord Canning, Sir Henry Durand, and all the experienced officers on the spot, begin to see that the only solution of the difficulty of recruiting 60,000 soldiers for India is to fall back on a local army attached to the new organisation of Lord Cardwell. On the other hand the ruling class, the civil, military, and mercantile communities, who emerged from the two years' conflict with barbarism in its worst form, had lost all confidence in the permanence not of our rule but of our institutions. They ceased to trust the natives, to like the country. The "old Indian" was no more. The change had really begun in 1856, when the first set of Competition-Wallas arrived, and the Haileybury monopoly passed away. But when complete peace once more settled down on the empire with the first day of 1859, there was a rush home. New furlough rules, the

substitution of England for the Cape of Good Hope as the furlough sanitarium, more rapid and frequent means of communication, cheaper postage, and finally new men, changed the whole character of Anglo-Indian society. Whether for good or evil we shall not here determine, so far as England is concerned. But the change has not been, either politically or socially, for the good of the people of India thus far. India is undoubtedly better ruled so far as systems of administration are concerned. Is it more wisely governed as to the mode in which these systems are applied?

Very much against his will Dr. Wilson had to submit to the social revolution, which, however, he continued to influence to the last in Bombay. The attendant rise of prices led the native owner of the Ambrolie mission-house to demand a rent of Rs. 300 a month. This, wrote Dr. Wilson to Dr. Tweedie, "is much beyond the ability of both the mission and myself to give;" and, accordingly, the home of thirty years was vacated.

"BOMBAY, 13*th January* 1862.—It was not without regret that, a fortnight ago, we left an abode in which we had so long resided and called upon the name of the Lord in union with dear and devoted friends and relatives who have either finished or are now running their appointed course; in which we have commenced and carried on extensive and diversified evangelistic operations, manifestly blessed by God to the instruction of many and the conversion, all things considered, of not a few; in which we had witnessed the appearance of the first confessors for Christ of various classes of the community of Western India, and maintained in their behalf, and sometimes with considerable risk to ourselves, a successful struggle for religious liberty and toleration; in which the first natives ordained to the Christian ministry in the Presidency were set apart for their glorious office; and in which so many meetings and reunions of the Lord's people and those seeking the Lord, both of the East and of the West, had taken place, with the expected and realised presence of Him who has promised that when two or three are gathered together in His name there *He* will be in the midst of them. Much sympathy was extended to us on the occasion by our friends, including the converts

and a goodly number of other natives. We durst not complain against that dispensation of Divine Providence by which our movement was ordered. Even had we been tempted to do this the dealings of a sovereign God with those around us would have rebuked our presumption. For three or four days before we left, the blast of pestilence was directed against those dwelling at our very doors, so much so that in the nearest inclosure between forty and fifty persons died in this limited time, and fourteen (whom friends were not found either to bury or to burn till the police carried their bodies off in carts) in a single night. More than once during the last thirty years we have witnessed a similar, though not such an extensive mortality, while we have not been afraid for the terror by night nor for the arrow that flies by day, knowing that the Lord would preserve us in the path and place of duty as long as he might be pleased to demand our services. It is not unlikely that Ambrolie House may soon be put to a use very different from that to which it has so long been devoted. But this may not be wondered at. Dr. Owen says that, as far as he knew, sheep soon fed on the spot connected with which God had said, 'Put off the shoes from off thy feet, for the ground whereon thou standest is holy.' We are called upon to remember that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; and to appropriate to ourselves the assurance, 'Wherever I record my name there will I come unto you, and I will bless you, saith God.'"

To the adjoining Institution were added sheds, tents, and other temporary accommodation, and there Dr. and Mrs. Wilson, his colleague Mr. Stothert, who had brought new strength to the work some time before, the female schools, the book depository, and even some of the native catechists, were accommodated. Twelve years before, when her husband was subject to frequent attacks of fever, Mrs. Wilson had urged him to take up his abode permanently in the cottage given him by Dr. Smyttan on Malabar Hill. She did so, seconding the orders of the physicians, and pointing out that the good air of the higher region had made Dr. Stevenson a new man. But Dr. Wilson had persisted in living among the natives whom he sought to benefit, all these thirty years, trusting to his almost annual tour, and an occasional holiday at Poona or Mahableshwar, for the

restoration of such robustness as may be possible in the tropics. Now, when the hot season of 1862 came on, he was fairly forced to reside in "The Cliff," which thenceforth became identified with him. There, and in a guest-chamber which he added, he kept open house for English and Natives. Thence it was his delight, on coming up from the day's toil at Ambrolie, or before returning to it in the morning, to watch the glories of the scene from the busy harbour away to the Western Ghauts, as he sat at work in his library, or pointed out to his friends the spots of historical and scientific interest. The house soon became more than classical in its associations;[1] his death made it sacred.

Hardly had he taken permanent possession of "The Cliff" when, on the 9th June 1862, the United States Senate decreed the abolition of slavery in all territories of the Union. The secession of South Carolina, eighteen months before, had another meaning also, which Bombay, of all cities, was the first to feel, if not intelligently to recognise. For five years the cotton trade of the world was transferred from the Southern States of the Union to Western India—from New Orleans to Bombay. The raw cotton of India rose, in price, from threepence to nineteenpence the pound, and the export gradually doubled in quantity. The normal value of the export and import trade of the one port of Bombay, in merchandise and treasure, had gradually risen during Dr. Wilson's residence to forty millions sterling in value, or nearly half that of all India. In the year 1865-66, when the effect of the American civil war told most fully, that value was almost doubled, having risen to £75,693,150, exclusive of Sindh, which increased it to above eighty millions sterling, equal to the ordinary sea-board trade of Bengal, Madras, and Burma. Whereas in 1860-61, the year before that war began to tell, Bombay received only seven millions sterling for 355½ mil-

[1] See page 214 of that model Hand-book, Maclean's *Guide to Bombay*. 1875.

lions of lbs. of cotton, in the last year of the war she got upwards of thirty millions sterling for little more than the same quantity, or 380½ million lbs.

This was only one, though the chief, of a series of causes which had raised prices in India at a rate disproportionate to that throughout the civilised world. The gold discoveries had been working contemporaneously with the Russian War, which transferred the fibre and seed trade of Europe to Calcutta; with the Mutiny campaigns which poured into India an army and the matériel of war on a scale not witnessed since Napoleon Buonaparte exhausted France; with the progress of public works made from borrowed capital to the amount of a hundred millions sterling; and finally with the Hindostan famine in 1860-61. The consequent rise of prices in a poor country, with only a silver currency, was alarming. First in Eastern India Government had been driven to appoint Mr. H. Ricketts commissioner for the revision of civil salaries and establishments. Then, when the wave threatened to engulf Bombay in 1863, Sir Bartle Frere nominated a commission to report on "the changes which had taken place during the preceding forty years in the money prices of the principal articles of consumption, in the wages of skilled and unskilled labour, and in house rents at the principal military stations." Their conclusion was this—since 1829 the prices of grain had trebled, and were in 1864 double the average of 1860-63; meat and other necessaries had doubled in price; wages had increased fifty per cent; the hire of carriage had gone up from 200 to 400 per cent. Contrasted with Bengal, Bombay prices were pronounced double or treble, and in some cases at famine rates.

Visiting Bombay, as an outsider, at the height of the mania in 1864-65, and one of the earliest to make the journey by mail-cart across the province and Central India to the railway at Agra, we witnessed a state of things, economic and

social, which no report could gauge. In the five years during which the cotton market of the world was transferred from New Orleans to Bombay,[1] Western India received eighty millions sterling over and above the normal price of her produce before and since. So far as this reached the cultivators it was well. That it largely reached them, in spite of their ancestral usurers backed by the civil court procedure, has of late been unhappily proved by the quantities of silver ornaments sent down to the local Mint, in years of enhanced land-tax and repeated scarcity and famine. So far as the sudden profit could be utilised for the public good it was also well. Against the fatal mismanagement of the semi-Government Bank of Bombay must be set Sir Bartle Frere's sale of the land on which the walls of the old fort stood, to form a fund for the creation of New Bombay. But the bulk of the profit was literally thrown into the sea, and with it the reputation and the happiness of not a few of the leading European, Parsee, and Hindoo merchants and bankers of the province. The catastrophe culminated in 1867, in the fall of the old Bank of Bombay, which led even members of the Government of India to recommend the prosecution of the guilty parties in the criminal courts; in the collapse of the fund for building New Bombay, which necessitated an addition to the ever-increasing Debt of India; in the flight of speculators like him who, after buying the Government-House at Dapoorie with paper, left an umbrella as his assets; and in the exposure of countless scandals under the insolvent jurisdiction of the High Court by Mr. Chisholm Anstey, who as an acting Judge was no less pitiless to the gambling traders than he had proved to be to the obscene high priests of Krishna. But England cannot throw a stone at Bombay, for it was in the year before 1867 that Overend, Gurney, and Company had led the panic race.

[1] See the description, from the spot, in the *Times* of 24th January 1865, and subsequently.

The millions which might have enriched and beautified Bombay and its varied communities, were early and almost altogether directed to the mania of reclaiming the foreshore of an Island which already covered eighteen square miles. The harbour, beautiful and spacious by nature, was destitute of wharf and jetty accommodation for the necessary commerce. Before the mania, there had been undertaken the legitimate and praiseworthy enterprise of removing the reproach by establishing the Elphinstone Company. The prospects and success of this really sound project fired the possessors of the surplus capital of the cotton trade with a dream of the profits to be obtained from reclaiming land. The foreshore of the shallow and useless Back Bay, fit only for fisher craft, became the object of the maddest of the Companies. Just above that, forming the eastern side which shelters it from the great Indian Ocean, rises Malabar Hill, and looking down on the generally peaceful water is "The Cliff." One morning when we happened to be breakfasting with Dr. Wilson, he handed to us a letter received by urgent messenger. "That," he said, "will show you to what we have come in Bombay; but I do not give the mania more than a year to collapse." It was an offer from a substantially rich native speculator, to purchase the cottage and garden for a sum twenty times their original value. He of course put it from him at once; for, all other reasons apart, he was one of the few sane men of Bombay at that time. Officials, chaplains, bankers—none escaped the infection, it was said, save *three*, of whom he was the chief. His entreaties, his counsels, his warnings, especially to his native friends, were in vain.[1] A

[1] In the only fragment on the Tribes of Western India which Dr. Wilson's death permitted him to contribute to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, we find this allusion in the section on the Jains :—"They deny the existence of a Creator and an active Providence. With them Grabháva 'nature' is everything, while Is'hvaronâsti, 'there is no operative Lord,' is their deliberate doctrine. I once asked a learned member of their community in the presence of the Rev. Drs.

half share of the Port Canning Company, which threatened to lead away Calcutta also at one time, was assigned to him, but the friend who did so took care not to tell him. When some time after it was sold out and he became aware of the fact for the first time, he devoted the money (Rs. 4194) to those benevolent purposes which had seriously suffered from want of support at such a time.

These are extracts from a journal sent to his wife who had gone to Scotland for six months :—

"22*d May* 1865.—Many of the native firms are in great jeopardy from the time bargains. The Kamas (a Parsee firm) have failed with upwards of three millions sterling of responsibilities, and involve many. This is but the beginning of the evil day, now instant.

"13*th June*.—I breakfasted this morning with the Heycocks. —— was present. Poor fellow ! his failure, I hear, is for £100,000. When my work at the Institution was done I went to the Union Press, where our report is printing. I there met Dr. Bháu Dáji. He and his brother, and most of our reforming friends are ruined in their pecuniary positions by their rash speculations. Even Mr. ———, who had lately a fortune of £300,000 is in great jeopardy. If ——— does not get

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Duff and Glasgow, if he had no scruple in making the latter announcement to his pupils. His answer was :—'We generally postpone it till the third year of their discipleship.' I have heard a young Jain student, whose intelligence and conscience repelled the doctrine, with the greatest distress of mind exclaim for hours Paramé shvara ché, Paramé shvara ché !—'There is a Supreme Lord, there is a Supreme Lord !' In 1864, when seeking to console a benevolent Jain banker, who, owing to the mad speculation in Bombay of that and the preceding year, was involved in temporary ruin, I said to him 'Were you a believer in providence I could make an important suggestion to you.' He immediately replied, 'I do believe in Is'hvara, though I have been taught otherwise.' I then said to him, 'Concur with the teachings of that Providence and moral government : and 'set your affections on things which are above, and not on things which are below.' Their religious opinions and feelings are often different from those imposed upon them by their teachers. I have to add that some of these teachers are bold enough to challenge the theists (Is'hvaravadi) of the whole world to discussion, as was the case with a Jati in the territories of H. H. the Begum of Bhopal, whose defiant circular was forwarded to me many years ago by the late accomplished Mr. Lancelot Wilkinson, of the Bombay Civil Service, whose comparatively early death was a great loss to Government and Oriental literature."

through (and his liabilities amount to two or three millions) our friend will almost certainly fail. He was lately seized with the share-mania, and acted quite contrary to the advice of all his friends. The close of this month is by the whole city looked forward to with great apprehensions. Mr.——— your fellow voyager, has been telegraphed for by his Financial Association. Most of the bankers are in a most perilous position as far as the shareholders (not I believe the deposits) are concerned. The Bombay Bank Shares have been selling at a discount! It is hoped, however, that Government will come to its aid. Back Bay shares have been down to a Rs. 1000 premium, though bought for Rs. 50,000 in some instances.

"22*d June*.—In the *Government Gazette* of this morning the announcement of Sir Alexander Grant as Director of Public Instruction, in succession to Mr. Howard, appears. Mr. Howard remains to practise as a barrister; he has lost much by late speculations. I had the usual Maráthée meeting after the Institution work in the evening. David Manaji is now out of employment in consequence of the curtailment of the Back Bay works. I wish our friends would allow us to take him into the employment of the mission, according to his request; but our prospects for the present year are very low, owing to the great losses following the bursting of the share bubble.

"30*th June*.—I went through my ordinary duties. Much anxiety felt throughout the city on account of the morrow being settlement day.

"1*st July*.—My lecture to-day, after my Sanscrit class, was on the History of David. The payments on account of time bargains, etc., have to a good extent been modified or postponed. Our friend —— had (it is said, but I doubt it) £120,000 paid him by one of his creditors, which carries him through his immediate difficulties; ——— owes him £350,000 for shares, etc. ———'s liabilities are for £2,400,000. His assets are valued at £1,600,000."

To Dr. MURRAY MITCHELL.

"BOMBAY, 24*th July* 1867.—Since you left India great changes, both for the better and the worse, have occurred. Bombay has had her day of unequalled madness, and now it has her day of great sadness. The mercantile failures (especially among the natives), and the losses to our banks, have been astounding and far-reaching in their consequences; and there has been much fraud connected with them, by which the innocent in many cases have suffered. It is scarcely to be wondered at that our religious and philanthropic Institutions have their local resources much curtailed, though it is sad to see retrench-

ment appearing so prominent in that direction. It is our prayer that the affliction which has fallen upon the city, in the retributive justice of God, not unmingled with mercy, may be sanctified to many. The native mind is certainly more sober at present than it has been for several years. The reforming party (including about one hundred of our mission friends) have founded a meeting for the social worship of God, but they have not yet come to a conclusion about the treatment and practice of idolatry in their own houses. We have some encouragement with the lads in our Institution. The attendance at it is large, but I do not know that our Christian influence over it expands with its extension. In other respects the mission is getting on well. Colonel Tripe of Kámptee, who was much with the converts and inquirers lately, formed a very favourable opinion of them. He presented each of them with a book on practical religion, which he gave them at an entertainment which they provided for him in the Institution. The ordination of Bábá Pudmanjee at Poona is appointed for the 8th of August."

Gradually, after the Mutiny, Bombay became the port of arrival and departure for Anglo-Indians, as the railways extended eastward and westward between it, Madras, and the metropolis of Calcutta. Thus the flow of guests through "The Cliff" steadily increased, till it might be said that its hospitable owner became the best known man in India as well as Bombay. From the first Viceroy Lord Canning, and his truly noble wife, to the visit of the Prince of Wales, he was always in request as guide, philosopher, and friend, amid the antiquities not only of Bombay but of Salsette, Karla, and elsewhere. No distinguished person visited the Governor without seeking an introduction to "the king of Bombay." Of these continuous hospitalities and intercourse we find few traces in his correspondence, for, much as he delighted in them, they were too much a part of his everyday life to demand chronicling, save when, as in Lord Lawrence's case, they crossed his one great work. The thirtieth anniversary of his landing, and the passing of that statesman through Bombay, led him to write thus to Dr. Tweedie:—

"I should require every missionary now coming to India to

pass an examination in the vernacular before his induction as a full missionary. The Church Missionary Society is here acting on this principle. It is one the propriety of which cannot for a moment be disputed. I intend to show cause in it to yourself in a distinct letter. I have lately received two letters on the subject from Bengal, but I intend to discuss it entirely free of personal and local considerations. I do not think that the missionaries are always to blame in the matter. We have thrust work prematurely upon them; and we cannot blame them for neglecting, in the first instance, those studies for which we have left them no leisure.

"To India I feel a growing attachment from year to year, its very woes and miseries, in which I am constantly making new discoveries, increasing the tender regard which I cherish in its behalf. I feel no despair in connection with any of its interests. I see that it is a part, an important part, of the Saviour's purchased inheritance, and I believe that ere long it must become His possession. My only regret is that I can do so little to advance its interests. They will not fail in the hands of Him who has on His vesture and on His thigh a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords. I feel much encouraged, in connection with its present destiny, by a conversation I had last night with Sir John Lawrence, who proceeds to Europe by this mail. He is certainly one of the most courageous of men, both physically and spiritually, his Christian principle regulating and controlling all his movements. His judgment and tact are equal to his courage. The very appearance of such characters on the Indian scene on the day they have been specially wanted, is a pledge from God of His purposes of mercy towards this great and interesting land."

Again, we find him mourning the death of Bishop Carr, in a letter to Mr. Farish; seeking to comfort the widow when announcing the movement from Serampore to raise a fund in commemoration of the services of the accomplished Dr. Buist; and bidding farewell to old friends on their final departure home, like Mr. Fraser Tytler, Mr. Harkness, and Sir Bartle Frere. To one who has proved himself the most learned and generous of true pundits in his own Edinburgh, as he long was the friend of the Christian education of the Hindoos at Benares and elsewhere, Dr. John Muir, C.I.E., he writes of Sanscrit MSS. Dr. Hanna he welcomes as the new

superintendent of the Foreign Missions of his Church at home, and delights him with a report of the success of Mikhail Joseph's mission in South Arabia. Besides the glimpses given by extracts from his letters to these, the best idea of that happy life at "The Cliff" will be gained from the bare notes regarding its visitors made by his niece, Miss Taylor.

To Dr. HARKNESS.

"*May 9th* 1862.—I cordially bid you *Adieu*, in the proper sense of the word. Its Gallican origin recalls to me the fact that in early life we were together at the French classes of Mr. Wells, and others of more importance in our Alma Mater. How many of our friends and acquaintances have left this sublunary scene since we entered on our studies! Our career in India, even, has been a long one. I guess that it is not without emotion that you leave this great country, for the enlightenment of which you have done so much; though I can understand you wish to spend the evening of your days in your highly-favoured native land. Stand up for *India* till your latest hour. I believe that a glorious future destiny is in reserve for it; and that the moral movement which, by the blessing of God, is to have this issue, has already commenced. To that movement your labours have effectively contributed. I feel so much interested in it in my own department of labour that I consider myself highly privileged in being permitted to continue at my post, the importance of which constantly rises in my estimation. I shall have pleasing remembrances of all our agreeable intercourse and co-operation; and while I am here you will have a warm and faithful friend in Bombay. What an exodus of friends from India I am having this year!"

To JOHN MUIR, Esq. "22*d May* 1862.

"MY DEAR MR. MUIR.—By Colonel Lang I sent you such lithographed Sanscrit works procurable in Bombay as seemed to me to fall under your order. I have since seen the *Ramayana* (of the *Northern* recension, I think) on sale for Rs. 25 or Rs. 30. Should you wish a copy of this work I shall be happy to send you one. It is neatly got up. An old copy of the *Vishnu Púrana* will be sent to you when I get down to Bombay. The owner is having it copied before parting with it. For this, as well as the lithograph works sent, Colonel Lang left money with my Vishnoo Shastree. It may be useful to Mr. Williams at Oxford, who tells me he is editing the *Vishnu Púrana*. This same

Shastree has been wandering through the country to find a copy of the *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali, with the commentary of Kayata and the Vivavarna of Nagliojee Bhatta. He has at last found one in excellent order, but the owner will not part with it. He asks Rs. 450 for a *copy* to be made of it, and duly revised and compared verbatim with the original. Pray mention this to Dr. Goldstücker,[1] that he may judge of the propriety of ordering this work or not. The demand made for it is above the sum mentioned in your memorandum, but I do not think it is extravagant, as the work is said to be equal to 100,000 slokas in size. The Shastree has found a copy of the *Commentaries on the Mimansa*, by Sabar Soami, and by Tutata, for a transcription of which Rs. 100 are asked. Are these wanted at this rate? Of the *Commentary of Rashakrishna*, etc., he has not yet been able to hear anything. I find him good at hunting out MSS."

"27*th June* 1862.—By to-day's mail I send to your address the copy of the *Vishnu Purana*, of which I lately wrote. The MS. is a very excellent one. The Shastree, who procured it under my directions, paid only Rs. 40 for it. The Rs. 10 which thus remained of the sum left by Colonel Lang (Rs. 50) I have given to the Shastree for his journey to and from Poona, etc. The postage of the MS. to Europe, and of a printed volume on the Vallabhacharya trial (which I also send to you) I pay myself, in acknowledgment of your kindness in sending me the *Rig-Veda* in the Roman character.

"The institutor of the scheme for prizes for essays on the *Vedas* will feel greatly obliged to you if you will kindly bring it to the notice of Sanscrit students in Europe, as you may have opportunity. His generous proposal originated in my lectures on Ancient India last season, and was communicated first to the Rev. Mr. Dhunjeebhoy. It will certainly call attention to your important works among others."

To Rev. Dr. HANNA. "26*th July* 1862.

"MY DEAR DR. HANNA.—We have been very glad to learn that, on the retirement of our excellent, able, and zealous friend Dr. Tweedie, you have accepted the important office of Convener of our Foreign Missions Committee. We look forward to the prospect of having much pleasant and profitable intercommunion with you, and of receiving very valuable services at your hands. We have noticed lately, with great satisfaction and gratitude, a revival of the interest felt in Scotland in connection with our enterprise in this great land, and we look for corresponding results."

[1] See page 496.

VISITORS TO BOMBAY IN 1863-70, WITH WHOM DR. WILSON HAD SOME INTERCOURSE.

1863. *Dec.* 3*d.*—Messrs. Russell, Jeffrey, and Brewin, at breakfast. They belonged to the Society of Friends, and made a tour in India, visiting the different missions.

12*th.*—Dr. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta, at breakfast. Bishop Gell in Bombay at the same time.

1864. *Jan.* 4*th.*—Mr. Pease at breakfast, a Quaker from Darlington, cousin of Mr. Pease, M.P. for Darlington. Dr. Wilson took him over the Institution and ice factory.

13*th.*—Mr. Ferguson, editor of *Colombo Observer*, at dinner.

25*th.*—Dr. Wilson went with Colonel Ballard and his brother to the Vehar Lake and Kanheri Caves.

30*th.*—Mr. Pease, and Mr. Turnor (from Lincolnshire, and grandson of Earl of Winchilsea) went with Dr. Wilson to see the Parsee Dokhmas (Towers of Silence). Mr. Turnor travelled in India, and walked from Simla to Lahore.

Feb. 1*st.*—Mr. Pease and Mr. Turnor came to the Institution to see the girls of the Native Female Schools examined. For many years it was Dr. Wilson's practice to have a meeting on the first Monday of every month for prayer for missions, after which all the girls of the Female Schools were gathered together and examined.

25*th.*—Dr. Wilson lectured in Town-Hall on "Bombay during the Last Two Hundred Years." Mr. Pease at lecture, and also at a party the next evening to meet Mr. Small, who had just arrived.

March 3*d.*—Bishop of Victoria, Hongkong, and Mrs. Smith, at breakfast, and went to see the Parsee tombs.

8*th.*—Sir Mordaunt Wells called on Dr. Wilson at the Institution, on his way home from Calcutta.

16*th.*—Maharaja Dhuleep Singh arrived in Bombay. He went to Bombay with the body of his mother. She died and was buried in England, but afterwards, in deference to the wishes of the Sikhs, her body was taken to India, and burned on the banks of the Godavery, near Nasik. The Maharaja did not go to Nasik; a Sirdar from the Punjab performed the ceremonies.

20*th, Sunday.*—Dhuleep Singh at the Free Church, and attended a service in the Native Church at two, in Hindostanee, and took the Communion with the Native Christians.

21*st.*—Dr. Wilson showed the sights of Bombay to the Maharaja.

23*d*, *Wednesday*.—Maharaja came to meeting. Dr. Wilson, from his arrival in India, until two or three years before his death, had a meeting of friends in his house every Wednesday evening, to read the Bible and converse on the passage. The Native Christians who knew English usually attended, and sometimes non-Christian Natives came.

25*th*.—Large party of Europeans and Native friends to meet the Maharaja.

26*th*.—Dr. Wilson, Mr. Bowen, and Mr. Ballantine, American missionaries, dined with Maharaja.

27*th*, *Sunday*.—Maharaja at Free Church, and at two at a service in *Hindee* in the Institution. Dr. Wilson had the service in Hindee for the benefit of the Sirdars and their followers who had come from the Punjab to meet the Maharaja.

28*th*.—Dr. and Mrs. House, seventeen years missionaries in Siam at breakfast. Dr. Wilson took Dr. House to the Institution.

8*th*.—Maharanee's body burned at Nasik. Dr. and Mrs. Wilson, Miss Taylor, Madame Surtoo, a Native lady, who had been in England with the Maharanee and became a Christian there, her little boy, and the Maharaja, spent the day quietly at the Vehar Lake, Salsette.

12*th*.—Party in the Institution given by the Maharaja to all the missionaries and Native Christians in Bombay; 300 Natives were present; the Maharaja wore the Star of India.

13*th*.—Maharaja called to say good-bye. He took a very decided stand in Bombay as a Christian.

22*d*.—Dr. Wilson lectured on board the "Ajdaha," to sailors, on "The Shores of the Red Sea."

June 23*d*.—Dr. Livingstone called. Dr. Wilson took him over the Institution. Dr. Livingstone came to Bombay for a few days on his way home from Africa. He crossed from Africa in the "Lady Nyassa," a small steamer, 115 feet long and 14 feet broad, built for lake navigation, with a crew of seven Natives who had never seen the sea before. They came down with him to the coast at Zanzibar. He did this in the monsoon, too. Somehow they entered the harbour of Bombay unobserved, and Dr. Livingstone landed with no one to meet him—no one knew he was coming—and found his way in a deluge of rain in an old shigram to Dr. Wilson's. The Governor was in Poona. Dr. Livingstone left with Dr. Wilson, to be educated, two African boys, Chuma and Wykatané. They attended the Institution for a year and a-half, and learned a little English. They boarded in a Native Christian family. They were baptized by Dr. Wilson at Dr. Livingstone's request, just before he took them back to Africa, in the end of 1865

Dr. Livingstone thought it would make a good impression on their minds, and be a safeguard to them in their future life. Every one knows how faithfully Chuma kept by Dr. Livingstone to the last, and brought his body to England. Wykatané had been rescued by Bishop Mackenzie and his party from a slave-catching gang, and was a great favourite of Bishop Mackenzie's. On Dr. Livingstone's last journey he became lame, and had to be left behind.

Dec. 23*d.*—Dr. Wilson went with Sir Bartle Frere to visit the Rajah of Dongurpore. He was staying in Dr. Wilson's old house at Ambrolie, and Sir Bartle recalled how he himself had gone there as a young man with a letter of introduction to Dr. Wilson.

1865. *Jan.* 16*th.*—Dr. Wilson lectured in the Town-Hall on "The Wandering Tribes of India."

Feb. 1*st.*—Sir Dinkur Rao, ex-minister of Sindhia, called.

Sept. 11*th.*—Dr. Livingstone arrived from England on his way to make his last journey of discovery in Africa. He called on Dr. Wilson the day after his arrival, but Dr. Wilson was out. He went immediately to Poona to see the Governor, and to Nasik to arrange about some of the African Christians there going with him to Africa.

October 6*th.*—Dr. Livingstone came from Poona and stayed with Dr. Wilson till the 20th—a fortnight.

7*th.*—Dr. Wilson and Dr. Livingstone walked to see the temples at Walkeshwar (Malabar Point).

8*th.*—Dr. Livingstone at the Free Church, and at the Marathee Service in the Native Church.

9*th.*—Dr. Livingstone called with Sir Bartle Frere on the Sultan of Zanzibar.

10*th.*—Dr. Livingstone went with Captain Leith to select men from the Marine Battalion to go with him to Africa.

11*th.*—Durbar in Town-Hall in honour of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Dr. Livingstone there.

12*th.*—Dr. Livingstone lectured on Africa in the Town-Hall. Dr. Wilson said it was the most enthusiastic meeting he had ever seen in Bombay. The lecture was very simple. Dr. Livingstone said much the same things and in much the same way as he did in conversation. A subscription was begun then which soon realised more than Rs. 7000, to help the expedition. Dr. Livingstone refused to accept it as a personal gift. The Bombay branch of the Geographical Society wished to present him with an address, and Captain Sherard Osborn was to read it, but Dr. Livingstone declined to come forward, and said he would rather have it if he should be spared to come back from Africa.

19*th.*—Drove through the native town to see the Diwallee illuminations.

Nov. 13*th.*—Dr. Wilson called on Lord Edward Seymour (eldest son of the Duke of Somerset) at the Governor's bungalow, Malabar Point. Lord E. Seymour went out to travel in India. He visited the Institution, and examined some of the classes himself, and took a great interest in all that he saw. He died soon after, at Belgaum, from the effect of injuries he got when hunting a bear.

14*th.*—Dr. Wilson, Dr. Livingstone, Lord Edward Seymour, and some others went to Elephanta.

Dec. 6*th.*—Dr. Wilson, Dr. Livingstone, and a party of gentlemen went to the Kanheri Caves, Salsette. Party was arranged by Mr. Alexander Brown, son of Dr. Charles Brown, Edinburgh.

10*th.*—Chuma and Wykatané baptized by Dr. Wilson in presence of Dr. Livingstone.

12*th.*—Large party at Dr. Wilson's to meet Dr. Livingstone.

21*st.*—Dr. Wilson to Nagpore to the Exhibition.

1866. 1*st Jan.*—Dr. Livingstone and the two boys came to say goodbye.

3*d, Wednesday.*—Dr. Livingstone sailed for Africa in the "Thule." Dr. Livingstone was engaged most of the time he was in Bombay in preparations for his expedition. He also visited Goojarat. The Rev. Joseph Taylor (son of the Rev. Mr. Taylor, of Belgaum), of the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Goojarat, was at college with Dr. Livingstone, and they lodged together in Glasgow. Dr. Livingstone left for Africa, accompanied by eight or nine Christian Africans from Nasik, the same number, I think, of Sepoys of the Marine Battalion Bombay (they deserted him in Africa, and found their way back to Bombay with a story of his having been murdered), Chuma and Wykatané, and the Africans who had come across with him in 1864. They stayed in Bombay while he was in England, and used to come to Dr. Wilson's to get news of him. Dr. Livingstone wished to have no European companion.

In January 1866 Lady Franklin visited Bombay, and Dr. Wilson saw her a few times. She spent one evening with Dr. and Mrs. Wilson.

March 23*d.*—Dr. Mullens, Calcutta, stayed with Dr. Wilson on his way home, and lectured in the Institution on "Young Bengal."

Oct. 23*d.*—Mrs. Wilson took Miss Carpenter to visit the Boarding School and Native Female Day Schools.

Dec. 14*th.*—Dr. Wilson lectured in Institution on "Foundational Facts of Paradise Lost," the first lecture of a series on University Subjects, under the direction of the Missionary Conference.

1867.—In the beginning of this year Mr. Tinling visited India, chiefly to address English-speaking Natives on the subject of religion. He stayed for a short time when in Bombay with Dr. Wilson.

Nov.—In this month Dr. Norman Macleod and Dr. Watson arrived in Bombay. They stayed with two young merchants. They spent most of a day with Dr. Wilson, going over the Institution, and another day in the Boarding School and Female Schools, and calling on several native gentlemen. They attended the Marathee service, and sat down with the native congregation at the Communion. Dr. Macleod read *Wee Davie* in the Town-Hall, for the benefit of the Scottish Orphanage.

1868. *March* 20.—Mr. Clark of Gya, and Dr. Watson called.

23*d.*—Keshub Chunder Sen came to breakfast.

Oct. 23*d.*—Dr. Wilson visited the Rajah of Kolhapore.

Dec. 21*st.*—Dr. Wilson attended a reception at Parell for Lord and Lady Mayo and Lord Napier.

29*th.*—Foundation-stone of University laid by Lord Mayo, Dr. Wilson, Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Wilson, after the ceremony, went to Elephanta with the Government-House party.

1869. *Jan.* 10.—Miss Carpenter at the Native Church.

16*th.*—Chevalier von Scherzer called.

28*th.*—Native Church opened. First service in the morning at eight.

March 17.—Dr. Wilson and I started for Calcutta. Lord Napier was a fellow-passenger to Nagpore, on his way to the Durbar at Umballa. We stayed a day or two at Nagpore with the Coopers, then went on to Serampore and Calcutta.

April 3.—Large party at Mr. Fyfe's, of Europeans and Native Christians, to meet Dr. Wilson.

From Serampore we went to *Benares*, and spent a day with Messrs Hutton and Blake, London Mission; next to *Mirzapore*, and stayed with Mr. Sherring; *Allahabad*, with Mr. and Mrs. Walsh, American Mission; *Cawnpore*, *Agra*, *Umballa*, with Dr. Morrison; Subathoo, with Dr. Newton, Medical Missionary. At *Simla* Dr. Wilson was the guest of Lord Mayo for about ten days. His old friend, Sir Donald M'Leod, was there at the same time, also Sir Douglas Forsyth.

June 28.—Dr. Wilson dined with Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac, at the Byculla Club, to meet General Vlangally, Russian ambassador from China.

Aug. 31*st.*—Lord Napier went home. Dr. Wilson went to say goodbye to him at the Boree Bunder Station.

Oct. 1*st.*—Rev. Mr. Long, Calcutta, staying with Dr. Wilson. Party of natives to meet Mr. Long.

Nov. 13*th.*—Bishop of Madras called. Dr. Wilson dined with Mr. Fox to meet him.

16*th.*—Captain Beaumont and Mr. J. Candlish, M.P. for Sunderland, at breakfast.

29*th.*—Mr. Shaw called—the traveller who had been a year in Kashgar.

1870.—Dr. Wilson went, in January, to Jalna and Nasik.

22*d.*—Dr. Wilson called on Dr. Prime, editor of *New York Observer*, travelling with a party round the world. Dr. Elmslie, Cashmere, at tea.

Feb. 1*st.*—Dr. Wilson lectured in Town-Hall on "Marathee Country and People."

Feb. 3*d.*—Dr. Wilson at a party given by Chief of Jamkhundee.

17*th.*—Addresses to students and native Christians of Bombay.

19*th.*—Left Bombay for Scotland.

It was a Bombay officer, Richard F. Burton, who, in 1857, set out from Aden to East Africa to find the great lake reported by the Church missionaries at Zanzibar. That proved to be Tanganika. In 1860 Baron Von der Decken first struck out what has thus far proved a more important route into the lake region of Africa, that to Lake Nyassa from Kilwa along a portion of which the Messrs. Moir have recently constructed a road.[1] The first reference to that promising line of commerce and civilisation which we find is in this letter from Lord Elphinstone, when Governor of Bombay. It refers also to the little Waghur war at the Krishna shrines of Beyt and Dwarka; to the case of a Scottish boy rescued from the wilds of Central Asia; and to the iniquities of Louis Napoleon's "free" slave trade, which Lord Russell's convention stopped, only by sacrificing our Indian coolies to this day.

"POONA, 6*th October* 1859.

"MY DEAR DR. WILSON.—I am very sorry to find that you have already left Malabar Point.[2] I was going to write to you that I should

[1] See the *Notes on the Country between Kilwa and Tanganika*, by James Stevenson, Esq. of Glasgow, who, with Mr. William Mackinnon and other philanthropic capitalists, is opening up Eastern Africa.

[2] Dr. and Mrs. Wilson had been residing in the Government House there after an attack of fever.

not return before Monday when I received your letter telling me that you were going to leave the Point yesterday. I know that there is a very sensible difference between the climate there and at Parell at this season, and I have no doubt that it is much more healthy than any inland spot in the Island.

"I read what you say about Beyt and Okamundel with much interest. I know very little about Kathiawar, and especially that corner of it; and I do not even know of what race or tribe the Waghurs are. I am somewhat relieved by your account of the character of the inhabitants at large, for hitherto I have looked upon the expedition as a political necessity *only;* and my last recommendations to Colonel Donovan were to spare the people as much as possible, and to remember that they were not in rebellion against us but against the Gaikwar, whose officers had probably oppressed them. As they had seized about 150 boats belonging to Bombay, we had so far a direct quarrel with them, but otherwise our object was to keep the peace, and to prevent the spread of rebellion and confusion into other districts, rather than the punishment of the Waghurs.

"I was very glad to see that you had taken the youth John Campbell. I fear that he is not a very promising pupil, but he has had many disadvantages in early education, and if it please God he may yet be made an honest and useful man. I really think that if he can be reclaimed he may be of very great use either to Government or to your Mission, and I do not see why he should not be to both, but he must first be thoroughly reclaimed, and *untaught* a great deal I fear. Mr. Boswell gave a very bad account of him, but he probably did not make sufficient allowances for previous circumstances. He should of course be taught English (which by the way he has not learned during the two or three years that he has been at Mr. Boswell's); but he should *not* be allowed (if possible) to forget his Pushtoo and Persian. If he is ever to be of use in the countries where he has been wandering for so many years he must keep up his knowledge of their languages. I think he is more likely to be of service in this way (if he can be trusted) than in any other; he showed a great disinclination to be taught mechanics. It was proposed to bring him up as an engineer, but how he was to be taught without knowing English I really cannot imagine. I suppose only the practical acquaintance with machinery which would enable him to work an engine in a steam-vessel or on a railway.

"I received an interesting packet yesterday from Captain Rigby at Zanzibar. I know you take an interest in Africa, and you may like to

know that a German traveller, sent out by the Bavarian Government, has lately arrived on the coast with the intention of proceeding to the Lake Nyassa, and making further discoveries. The French have got into some difficulty at Madagascar, where they have been endeavouring to establish a settlement on the Western Coast. Since Louis Napoleon's proclamation about the slave-trade the French have not shipped any slaves, but before that they were actually *kidnapping* them (not content to pay five dollars a head for them) and shipping them for Bourbon under convoy of a French man-of-war. I am sorry to add that several American clipper-built vessels, under Spanish colours, are shipping slaves on the coast of Mozambique for Cuba. The place of embarkation is *Ibo* or *Ebo*. The Portuguese governor of Mozambique is anxious to put a stop to the traffic, but apparently his authority is not much felt at the more distant ports; and at Ibo the local authorities connive at the export, and receive a gratuity from the slave-dealers of ten dollars per head upon each slave shipped. I am glad that the French Government has put a stop to the slave-trade under French colours, and under the protection of the Imperial Navy. The Portuguese Government is so honestly anxious to put a stop to it that I have no doubt that when the facts are brought to their notice they will remove the offenders, and take effectual steps to prevent the thing going on; of course Captain Rigby's reports will be brought to their notice by Her Majesty's Government.—Yours, most truly, ELPHINSTONE."

But it was Dr. Livingstone, in many respects a man like Dr. Wilson, who, after discovering Lake Ngami so early as 1849, and crossing South Africa from the Atlantic to the Zambesi and the Indian Ocean in 1854-5, opened up Lake Nyassa itself, and pronounced it the spot, of all Africa, for such a missionary settlement as had killed the slave-trade by lawful commerce at Sierra Leone. His great Zambesi expedition, which lasted from 1858 to 1864, confirmed his desire to see Nyassa the centre of light to Eastern Africa. His passing visit to Bombay in June 1864, described by Miss Taylor, was repeated in September 1865, when he returned from England to organise in that capital the greatest of all his journeys of exploration, in which, after seven years, he died. We remember well the enthusiasm which his address,

first at Poona and then in Bombay, excited all over India, when he compared Eastern Africa physically to the low Konkan and high Ghauts and uplands of Western India, and declared that all Great Britain was doing for the people of India she must yet do for the negroes of Africa. And there, he said, Nyassa is the spot. How well his vision is being realised, first by Mr. Young, R.N., who went to help him, and then by his companion Dr. Stewart of Lovedale, who together have there established the Livingstonia settlement of the Free Church of Scotland, every year is revealing.

In all the public enthusiasm which bore rich pecuniary fruit for the last expedition, and in organising the details, as in the relaxation of delightful social intercourse, Dr. Wilson was foremost. But perhaps his best gift to Livingstone was the Christian training of the two little slave-boys left with him eighteen months before—Chuma and Wykatané. The baptism was to both the heroic missionaries a joy, and all know the fruit it bore. The beginning of 1866 saw Dr. Livingstone at Zanzibar with a letter of commendation from Sir Bartle Frere to the Sultan, and charged with the pleasant duty of presenting to his Highness the gun-boat "Thule," in which he had crossed the Indian Ocean, as a gift from the Government of Bombay. From that sad hour on the 27th April 1873, when Livingstone made his last note in his Journal, Chuma became leader of the caravan, and brought safely to Lieutenant Cameron the precious remains which find fit resting-place in the nave of Westminster Abbey. To him, and to Susi, Amoda, and the two Nasik boys, his faithful comrades since 1864-5, Mr. Waller, the editor of the *Last Journals*, has expressed the nation's gratitude. And hardly less is due to Wykatané of whom, in his *Nyassa*, Mr. Young, R.N., gives us this glimpse, showing how the light from Bombay had penetrated all the darkness of the slave-boy's life, and continued to shine, however dimly, as years passed on.

The scene is the jungle at night, near Livingstonia, among the Maviti; the time is September 1876. "I called to Wykatané, who lay in the next hut, and asked him who was singing: he replied that it was he. On telling him to repeat it I found it was one of the chants used by the missionaries sixteen years ago in the hills at Magomero. Remembering how much pains Dr. Livingstone had taken with him, and good Dr. Wilson too, I asked him if he remembered anything of the former days. He said, 'This is what Dr. Livingstone taught me:—

'This night I lay me down to sleep,
I give my soul to Christ to keep,
If I should die before I wake,
I pray to God my soul to take. Amen.'

In the long interval since he had seen white men he had forgotten nearly all the English he ever knew; but those lines, together with some few simple questions and answers taught him by Dr. Wilson he could repeat." When, at the end of 1864, we presided at the examination of Dr. Wilson's college, Chuma and Wykatané were prominent in the class of catechumens gathered from all the natives of the East. During Livingstone's wanderings in the last seven years of his life he wrote to no friend so frequently as to Dr. Wilson, and the letters were posted at Aden by Mr. Henry M. Stanley. They were so much read in Bombay as to have been almost wasted away, and this is the only trace we now find of communications of surpassing interest and sacred associations:—

From Rev. Dr. WILSON, Bombay, to His EXCELLENCY the VICEROY, Simla, per POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, BOMBAY.

"1*st August* 1872.

"I have a letter from Dr. Livingstone dated 'about twelve days east of Tanganyika, 24th January,' and 'Unyanyembe, 13th March 1872.' The loss of all supplies sent to him he attributes to the circumstance of their having been intrusted to slaves (who should never have been employed by Government officials) instead of Pagazi (carriers). He

acknowledges relief extended to him by Stanley, and expects to finish his research in two years, embracing the discovery of the ancient fountains of Herodotus, if they exist. He also gives information about the slave trade of Eastern Africa and the connection with it of British subjects, etc., which I shall privately communicate to Government."

Still more remarkable than in Chuma's case was the providence which in 1837 led Dr. Wilson unconsciously to prepare two Abyssinian youths for the deliverance of their country by Lord Napier's expedition of 1867. We have told how, in the former year, Dr. Wolff sent to Bombay for instruction in Dr. Wilson's college, and residence under his roof, Gabru and Maricha Warka, with their father, a high officer in the Abyssinian army. The two lads became most active catechists, occasionally accompanied Dr. Wilson in his tours, and left him only at Aden, whence, in 1843, he sent them with his benediction to evangelise their own people, and the oldest but most corrupt of Christian Churches. They found the almost chronic conflict of chief with chief raging, and attempted by personal intercourse and discussion to influence the priests. Very close, and at this time very pathetic, seems their correspondence with Dr. and especially with Mrs. Wilson to have been. They were at first supported by the kirk-session of the native church in Bombay, which thus early sought to evangelise the regions beyond. After a visit to the old scenes, on Dr. Wilson's return from Scotland they settled down at Adowah, where for a long time they conducted a vigorous mission school, encouraged by the periodical epistles from Ambrolie. What a picture this is of the influence of the old mission home, in a letter written by Maricha from Aden on his return to his native country for the second time, in April 1849 :—

"Yes ! it is a dream ; and not only so, but it is a mystery and an awful dream that troubles my thoughts. Let me only be thinking of that family where I was brought up from my childhood, especially when now and then I think myself to be seated round that family altar ;

beside me I see Hormasdjee and Gabru, and there I see you both—you, Sir, whom we love like a father, and by you sitting one whom we love like a mother. I see the large family Bible and the Psalm-book in your hands. I see you meeting round that family altar to offer up a living sacrifice. I hear you praying, especially for Ethiopia's soon stretching out her hands unto God. From up-stairs let me take you down where I used to meet among the different denominations that have come out from darkness to light, and from the kingdom of Satan to the kingdom of Christ. From thence let me convey you to that holy spot, which spot is to be desired more than all the dwellings of Jacob. There I hear the harmonious songs of Zion, that carry the heart, as it were, to the third heaven. And what shall I not say more of Zion? yes, I might tell of the pure doctrines that are taught Sabbath after Sabbath, but the time will not allow me to do so. Alas! is it true that I am to dwell with a people who have no fear of God in their sight? Yes, my soul, thou art no more in that holy society, thou art no more round that family altar where thou usedst often to sit, where thou usedst to be glad when they said unto thee, 'Let us go up to the house of God.' Now then is the time for thee to cry out with a loud voice, 'My soul longeth, yea fainteth, for the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God.'"

The years passed as the young men married and carried on their mission-school, when they suddenly became of vast importance to the Commander-in-Chief of Bombay and the Viceroy of India. From the third day of 1864 the chief Theodorus, who called himself emperor of Abyssinia, had kept in confinement Consul Cameron and several German missionaries. When Mr. Rassam, an Armenian friend of Sir Austen Layard, along with Dr. Blanc and Lieutenant Prideaux of the Bombay army, had been sent as an envoy for their release, they too were put in chains. Still neither Lord Palmerston and the one party, nor Lord Stanley and the other party moved, in spite of the most persistent representations from the Government of India. The shame of it was such that, anonymously at the time, Sir George Yule asked us to publish his offer of Rs. 20,000 to fit out a volunteer expedition to rescue the captives who had languished under the power of

a madman for nearly four years. That was on the 1st August 1867. The close of that year saw an imperial expedition of 50,000 men, including followers, on the way to Abyssinia, and the advance guard above the Ghauts at Senafe, whence the march to Magdala and its fall proved a holiday excursion that cost several millions sterling. How much of the facility with which the work was accomplished was due to the two Abyssinian students of Dr. Wilson, may be imagined from these circumstances. They had risen to be the official councillors of Kassai, the Prince of Tigré, who steadfastly supported the British in spite of the urgent overtures of Egypt and Turkey. In frequent telegrams and despatches Lord Napier of Magdala warmly acknowledged their services. The special correspondents with the expedition were even more emphatic, the most experienced of them[1] writing thus—"The belief that, in connection with the campaign in Abyssinia, England owed more to the Free Church of Scotland's Mission Institution in Bombay than it does to any institution in the Presidency, the Government itself and the commissariat department not excepted, was entertained by not a few."

In truth, when her Majesty's Government had tardily resolved on the expedition, the first men consulted by Lord, then Sir Robert Napier, were two missionaries. Mr. Blumhardt, half a century before a Church Missionary in the country, and then in the peaceful Bengalee villages of Christian Krishnaghur, was asked by telegram for information, and was invited to accompany the force as interpreter. At Lord Lawrence's request we at once published at Serampore the Amharic vocabulary which he hastily drew up, since old age denied him the privilege of going in person. Dr. Wilson received the following letters from the Quartermaster-General of the army—the first of a correspondence, in which his multifarious information and experience also were called into requi-

[1] The late Mr. R. E. Shepherd, M.A., of the *Times of India*.

sition on all details, from the history of the ancient church of Ethiopia to a certain breed of camels well adapted for mountain work. All his replies were submitted to the new Governor, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, who had succeeded Sir Bartle Frere.

"22*d August* 1867.

"My Dear Dr. Wilson.—Now that Government have determined to send an expedition into Abyssinia I should feel very much obliged by your advice, and every information you could give me in regard to procuring a good interpreter and other aid for the Intelligence Department. Of course the movement of the main body depends upon our success in procuring land transport, but within a month or so an advanced brigade *may* possibly be sent to effect a lodgement on the Abyssinian table-land at Dixan or thereabouts.

"A good reliable interpreter and other means of gaining good intelligence are indispensable. His Excellency Sir Robert Napier desired me to write to you this morning, and I said that I had yesterday mentioned the subject in a letter to Mr. Weatherhead, who spoke to me regarding Mr. Blumhardt some time ago, but the latter is, I fancy, too aged to undertake such a task now. I mentioned to Sir Robert that you had two relatives of a principal family in Tigré at your school, and I said I would write and ask your advice upon the subject of interpreters, and intelligence generally.—Believe me, yours very sincerely, B. Phayre."

"30*th August*.—I have to thank you very much for the valuable information and advice given in your note relative to interpreters and intelligence in connection with the Abyssinian Expedition. I took it at once to his Excellency Sir Robert Napier, who telegraphed to Mr. Blumhardt, asking him to give certain information which we now require, and inviting him to accompany the Expedition should he be in a position to do so. You will see that his Excellency the Governor wishes, if possible, an interview to be arranged between Colonel Merewether and Mr. Gabru Warka and Mr. Maricha Warka. Colonel Merewether will leave Bombay on the 10th proximo, and proceed to Massowa, and you could perhaps give him letters to these gentlemen. It is essential that this reconnoitering party should communicate with reliable agents, upon whose information guidance as to further measures would be obtained. Perhaps the persons in Bombay to whom you refer could give us information also regarding the possibility of our securing the lowland tribes (Badaween) on the coast between Amphila and

Massowa to assist us with land transport and in other ways. If you will kindly think over these matters and give me a few lines expressing what appears to you to be the best arrangements under the circumstances, I will, as before, take your note to his Excellency Sir Robert Napier, and we can decide what should be done. B. PHAYRE."

Colonel Phayre secured the services also, as interpreter, of Mr. Mikhail Joseph, who as Bible colporteur had made a remarkable tour through south-west Arabia. Lord Napier gladly accepted the Bible Society's gift of books to the soldiers of the expedition, and to the hospitals.

The result, to himself, of the war, for the humane and bloodless fruits of which, then and since, Dr. Wilson is in a large sense responsible, was further work for the people of Abyssinia. With the approval of the Government of India General Merewether entrusted to his training two Anglo-Abyssinian girls, and two Abyssinian boys, Pedro and Wuldee Magios, one of whom had helped the captives, while the other had been presented by Prince Kassai to the conqueror. Lord Napier desired to place the son of Theodorus under his care, to fit the boy for a career in Abyssinia hereafter, but the English authorities decided that the youth should be trained in England, where he is now a cadet in the Royal Military College. So the radius of light and life from the Bombay mission went on ever extending. The prince whom Gabru and Maricha counselled so well, has, as *Negoos* and King Johannes,[1] given to the people of Abyssinia a degree of peace and prosperity which only the unprovoked aggression of the Mussulman Khedive of Egypt has broken for a time.

[1] See that most interesting narrative of travel by E. A. de Cosson, F.R.G.S., *The Cradle of the Blue Nile: A Visit to the Court of King John of Ethiopia.*

CHAPTER XIX.

1867-1871.

SECOND AND LAST VISIT HOME.

The Shadow Darkening—Sir Bartle Frere Leaves Bombay—Isabella Wilson's Death—Legislation of Sir Henry Maine and Sir Fitzjames Stephen—Acts for Re-marriage of Converts and Marriages between non-Christian Natives—Testimonial from the Inhabitants of Bombay on Fortieth Indian Anniversary—Addresses from University and Asiatic Society—Summoned to be Moderator of General Assembly—Addresses to the Assembly—Modern Criticism and Missionary Translators—Work at Home—Portrait—Evidence before Commons' Committee on the Opium and Excise System—Return to Bombay.

"Thy converse drew us with delight,
The men of rathe and riper years :
The feeble soul, a haunt of fears,
Forgot his weakness in thy sight.

"On thee the loyal-hearted hung,
The proud was half disarm'd of pride,
Nor cared the serpent at thy side
To flicker with his treble tongue.

"The stern were mild when thou wert by,
The flippant put himself to school
And heard thee, and the brazen fool
Was soften'd, and he knew not why ;

"While I, thy dearest, sat apart,
And felt thy triumph was as mine ;
And loved them more that they were thine,
The graceful tact, the Christian art.

. . . . .

"For who can always act? but he,
To whom a thousand memories call,
Not being less but more than all
The gentleness he seem'd to be,

"So wore his outward best, and join'd
Each office of the social hour
To noble manners, as the flower
And native growth of noble mind ;

"Nor ever narrowness or spite,
Or villain fancy flitting by,
Drew in the expression of an eye,
Where God and Nature met in light,

"And thus he bore without abuse
The grand old name of gentleman,
Defamed by every charlatan,
And soil'd with all ignoble use."

TENNYSON : *In Memoriam.*

"Need I name Dr. Wilson of Bombay — a distinguished scholar, with few equals in his knowledge of Oriental philosophy and theology. When I met such men I appreciated more than ever the glory of their self-sacrifice, and the grand position occupied by them towards the Church at home, towards the heathen, and, let me add, towards the Anglo-Indian. They have devoted their lives to the civilising and Christianising of our fellow-subjects in India, while their salaries are such as no city clerk would accept—such, indeed, as many of the natives whom they have educated would despise. I here lamented more than ever the ignorance and ingratitude of professing Christians of all churches, who seldom think of them or pray for them. I keenly felt then, as I have often felt since, that so far from our missionaries being unworthy of us we are unworthy of them!"

NORMAN MACLEOD : *Peeps at the Far East.*

CHAPTER XIX.

THE year 1867 cast over Dr. Wilson the first shadow of that darkness beyond which is the everlasting light. In his long course of nigh forty years he had seen band after band of temporary English settlers in the land come and go; he had himself trained generations of native youth, and built up a native church, colleges, and schools. As friend departed after friend he bewailed the exodus from a land which needed all their experience and their energy. The last was the Governor whom he had received at Ambrolie fresh from Haileybury, and had admitted to an almost life-long intimacy. Sir Bartle Frere turned from the honours and the applause which attended his departure from Bombay, to spend one of the last days there with the missionary among his schools and college students. Still invested with all the influence of his office, his Excellency, having personally examined the youth, expressed to them his personal conviction that religion is all important as an element of education. He warmly commended the life-long efforts of Dr. Wilson and others who sought to impart that to the natives of India, to whom it could not fail to be a blessing even when they fall short of embracing Christianity.

As the hot season passed into the rainy time, and the one really intolerable month of the Indian year, September, came round, when wearied humanity pants for the cooling breezes and reviving life of what Europe calls winter, Isabella Wilson was taken away. Her abundant labours of twenty years, in which she had enjoyed only the combined rest and toil of

a six months' visit to her sisters in Scotland, precipitated the end. All Bombay, from the Chief Justice and Judges of the High Court to the humblest Native Christian and student, followed to the Scottish cemetery the remains of one whose influence was all the greater that it had been never obtruded yet ever present in all that was good in the place. In her own home, in the native church, in the central native female day-school, in the monthly inspection of the district and other girls' schools, in the Beni-Israel school, in the native female boarding-school, in the Ladies' Committee of the Scottish Orphanage, in the Bible-women's Association, and in other philanthropic institutions of Bombay, she had proved so potent a force that it was difficult to realise how these organisations could prosper without her. Her social intercourse for the highest ends, with Hindoo, Parsee, Jewish, and Muhammadan families had been closer than that of any other English lady in all India. What she was to her husband in his literary researches and missionary tours, which taxed the courage and resources of the bravest men, we have partially seen. But the purest tribute to her memory was that which the converts rendered, the women and the girls, the catechumens from all the lands of the East from Abyssinia to China, the ordained Natives who, in an eloquent sermon by the Rev. Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee, expressed the loss of the whole Church of India. Henceforth, to his own last hour, Dr. Wilson is cared for by his niece, Miss Taylor. All this came upon him at the time of the preparations for the Abyssinian Expedition, which, however, gave Lord Napier an opportunity of calling on him to express warm sympathy. His own sorrow he manifested by erecting a female school, as the best memorial of one who had given herself for the women of Bombay.

Soon after his appointment as law member of the Governor General's Council, Sir Henry Maine had been led by

Lord Lawrence to devise a legislative solution of the two questions—What relief should be given, first, to Christian converts whose spouses refuse to join them, or are prevented for years from doing so; and, secondly, to non-Christian dissidents from Hindooism who have conscientious objections to the idolatrous and suggestively indecent marriage rites of Brahmanism. This second question was afterwards settled by Sir Fitzjames Stephen, so as to satisfy the followers of Keshub Chunder Sen, and even to lead English Comtists to take advantage of an Act under which the parties must declare that they are not Christians. The Converts Remarriage Bill had a keen interest for all Christians, however, and called forth ecclesiastical discussion for years. Dr. Wilson was consulted by Government on both difficulties, and the assistance he gave to Sir Henry Maine was warmly acknowledged. Unlike the sacramentarians who hold that a marriage is irrevocable by whomsoever made, even if one of the parties refuses for ever all conjugal duties, Dr. Wilson showed, from the early Fathers down to the Reformers, that Scripture had been consistently interpreted so as to give proper relief. He laid special stress on the opinion of Basilius of Caesareia,[1] because of the great authority of that bishop in the Roman, Greek, Syrian, and Gothic Churches. The result of a learned and sometimes bitter discussion in the Press as well as the Legislative Council of India, was the most equitable Act under which, if a wife persistently refuses to join her converted husband (and *vice versa*) for two years, notwithstanding private opportunities of remonstrance judicially given, the district courts may only then pronounce divorce. The Act has worked extremely well, by affording opportunities to the law to free wives from such restraint as we have seen Brahmanism and Parseeism impose on inquirers, and so to prevent divorce. The great jurist and the

[1] *Epistola* 138, in which Basil cites 1 Cor. vii. 13-16.

experienced scholar were thus happily allied in removing one of the last obstacles to perfect toleration. Nothing now remains to be done by the legislature save the promulgation of a uniform rule or procedure for the protection of the rights of conscience of minors, in a country where marriage takes place at and sometimes before puberty.

As the 14th of February 1869 approached, the leaders of all the communities in Bombay, European and Asiatic, resolved to honour their foremost man on that, the fortieth anniversary of his arrival in Western India. Mr. Sassoon, the Jewish millionnaire, and Dr. Bhau Daji, the most learned reforming Brahman, were active in the movement, side by side with Mr. James Taylor, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and of the Asiatic Society, and with the secretary of the committee, Mr. James Douglas. The long roll of subscribers and signatures in many languages on the parchment sheets, represents all races, creeds, and classes in the East, and all varieties of Christian sects. Although New Bombay was still suffering from the ruin and apprehension that followed the cotton mania, and the work was rapidly done, upwards of Rs. 21,000 (£2100) was presented to the missionary on a silver salver wrought by native artists, and bearing the inscription, in Sanscrit:—"This salver was presented to the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., at a meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay, as a mark of esteem for his high personal character, and in acknowledgment of his great services to India in the cause of education and philanthropy." The design represents him as a missionary standing under the sacred peepul tree, a Hindoo temple and figure of Rama behind, and before him a crowd of Asiatics of every cult and caste in Western India, from the learned Brahman to the ignorant peasant. The Governor, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, presided at a great meeting in the Town-Hall of Bombay, on the 15th February 1869, and made the presentation. The Chief-Justice, Sir

Richard Couch, assisted. A loving letter was read from Sir Bartle Frere, and the other speakers were Mr. Sassoon and Dr. Bhau Daji. Dr. Wilson thus reported the event to Miss Margaret Dennistoun:—"It is wonderful to think that gratification has been felt with the issue through the whole of India. Only one element of my felicitation (I was humbled rather than exalted) was wanting—the sympathy of her, the beloved one who was so lately removed from me. I have been weeping whenever I have been thinking of this deprivation. I always felt that one quiet glance of her loving and approving eye was better to me than the applause of the multitude. Her love was always an emblem to me of that of the Saviour Himself." It was characteristic of his whole career and of his unfailing tact, that, agreeing to use the interest only in his philanthropic and literary labours, he should designate the capital sum to aid the higher studies of the youth of Bombay, "in a form which will be agreeable alike to my European and Native friends." The fund has accordingly devolved on the University of Bombay for the foundation of the John Wilson Philological Lectureship, to which his friend and executor, Professor Peterson, has been the first to be appointed. Dr. Wilson desired that lectures may thus be delivered "by a competent European or Native scholar, annually elected for the purpose, on either of the following classes of languages and the literature in which they are embodied:—Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages derived from it; Hebrew, and the other Shemitic languages; Latin and Greek; English, viewed in connection with Anglo-Saxon and its other sources."

The address of the inhabitants of Bombay, followed by one from the Hindoos and Muhammadans of Nasik, from which he had been almost expelled in his first missionary tour, reviewed the whole course of Dr. Wilson's work for the people, and thus expressed their own special gratitude:—"As

citizens of Bombay we thankfully acknowledge that the credit of this city has been upheld by the personal courtesy and learned aid which distinguished foreigners and others, coming hither as visitors or for purposes of Oriental research or Christian philanthropy, have always received from you, as acknowledged by them subsequently in their published writings or otherwise."

But again, as in 1842, it was left to the Asiatic Society to review his contributions to scholarship, and to the University to acknowledge his work for the higher education. Never before in its history had there been such a concourse of the members of that Society as on the 17th February 1870, when it was known that Dr. Wilson had been summoned to his native country once more, to fill the highest office which the democratic Scottish Church can confer, that of annual Moderator of the General Assembly. The Governor, who presided, after stating the thanks of Government for his political services, which, "as regards our relation with the people in trying times, have been of the utmost value," declared it a happy thing that one who had been able to combine the fearless assertion of what he believed to be true with a conciliatory demeanour and tender respect for the belief of others, had been summoned to take the chief part in the government of a religious body who had sacrificed much for the truth at a time when religious discussion too often means animosity and estrangement. Mr. Justice Tucker, Dr. Bhau Daji, Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee, the Portuguese Dr. J. N. Mendonca, Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee, and Messrs. Wedderburn and Connon, told successively what Dr. Wilson had done for scholarship, for literature, for education, for progress of all kinds. Dr. Wilson's reply was more generous to his fellow members than just to his own researches. Two days after he was on his way to Edinburgh. The native journals followed with their eulogies the now venerable apostle, whose

delight it had been to spend and be spent in the service of the people, with an unselfishness which all admired, though all did not trace it to Him whom the missionary proclaimed.

The office of Moderator of the General Assembly is filled, as a rule, by the unanimous vote of the six or seven hundred members on the first day of its meeting. But the Moderator is designated some months before by those surviving who have previously filled the chair, is approved of after consultation by the "commission" of the previous Assembly, and is requested by his immediate predecessor to allow himself to be nominated. In this way Dr. Wilson received a formal invitation from the Rev. Sir Henry Wellwood Moncreiff, Bart., to come home for the Assembly of May 1870. The Churches, like the country generally, know so little of India till a catastrophe occurs which knowledge might have prevented, that the whole learning and power of Dr. Wilson in his new position proved a surprise to the Free Church of Scotland. Courtesy of the old school; knowledge of men and their public assemblies; promptitude and fluency in expression; learning, rarely obtrusive but always present; and grace of that highest kind which comes down from heaven alone, marked all his public services and official receptions. The time was one when the vexed question was near the embittered stage — Whether the great goal of one reconstructed Kirk of Scotland could best be reached by immediate union with the earlier seceders of the United and Reformed Presbyterian Churches, or by waiting till the minority of the Established Church atoned for the wrong they have since confessed? To Dr. Wilson, it was well known, the immediate duty of union with all like-minded who would unite was plain, but he held the balance fairly as became one in his judicial position. So long before as in 1864 he had moved the Presbytery of Bombay to "overture" the General Assembly for this possible instalment of union; for

to one in the distant high places of the field the still existing divisions look both ludicrous and criminal. Only on the one disputed question of the use of hymns in public worship did he, when he had ceased to be Moderator, let out the force of his alternate scorn and ridicule for views which would strike evangelical catholicity out of any Church.

His opening address as Moderator was directed to the part which Scotland has taken in the reception, propagation, and conservation of Christianity. A hearer might have supposed that he had never been out of Scotland, but for the extent of his knowledge and the breadth of his sympathies. His vindication of the Westminster Confession of Faith did justice to the foresight and spirit of its authors, only now beginning to be acknowledged, while he quoted with a keen delight the motto of the first Confession of 1560: "And this glaid tydingis of the kyngdome sall be precheit through the haill warld for a witnes unto all natiouns, and then sall the end cum." To the then debated question of National Education he gave his support with a confidence since fully justified by the religious stedfastness of his countrymen. The narrow, the sectarian, the purely ecclesiastical found no quarter from him. His closing address was no less fair in the tribute to the lay elders of his Church, and in the remark when alluding to the rationalism of the great French scholar—"This I say, without accusing M. Renan of playing false with his own convictions or depreciating his Shemitic scholarship."

When the report on Foreign Missions was read he left the chair and told the story of his life-work in words which concluded with the declaration that, notwithstanding his forty-one years' connection with India, if he lived to the age of Methuselah he would consider it a privilege to devote his life to its regeneration. The General Assembly of 1870 appointed the Rev. Robertson Smith, then fresh from the students' benches but of great reputation, as Professor of

Hebrew in succession to Mr. Sachs at Aberdeen. Referring to the translations of the Scriptures by the Rev. Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee into the Parsee-Goojaratee language, Dr. Wilson said:—"The missionaries know and take advantage of the results of modern criticism; not of rash, but devout, intelligent, and reverent criticism, knowing what passages have often been misunderstood. We have to deal in Bombay with languages drawing all their technical terms from the Sanscrit, one of the most wonderful of all languages in regard to its power of expressing human thought. We have great need of able men in India for biblical and other literary work; and if Mr. Smith, who has this day been appointed a Professor of Hebrew, will come out to India after he has obtained a few years' experience at Aberdeen, he will find there ample scope for his linguistic talents."

If the duties, ecclesiastical and social, devolving on a Moderator are not few during the ten days' sittings of the General Assembly, those which occupy or distract his year of office are formidable. Every cause that needs the preaching of a popular sermon; every new church that is founded or opened; every neighbouring Church to which a brotherly deputation has to be sent, in England, Ireland, and on the Continent, looks to the Moderator. To all this, and especially to his own more special work of stimulating missionary zeal, Dr. Wilson gave himself up with an ardour that taxed his waning energies, as time soon showed. The charms of his talk and companionship in private life were universally recognised with a delighted surprise, for who knew anything of Bombay? Dr. Wilson was as ready to lecture to the theological students of the Established Church in the University Association which he had founded in 1825, as to those of the three New Colleges. And not only to them, for Principal Shairp induced him to delight the students of St. Andrews with a lecture on the Literature and History of the People of India;

intended to stir them up to claim their share of appointments in the Services which Scotsmen once almost monopolised.

This growing appreciation led to a movement for securing a portrait of the philanthropist for his native country, since he persisted in his resolution to return to much-loved Bombay. On the 9th June 1871 he thus wrote to Mr. David Maclagan, who had organised the matter—"The proposal has taken me by surprise, as I feel that I have no claim to be an aspirant to the honours which you and other friends desiderate on my behalf. In giving my grateful consent to that proposal, I feel very deeply that it is the judgment of God and not that of man with which I have mainly to do, and that I have many grounds for personal humiliation in the divine presence in connection with my ministrations in all the places in which they have been conducted." The portrait, painted by Mr. Norman Macbeth, has since adorned the common hall of the New College, Edinburgh.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons, which began to take evidence on the financial system of India in 1871, examined Dr. Wilson on the subject of the opium cultivation of Central and Western India and the excise laws. Almost from the year of his first landing at Bombay he had, on the ground of temperance, memorialised Government on the increase of drunkenness under our rule. He admitted, from the Vedas and from the state of Poona under the Marathas, that intoxication had been known in India, both from drugs and distillation. From his tours, in Rajpootana especially, he gave much information as to the extent to which the cultivation of the poppy is absorbing the best lands, demoralising the people and killing off their chiefs. He urged an increase of the spirit duties, the protection of native villages from the invasion of the drink-sellers caused by our excise system, and—at least—the conversion of the Bengal opium monopoly into the Bombay system, for which

the Government and the nation, as such, are not responsible. He testified to the satisfaction of the natives with British rule as contrasted with that of their own princes. That Select Committee was not allowed to give in a final report on the voluminous evidence which it took. The excise laws and opium monopoly remain unchanged to this day, a blot on our generally benevolent administration of India, excused but not justified by financial difficulties.

The toil-worn man of sixty-five, the missionary of forty-three years' service, might well have been pardoned if he had chosen to rest where he was. But whether in Scotland or in India rest could not be for that burning spirit, that busy mind, that active body. "I go bound in the Spirit to India to declare the Gospel message," he wrote to Miss Margaret Dennistoun, when about to step on board the 'Ceylon' at Brindisi. "Nothing but this object sustains my heart. I am sure you will all earnestly pray for me. My solace is in the Lord."

"*4th October* 1871.—Took leave of my beloved friends at Lauder, who were all deeply affected, not expecting again to see me in the flesh. Though I felt much on parting with them I was wonderfully supported by the Lord Jesus. I read the 129th and 121st Psalms before engaging in prayer in my own house with the surviving members of our family. They gave me the convoy in the carriage till we got out of sight of the valley of the Leader. Drove to Greenlaw, where I was received with much kindness by Mr. and Mrs. Fairbairn, and Rev. Messrs. Cunningham, Fraser, and Spence, whom they had invited to meet me. Addressed a meeting in the Free Church.

"*5th.*—To Langton, where I addressed Mr. Logan's congregation in the evening. In the afternoon I visited Langton House, to renew my acquaintance with the excellent Lady Hannah Tharpe, who gave me a very kind reception. I had a

long talk, too, on the grounds, with Lady Elizabeth Pringle who has done much for their improvement as well as for that of the mansion. She is a most vigorous and intelligent old lady.

"6*th*.—Driven by Mr. Logan to Dunse, to the Rev. Mr. Miller. After calling on Dr. Ritchie of the United Presbyterian Church I left for Selkirk by rail. I was recognised at Galashiels by Mr. Ovans, son of an old friend, who took me to his house. I posted to Harewood Glen, where James Dennistoun and his family were delighted to see me.

"8*th*.—Driven to Selkirk and preached in the Free Church."

Dr. Guthrie's was the last "kent" face he saw in his native land. Accompanied by his niece he followed his old route by the Rhine to Munich, seeing Professor Christlieb at Bonn, and bitterly lamenting the loss of "my grand walking-cane, the gift of Colonel Davidson." At the Bavarian capital he writes: "I renewed my acquaintance with Dr. Haug, Professor of Sanscrit in the University, and he treated the two of us to a right good German supper in the evening, at which we met not only his wife and son, but Mr. West (now Ph.D.) and Mrs. West, old Bombay friends, much with dearest Isabella and myself. Dr. Haug offered to introduce me to Dr. Döllinger, the living lion of the place, but I could not spare the needful time." And so, after a day at Trent, and in the cathedral and church of Sta. Maria Maggiore "in which the famous Council intended to defeat the Reformation was held," the last week of November 1871 saw him in the hospitable house of Dr. Yule, the consular chaplain at Alexandria, and soon after on an excursion from Suez to the Wells of Moses. At Aden he and General Irving, R.E. repeated the usual five miles' ride to the town and tanks. On the 9th December he was welcomed back to Bombay by Dhunjeebhoy and the son of the Nawab of Nasik, who boarded the steamer as it entered the harbour.

CHAPTER XX.

1872-1875.

REST.

Assassination of Chief Justice Norman and Lord Mayo—Dr. Wilson on Muhammadan feeling—Translates Treasonable Proclamation—Welcomes from Old Students—At the Allahabad Missionary Conference—Additions to the Native Church—Shapoorjee's Persecution—Vithabai's Habeas Corpus Case—Missionary Statistics—Holkar's Gift—Consulted by Viceroy on Baroda Case—Vernacular Press and State Education—Triumphs of opposition to the Slave-Trade and the Crimes of the Indian Cults—On Kirk Union and Disestablishment—Social Duties—Mr. Grant Duff—Lord Northbrook—H.R.H. the Prince of Wales—Illness—Death—Funeral—Memorials—Tributes by Vice-Chancellor Gibbs, Captain R. Mackenzie, I.N., and the Wife of Major-General Ballard, C.B.

" One only, of God's messengers to man,
Finish'd the work of grace which He began ;
E'en Moses wearied upon Nebo's height,
Though loth to leave the fight
With the doom'd foe, and yield the sun-bright land
To Joshua's armèd band.

" And David wrought in turn a strenuous part,
Zeal for God's house consuming him in heart ;
And yet he might not build, but only bring
Gifts for the heavenly King ;
And these another rear'd, his peaceful son,
Till the full work was done.

" List, Christian warrior ! thou whose soul is fain
To rid thy Mother of her present chain ;—
Christ will avenge His Bride ; yea, even now
Begins the work, and thou
Shalt spend in it thy strength, but, ere He save,
Thy lot shall be the grave."

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN ; in 1833.

" I, Galahad, saw the Grail
. . . Blood-red. And in the strength of this I rode
Shattering all evil customs everywhere,
And past thro' Pagan realms, and made them mine,
And clashed with Pagan hordes, and bore them down,
And broke thro' all, and in the strength of this
Come victor. But my time is hard at hand,
And hence I go ; and one will crown me king
Far in the spiritual city ; and come thou, too,
For thou shalt see the vision when I go."

TENNYSON : *The Holy Grail.*

CHAPTER XX.

A THRILL of feeling like that called forth by the Cawnpore massacre followed the assassination of the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, by a fanatical Afghan convict in the penal settlement of the Andaman Islands, on the 8th February 1872. Not five months before a Wahabee traitor had cut down the blameless Chief Justice, Mr. Norman, as he entered the High Court in Calcutta. It was difficult, at the time, to believe that both of these events, unprecedented in our history, were not the expression of more than the individual blood-thirstiness of the assassins. But the voice of Dr. Wilson, who knew well the most excitable Muhammadan communities in India, next at least to the Wahabees and Afghans on the frontier, was raised again, as in 1857, in deprecation of sweeping charges against millions of our fellow-subjects. In a Town-Hall meeting, and again at the annual conference of the British and Foreign Bible Society's branch in Bombay, he used such language as this of Lord Mayo's assassin: "The murderer must be prayed for in the spirit of the prayer offered up by Christ, that we should ask forgiveness for those who trespass against us. I am thoroughly convinced of the loyalty of the main body of Muhammadans. I believe that many of them are most anxious for the diffusion of knowledge, and even knowledge concerning God." His eulogy of "the benevolent and beneficent Governor-General" was based on the experience he had had of his character and conversation when his guest at Simla. Since that other Irish administrator, the

Marquis Wellesley, no ruler had exercised on Native and European alike such a personal fascination as the upright Peer whose only fault was that he had sometimes too little suspicion of abler intellects directed by lower motives than his own. The missionary's correspondence with Lord Mayo was brief, but it is sufficient to justify the assertion that the Viceroy felt a keen interest in all Christian and philanthropic agencies, "and promised to give all assistance in his power to their efforts amongst the heathen tribes of the land." Soon after, Dr. Wilson was consulted by the authorities on the translation and significance of a treasonable proclamation found in the pulpit of the Jumma Musjeed, the great mosque of Delhi, and in another place.

Lord Northbrook, the successor of Lord Mayo, had hardly taken his seat when he turned to Dr. Wilson for information and counsel as to the working of the University system, in itself and in its influence on the lower and vernacular education. Dr. Murdoch had long called the attention of the various Governments to the idolatrous and obscene passages in Government school-books, from which, nevertheless, Christian allusions were carefully excluded. The new Governor-General instructed each provincial Government to report on the subject, and with his own hand thus wrote to Dr. Wilson on the 3d May 1873: "The revision of the school-books is intended to extend to the Vernacular as well as the English books, and to give the opportunity of eliminating any indecencies or passages which teach the Hindoo or Muhammadan religions . . . . I did not think it desirable to take any public notice of this part of the question, but I wish to set the matter straight without making a fuss. It is very gratifying to me that you should agree with what I said at the Convocation of the Calcutta University." Lord Northbrook then invited Dr. Wilson's opinion on such vexed questions as the compulsory requirement of an ancient

language (Sanscrit, in Bengal) for University pass degrees, and the establishment of University Professorships. On the latter the Scottish scholar's opinion was most strongly that of Mr. S. Laing when Finance Minister, Mr. C. U. Aitchison, Bishop Cotton, Archdeacon Pratt, Dr. Duff, Principal Miller, and Lord Northbrook himself at last, that the Universities should not be prevented from becoming teaching as well as examining bodies, especially in such subjects common to all, and not involving religious difficulties, as the mathematical and physical sciences. Calcutta and Bombay now possess at least one University Chair.

On the two occasions on which, in 1872 and 1873, Dr. Wilson travelled by railway to Nagpore, to inspect the mission and do presbyterial duty, and to Allahabad to attend the General Missionary Conference, he made something like a triumphal progress. These great cities were the outposts to which his direct influence had extended during the previous forty years. At every station where his advent was known, natives, young and old, converts and non-Christians, crowded to the train to see their teacher once more, while some accompanied him for forty miles to prolong the dearly loved intercourse. His letters show how deeply this affection moved the old man. At Allahabad he was honoured, above all, by the 136 missionaries of 19 societies, Native and European, from all parts of India, who met to discuss the methods and results of the missions in India during the previous decade. In the whole history of foreign missions no such Synod has ever been held, whether we look at the number and varied experience of the members, at the evangelical unity of their faith and love, or at the weight and critical value of their discussions.[1] Dr. Wilson was one of the daily presidents, and he preached on "The Glory of Christ" on the evening of

[1] *Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad*, 1872-73. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1873.

the united communion service. The subject assigned to him for a paper was "On Preaching to the Hindoos," which he treated not as purely evangelistic, not as only educational, but as the proclamation of the gospel in many forms. His plea for doing justice to the languages of the peoples of India as the grand, though not exclusive, media of Christian instruction—*legendo, scribendo, et loquendo*—was not less emphatic than when he first applied it to himself in 1829. But he advocated English as "an alternative vernacular language, specially adapted to the higher regions of thought and feeling," especially in the great cities. "It is rapidly becoming under the British Government what the Greek became under the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies and the Latin became under the Roman Consuls. I leave all absolute anti-Anglicists to answer for themselves the question, Why did the wisdom of God choose the Greek language for the New Testament?" Nowhere will the young Englishman, and especially the preacher and teacher, who goes out to India, find such ripe wisdom and practical counsels as in that paper, and in the subsequent opinions on intercourse with the Muhammadans, the aboriginal tribes, and the advanced Brahmists. The hints are worthy to be placed side by side with, so as to supplement, the famous but now too little known, "Notes of Instructions" to young officials, in Malcolm's *Memoir of Central India.*

'To the last, whether in Bombay or elsewhere, Dr. Wilson looked, worked, prayed for true converts, and not in vain. The case of Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee more than thirty years before, and oft-repeated since, was renewed in 1872. Shapoorjee Dhunjeebhoy Babha, a youth of good family, entered the Surat mission school to learn English. On the second day of his attendance Dr. Wilson happened to visit the school and to distribute copies of his elementary catechism. The simple book issued in Shapoorjee's baptism two years after, in spite of the controversial treatises placed in his hands on the other

side, and the frantic declarations of his father that he would destroy himself. The usual persecution followed—kidnapping and imprisonment. But the youth remained firm. He nursed Dr. Wilson in the last hours, and has visited Scotland for the completion of his theological studies.) Again, in 1874, Vithabai, a married lady of high caste, sought baptism, and was driven from her home by the violence of her husband, whose treatment of the children was such that the mother had them brought into court on a writ of "habeas corpus." The eldest girl, twelve years of age, vehemently protested her desire to live as a Christian with her mother, but the father's rights were declared absolute, in spite of his acknowledged cruelty. The evidence showed that he had himself placed his daughter in the Free Church female school, and had arranged that she should receive lunch in violation of caste rules; that when she left the school, a Christian book she took with her led her mother to Christ; that he then asked the wife of the Rev. Gunputrao Navalkar to teach Christianity in his own house; and that he himself had even proposed to go over to Chistianity with his whole family. Who that knows the little faith and much fearing of his own heart will do more than pity the timidity that prevailed? In the same year Dr. Wilson wrote to Miss Camilla Dennistoun: "Mission objects are pressing upon me the more that the enterprise expands. Last year I admitted into the Christian Church eighteen individuals of hopeful character, education, and intelligence. This year the harvest promises to be equally extensive." Statistics are no adequate test of such work as Dr. Wilson's. But the latest figures for 1877 show that in Bombay and the stations of the Free Church founded by him, 1071 converts have been admitted, on the intelligent profession of their faith, since the beginning of his mission; while there were 2877 pupils and students in 56 schools. That is but the first-fruit of the harvest which he sowed. We find it in other forms so opposite, as

the gift at this time, through Sir Madhava Rao, of Rs. 500 from the Maharaja Holkar, which was devoted to enriching the libraries of the college and schools in vernacular and Sanscrit works; and this communication from one who had been long a chaplain in India: "I can never forget that it was at a social meeting at your house in Ambrolie, and while you were engaged in prayer, that a remarkable change, or rather the first step of a remarkable change, passed over my wife. I may say that the life of faith is a different thing to me now from what it was when you and I were first acquainted."

The last of the political services which Dr. Wilson was to be able to render to the Government was called for by Lord Northbrook. As an interpreter between the Oriental and the European mind, as a mediator between the races, he was asked in 1875 for his impressions as to the effect of the recent Baroda trial on the minds of the natives. "The opinion of one occupying your position, with large experience of the country and peculiar opportunities of mixing with all classes, would be very valuable," he was told, as different at once from official reports and the utterances of the Press. His elaborate reply (see Appendix) called forth a warm letter of gratitude, and a further request for his opinion on these questions, one of which has since been hastily dealt with :—"Is it desirable to impose any check upon the native Press, or to endeavour to counteract the effect of the disloyal native papers by supporting papers which will put forward correct views?" "Has the time arrived for making those who receive a high English education pay the whole cost of it, limiting the aid of the State to those youths who, by distinguishing themselves in the lower schools, show that they deserve assistance in completing their education, thereby bringing fully into operation the principles expounded in the Educational Despatch of 1854?" The leisure for replying to these

questions never came, but it is not difficult to say what Dr. Wilson's answer would have been to both. Certainly he would have urged the Governor-General, by arguments no less powerful than those which gave the Despatch of 1854 its force, to remove every obstruction to the development of a policy which would give all religions, educationally, a fair field, and would permit positive moral and spiritual principle to affect the education of the young, while ceasing to build up and to hedge round pure secularism, and all which that involves, by a State monopoly. It is deeply to be regretted that, in spite of his premature abolition of direct taxation, so that the burdens of India are thrown mainly on the poor, Lord Northbrook did not continue for at least the usual five years' term of office, to maintain the safe traditional foreign and feudatory policy of his great predecessors, and to develop his own wise educational views.

In the mission of Sir Bartle Frere to Africa and the East, to arrange with the Khedive, the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the petty potentates of the littoral from the Persian Gulf west and south to the still slave-trading territory of the Portuguese Government of Mozambique, Dr. Wilson saw the philanthropic efforts of his life approaching that happy issue which our vigorous consul at Zanzibar, Dr. Kirk, soon after reached by treaty. In India itself, as he reviewed the gradual amelioration of Asiatic customs under the East India Company, and the growth of toleration under the Crown, he thus tersely catalogued the bloodless triumphs that had been won on a field where, it may be said, he himself completed what Carey had begun eighty years before :—

HORRORS AND INIQUITIES OF INDIA REMOVED BY GOVERNMENT.

I. MURDER OF PARENTS.

(*a*) By Suttee.

(*b*) By exposure on the banks of rivers.

(*c*) By burial alive. Case in Jodhpore territory, 1860.

II. Murder of Children.
  (*a*) By dedication to the Ganges, to be devoured by crocodiles.
  (*b*) By Rajpoot infanticide, West of India, Punjab, East of India.
III. Human Sacrifices.
  (*a*) Temple sacrifices.
  (*b*) By wild tribes—Meriahs of the Khonds.
IV. Suicide.
  (*a*) Crushing by idol cars.
  (*b*) Devotees drowning themselves in rivers.
  (*c*) Devotees casting themselves from precipices.
  (*d*) Leaping into wells—widows.
  (*e*) By Trága.
V. Voluntary Torment.
  (*a*) By hook-swinging.
  (*b*) By thigh-piercing.
  (*c*) By tongue-extraction.
  (*d*) By falling on knives.
  (*e*) By austerities.
VI. Involuntary Torment.
  (*a*) Barbarous executions.
  (*b*) Mutilation of criminals.
  (*c*) Extraction of evidence by torment.
  (*d*) Bloody and injurious ordeals.
  (*e*) Cutting off the noses of women.
VII. Slavery.
  (*a*) Hereditary predial slavery.
  (*b*) Domestic slavery.
  (*c*) Importation of slaves from Africa.
VIII. Extortions.
  (*a*) By Dharaná.
  (*b*) By Trága.
IX. Religious Intolerance.
  (*a*) Prevention of Propagation of Christianity.
  (*b*) Calling upon the Christian soldiers to fire salutes at heathen festivals, etc.
  (*c*) Saluting gods on official papers.
  (*d*) Managing affairs of idol temples.
X. Support of Caste by Law.
  (*a*) Exclusion of low castes from offices.
  (*b*) Exemption of high castes from appearing to give evidence.
  (*c*) Disparagement of low caste.

But it was ever to the spiritual, the divine, that Dr. Wilson looked as the motive power of all effective philanthropy. Hence, as his end drew near, he longed more and more for the restoration of that unity of the Kirk of Scotland which, when the later Stewarts had failed to wipe it out in blood, the short-sighted advisers of Queen Anne first secretly shattered. His experience during the year of his Moderatorship showed him that, without a united Kirk reconstructed on the historical lines of spiritual but lay independence, as stated by Francis Jeffrey and Cockburn, his country would never do its duty in the Christianization of India. These were his last letters on that subject, written at a time when he was welcoming back to India the Rev. Narayan Sheshadri "after his most successful campaign in Britain and America," in which the Christian Brahman had pleaded for the depressed tribes and ignorant peasantry for whom he has given his life—

"*4th September* 1874.—*Nulla vestigia retrorsum* must be the motto of the Free Presbyterian Churches. If others can claim, and receive and maintain their full liberty in Christ, and prove faithful to evangelical truth, let them be received into the advanced fraternity; but let there be no obscurations, or concessions, or retrogressions, which would endanger or weaken our position or injure our character. The duty of the State now, in the present advanced state of Christian society and the many divisions which exist, is to remove all *imposts* for the support of religion, and to devote all church *property* held by the State to such objects as, in the spirit of its original destination, are not inconsistent with its original consecration, viewed in a general and liberal sense."

"*5th October* 1874.—I am pleased to a certain extent with the Act of Parliament abolishing Patronage, and more particularly because it was sought for by the Established Church of Scotland; but it does not recognise the essential freedom and autonomy of the Church, and is entirely destitute of Presbyterian Catholicity. *We* are the historical Church of Scotland, and let the Established Churchmen be abreast of us before we unite with them. The hasty comprehensions of the Revolution bear a solemn lesson to us which we should not forget. I am convinced that they are the best friends of the Established Churches of Scotland and England who, in a Christian spirit, seek their disestab-

lishment. Saying or doing nothing in this direction we are responsible for much error and much sin. I express this opinion with much personal regard for thousands of their members and ministers, and with still greater regard for those of our own Church who may not see eye to eye with us in this matter. Much discretion will be needed in the advocacy of the disestablishment cause."

Every year, to the last, seemed to bring with it an increase of Dr. Wilson's social duties and influence, while there was no abatement in his services to the public by frequent lectures on such subjects as "Views of Sin in the Hindoo Books and in the Bible;" "Hindoo Philosophy," etc. Among the guests and visitors whom he again and again guided amid the rock-cut temples around Bombay, while he opened to them its native, its benevolent and scientific institutions, and delighted them with his conversation, were, in these last years—Lord Northbrook, Lady Hobart, Sir Arthur Gordon, Sir Harry Parkes, Count Cserakotsky, Dr. Hermann Jacobi, Dr. Begg, General Litchfield, Mr. Grant Duff; Mr. Maughan and Mr. Octavius Stone, the travellers; Mr. Seibert, and other United States' astronomers; Dr. Andreas, sent by the Austrian Government to study the Parsee religion; Miss Tucker (A.L.O.E.); M. Minayeff, a Russian traveller; Professor Monier Williams; the Armenian bishop; the Maharaja Holkar, Sir Madhava Rao, and the Chief of Jamkhundee; Canon Duckworth, and the Rev. Dr. A. N. Somerville. It was at the farewell meeting held by that evangelist on April 7th, 1875, that Dr. Wilson appeared among the non-Christian natives of Bombay for the last time—a fitting occasion. Dr. Templeton closed the long succession of missionaries and friends who had been his guests. The last time he gathered his children in the faith around him was on the 18th August, when he opened the "Day-school for Indian and other Eastern Females," which he had erected in affectionate remembrance of Isabella Wilson, "from a bequest by herself for any one evangelistic object of his choice."

Mr. Grant Duff has told the world his delight in the companionship of the missionary:—"We drove round a large part of the town with Dr. Wilson—a great pleasure, to be put in the same class as going over Canterbury Cathedral with the author of the *Memorials*, the Greyfriars' Churchyard with Robert Chambers, or Holyrood with poor Joseph Robertson. . . . I leave Bombay with a much stronger impression than I had of its great Asiatic as distinguished from its merely Indian importance. It is and will be more and more, to all this part of the world, what Ephesus or Alexandria was to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean in the days of the Roman Empire. I wish I could give it a fortnight, and be allowed to pick Dr. Wilson's brains all the time." By the time that the Prince of Wales landed, and there had been put into his hands that exposition of the "Religious Excavations of Western India," over which Dr. Wilson was to have been his guide, the great missionary was too ill to receive His Royal Highness, who graciously deputed so old a friend as Sir Bartle Frere to visit the dying apostle, and sent him the royal portrait. The Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, sought an interview with him, as Lord Hastings and Lady W. Bentinck had done with Carey when he was sick.

Frequent attacks of fever, after his return to Bombay at the end of 1871, had ended in September 1875 in chronic breathlessness from weakness of the heart. But he could not rest so long as any duty had to be done in the Institution, in the financial affairs of the mission, and in the University, although he had Mr. Stothert and zealous young colleagues to relieve him. On attempting to reach Mahableshwar, after a previous visit to Poona, he was forced by an alarming attack to return from Panchgunny, twelve miles short of the loved sanitarium. Miss Taylor, Dr. Macdonald the medical missionary, and Professor Peterson nursed him with devotion. When again in Bombay under the tender skill of Dr. Joynt,

he had ever in his hand, as he sat in the chair to which the disease confined him, a volume of hymns marked at Kelly's "Comfort in Prospect of Death." In the last letter written with his own hand he said: "In the goodness of my Heavenly Father I think I am a little better, but if you saw my difficulty of breathing you would pity me. Let that pity pass into petitions addressed to the Throne of all grace." Ready to die he yet desired life that he might finish, as he thought, his Master's work. To Mr. Bowen, the American missionary, he said the day before he died: "I have perfect peace, and am content that the Lord should do what seems good to Him." And then he talked of the advance of Christ's kingdom in India, expressing an eager solicitude that during the Prince's tour among its peoples and nobles nothing might be done that should even seem to countenance false religions, or to depart from the Government's attitude of simple toleration. He had lived for the freedom of Truth; rejoicing in Him Who alone has guaranteed that freedom he died.

At his feet gathered more, and more to him, than prince or viceroy, governor or scholar. The Hindoos were there; Tirmal Rao and his two sons came from far Dharwar to seek his blessing. They knelt before him, their turbans on the ground, as they laid the Christian patriarch's hands on their heads; and when he died they—Hindoos—begged his body that they might bury it. The Muhammadans were there. A family greatly attached to him brought their own physician to see him, pleading that a *hukeem* who had healed the Shah of Persia must do him good. The Parsees were represented by Dhunjeebhoy and Shapoorjee, his first and his latest sons in the faith from their tribe. In the wanderings of unconsciousness, the words of Scripture, clearly read, often recalled his soul to follow them. At five on the evening of the 1st December, peacefully, John Wilson entered into his rest. In ten days he would have completed his seventy-first

year. The old Scottish Burial Ground, closed by an act of the legislature, was opened that his dust might lie in the same grave with that of Margaret and Isabella Wilson. There, too, lie Anna Bayne and Robert Nesbit, of whose wife Hay Bayne, who died at sea, there is a marble record. And there was placed the young wife of Dr. Valentine. When we last stood there it was with Dr. Wilson, who said that by the grave which was to open for him he would take possession of India for the Lord. For, he used to remark, the way to Heaven is as short from India as from England. While some may regret that the veteran of threescore and ten did not retire to the leisure and the influence to which his native country invited him, surely there was a dramatic completeness, a spiritual unity, in the death which he died in Bombay. By him such an end was desired, but not as a mere sentiment. In 1849 he had written, "though for long I thought that missionaries should seek to die in India and not contemplate retiring in any circumstances, observation has led me to qualify my opinion." He would have worked unceasingly anywhere; he desired to go on working long. It is well for the natives he loved and for the Church to which he is an example that he was permitted to fall while still in the front of the battle.

How all Bombay, how half India, made great lamentation for John Wilson, and carried him to his burial, the journals of the day record. Governor, Council and Judges; University Vice-Chancellor, General, and Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy; Missionaries, Chaplains, and Portuguese Catholics; the converts, students, and school children; Asiatics and Africans of every caste, creed, and hue, reverently followed all that was mortal of the venerated philanthropist, for two hours as the bier was borne from "the Cliff" along Malabar Hill, and down the road which sweeps round the

head of the Back Bay to the Free Church on the Esplanade, and then to the last-resting place.

The University of Bombay possesses his library, and has commissioned from Mr. J. Adams-Acton a marble bust of its virtual founder. An endowment has been raised by his countrymen in Scotland for memorial scholarships to stimulate the youth of the Border to follow in his footsteps. Dr. Norman Macleod's proposal, in 1870, that Dr. Wilson's Institution should become the United Christian College of Bombay, is likely to be carried out. Mr. Vice-Chancellor Gibbs, at the first convocation of the University afterwards, paid this official tribute to the learning and reputation of his predecessor:—

"This venerable missionary brought all his power, tempered by a most catholic spirit, to the service of this University; and in every branch of its government, including the office which I have now the honour to hold, gave it not only his best and warmest support, but also the incalculable benefit of his great experience as a teacher and guide of the native youth of this presidency. He has gone, in the fulness of the age allotted to man, to his reward and his rest; the regret we entertain for his loss is sincere, though perhaps selfish, but all will, I think, agree in the applicability to him of the often quoted sentiment of the Prince of Denmark:—

'He was a man, take him for all and all,
We shall not look upon his like again.'"

Captain R. Mackenzie, I. N., writes to us of his work among the officers of the Indian Navy:—

"Under his usual calm and placid demeanour there lay a strong current of genial humour which he often gave vent to in his intercourse with his more intimate friends. The interest he manifested in the spiritual welfare of the officers both of the Army and the Indian Navy soon made Ambrolie Mission House a great centre of attraction for many in both Services; and the awakening to spiritual life that manifested itself very decidedly on the western side, can be traced to the prayers and influence of Dr. Wilson. Apart from his work among the native community, had he done nothing more than what he was directly and indirectly instrumental in accomplishing among his own countrymen of all classes, he would have done enough."

Major-General Ballard and his wife enjoyed Dr. Wilson's friendship for sixteen years, and they were long his neighbours on Malabar Hill. Mrs. Ballard recalls his care of the native converts, and his unwearied patience with all their difficulties. "How often have I watched one after another go in at his gate, all sure of a welcome, of his courteous attention and sympathy. No matter how interesting the study in which he was engaged, he seemed to me to be always ready to lay it down if he could do the least good to a human soul, or speak a kind word to a sorrowing heart. He always appealed to what was best in every man. He fixed his eye steadily, not on the weaknesses, the inconsistencies of frail human nature, but on the inherent dignity of the soul, the priceless value of that for which Christ died. I have heard a native Christian of low caste say in a tone that touched my heart, 'Dr. Wilson believes me; the Padre Saheb knows I say true;' as if hugging to his soul the consciousness that some one trusted him. I have heard those who were incapable of having even a glimpse of the nobleness of his nature say with a smile that he was 'often taken in.' I never could admit that it was a reproach to say so—not unless it be a reproach to say that a man's soul is steeped in charity, the charity that thinketh no evil, that 'beareth all things, believeth all things, and hopeth all things.' Yes, he was often taken in, and in nothing do I venerate his memory more. I venerate it, because when he had been deceived and disappointed, chilled with ingratitude or wearied with inconsistency, he was able to begin afresh to love and to pity, to hope and to trust. Few of us are capable in this sense of being 'often taken in!'

"But we must not overlook what his life and example did for many of the natives who felt his elevating influence though they lacked the moral courage or the strength of conviction to profess his faith. A Parsee gentleman said to me soon after his death, 'Dr Wilson did not make me a Christian,

but I hope I am a better man for having known him than I would otherwise have been.' This may be said of hundreds in Bombay. There is one class of Dr. Wilson's native friends that I cannot think of without sadness—the students, numbering hundreds in Bombay, who had the privilege of being instructed by him; to whom all the doctrines of Christianity are familiar; who are convinced, as many of them acknowledge, of the worthlessness of their own system, but who outwardly cling to it still. I never saw Dr. Wilson look so sad as in speaking of some of these—'They know they ought to be Christians.' Surely it cannot be that so much love and so much labour have been expended in vain!

"I know that there are many missionaries doing noble work in India who come little into contact with English society. They avoid rather than welcome opportunities of entering into it. I would not undervalue their labours; but it is impossible not to regret that the lesson of their lives is in a great measure lost upon their own countrymen. Of course it may be said that Dr. Wilson possessed special social gifts, that few have acquired such stores of information, and few have the same power of imparting it to others. I do not think that the secret of his popularity lay in his gifts, but rather in his ready sympathy, his catholic spirit, and his genial nature. He had in a rare degree the power of imparting knowledge without making others too painfully conscious of their ignorance. Then no uncharitable judgments or injurious reports were ever traced to him. Every man felt so safe in talking to him. Scandal passed him by, the evil weed found no soil to take root in. While alive to all that interested us, our joys and our sorrows, he lived in the world but not of it. Dr. Wilson made it a special aim to lead his countrymen to think justly and kindly of those around them, and he was often the connecting link between the English and the natives, helping them to understand

each other better. Many of us have felt that his presence in the midst of us had a softening effect in our dealings with the natives in our households, leading us more earnestly to desire to do them good. When a hasty word rose to our lips, or a severe thought of them, the remembrance of him seemed to say 'Hush! there is one who would lay down his life to save their souls!'

"Though he was an attached member of the Free Church of Scotland, we never found that his ecclesiastical views chilled his friendship for those of us who adhered to other communions. He seemed to belong to all who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity. I remember with what tender regard he spoke to me of Dr. Douglas, then Bishop of Bombay, and how deeply he grieved for him at a time of sore bereavement in his family. I believe that regard was reciprocal, and that though they differed widely in some articles of their creed, each recognised and honoured in the other devotion to the same Lord. They see eye to eye now!

"Many look back gratefully to Dr. Wilson's simple but cordial hospitality, which was exercised to the full extent of his means; and I believe his liberal charities could only be kept up by the exercise of great personal self-denial. He entered cheerfully into society, and his presence had an elevating influence on conversation. He seemed so much part of Bombay and its interests that every visitor of note made an effort to make his acquaintance, and he took a prominent part on every occasion of public interest there. In the last event of importance, however, during his life, he was missed from his wonted place. When Bombay was stirred by loyal enthusiasm on the arrival of the Prince of Wales, our venerable friend was 'wearin' awa' to the land o' the leal!' As we drove past his darkened house to join the brilliant gathering the night after the arrival of the Prince, I felt saddened by the thought that, while we were going to a scene

which would have been full of interest to him, he was laid on a bed of suffering. I was reminded, however, by Sir Bartle Frere, of the higher view to be taken of his state, and how he was waiting at the entrance-chamber of the King of kings. 'How I have missed Dr. Wilson from his place to-day,' said Sir Bartle. 'But when one thinks of things as they really are, probably there is no man on earth more to be envied at this moment than Dr. Wilson. What must it be to be near the close of such a life!'

"I stole into the silent bungalow to lay a wreath on his coffin. The sun was rising over the distant hills and tinging the bay with gold. No sound broke the stillness but the rustle of the wind in the dry palm leaves and the dash of the distant wave, until I entered the little study. There a voice of bitter weeping met my ear in the verandah—the Native Christians, sorrowing most of all that they should see his face no more. 'We are so glad,' said a Native Christian once to me, 'that Dr. Wilson will never go home. You all go and leave us, we know you are always looking longingly to England, but Dr. Wilson will never go home.' Ah! he had gone Home now."

APPENDIX.

DR. WILSON ON NATIVE RULE IN BARODA AND NATIVE OPINION ON BRITISH RULE.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SIMLA, *June 19th*, 1875.

"MY DEAR DR. WILSON.—Lord Northbrook has desired me to ask you whether you would be so kind as to let him know your impressions as to the effect of recent Baroda events on the minds of the Natives. During the progress of the trial and subsequent proceedings, there was naturally a good deal of excitement, and not a few erroneous impressions as to matters of *fact* got abroad. By this time things have begun to settle down. The truth must be pretty generally known, and opinion is probably beginning to assume its ultimate form. The present, therefore, seems a fitting time to enquire what effect, for good or evil, the general policy of Government has produced on the Native mind.

"The only two main sources of information in our possession are of course official reports and the utterances of the Press. The former are, I have every reason to believe, good and trustworthy as far as they go, but it is obvious that there are many sources of information which are more or less closed to those who occupy an official position. As to the latter—the Press—it is very difficult to judge of the degree of importance which is to be attached to the opinions of any particular journal, European or Native.

"The opinion of one occupying your position, with large experience of the country and peculiar opportunities of mixing with all classes, would, I need hardly say, be very valuable, and Lord Northbrook hopes that you will be willing to express your views to him with complete freedom.—Believe me, yours very truly,

"EVELYN BARING."

"MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY, 3*d August* 1875.

"DEAR SIR.—I very readily reply to the inquiries which you confidentially addressed to me some time ago; but before doing this I find it necessary to advert to certain peculiarities in the Baroda State, and its rulers, which it is needful to bear in mind for the right understanding of the position of affairs in the West of India, as I shall to the best of my information and judgment represent them.

"Among the natives of Goojarat the Maratha Government at Baroda has been unpopular from its very commencement to the present day. By these it is viewed very much as a foreign Government, differing to a very considerable extent in language and customs, and exercising authority without offering the advantages of quiet, security, education, enlightened legislation, and protection of labour and commerce as are presented by the British Government, and without even generally, even in a subordinate capacity, employing the natives of the province. The fact to which I allude I have ascertained from varied and unexceptionable testimony, and from complaints thrust upon me during my journeyings through much of the Gaikwar's territories, by many respectable natives of Goojarat. Baroda (in which is to be found much of the refuse of the Maratha country, both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical) is considered a cesspool of moral corruption. Notwithstanding the productiveness of much of its soil, and the extent of its land revenue, and transit and other duties, it has seldom, if ever, been free from pecuniary embarrassments. No proper adjustment, as far as I am aware, has been made between the claims of the State and those of the ruling family. Much caprice has been shown in the exactions made from the agricultural population. The treatment of the wild tribes was barbarous in the extreme, till the management of them, by mutual agreement, passed into the hands of the British Government, in connection with the Mahee-Kanta agency. The administration of justice through the Gaikwar's dominions has been most imperfect and partial, leading frequently, I am persuaded, to the injury and cruel treatment both of the innocent and guilty. I can never forget the shock which I got the first day of my entrance into the Gaikwar's territory, now upwards of forty years ago, when the ashes of a

fire (under a tree) were pointed out to me by a friend high in the Medical Service of the East India Company, over the blazing flames of which four humble Bheels, suspended by the feet from the branch of a tree, with their heads nearly reaching the flames, had been executed. My journeyings among jungle tribes, five years afterwards, led to revelations equally painful. Through these (in 1840) I learnt, from Mr. James Sutherland, C.S., that he had succeeded in inducing Sayajee Rao, Gaikwar, to abolish Suttee. I think it right, however, in justice to the Baroda Government, to mention that it has readily concurred with the British Government in the measures proposed by it for the abolition of infanticide among the tributaries of both Governments in Kathiawar, leaving the British authorities free to adopt what action they might please in the exigencies of the case. It is to the credit of the Baroda Government, I also mention, that it has allowed the British Government to collect and pay over to it its share of the Kathiawar tribute, thus avoiding such unhappy collisions as occurred between the Gaikwar and the Peshwa of Poona, whom we succeeded in Kathiawar.

"The Baroda Government has for long received much kindness from the British Government. This, however, it has not sufficiently appreciated and improved. A notable instance of this appeared in the unwillingness of Sayajee Rao to fulfil his engagement to pay, for the support of the cavalry troops he was bound to maintain, the capital and interest of the large sums of money which he had borrowed from Soukars and bankers, on the pledge of the British Government that it should see to the ultimate rectification of the accounts. For this he nearly lost his throne in 1832, when Lord Clare visited Baroda on his way to confer with Lord William Bentinck at Ajmer about this and other exigencies which had arisen. It was only after repeated entreaties, almost tearful, that he ultimately accepted the advice proffered to him by the Resident at his Court, Mr. James Williams, C.S., as I find in a private letter addressed to the brother of Mr. Williams, in my possession. Sayajee Rao, it is admitted, had long had bad native advisers in his employment; while the British Residents at his Court, in general able and honourable men, too much shrank from interfering with him even by friendly advice, except when the British

interests were directly concerned. It is to be regretted that he did not, more frequently than he did, solicit their advice. He bore them no good will; and his memory is associated with suspicions in connection with the lives of two of them. He did nothing to encourage education among his people, though he took approbatory cognisance on one occasion of two small vernacular schools supported by the officers of the British camp. At a late period of his age he got a qualified teacher for his elder sons from one of the industrial classes of the Marathas, who, if they made but little progress in learning, was not to be blamed on that account. Gunputrao, who succeeded him on his death, was certainly personally the better of the instructions which he received, though he did not succeed in remedying the grievances of his subjects, or in curtailing the extravagant expenses of his palace. He gave away large sums of money in furnishing and filling the garden palace at the Motee Bagh with expensive gewgaws and toys. He viewed the British Government with respect, and came down to Bombay in 1850 to meet Lord Dalhousie. He died on the 19th November 1856.

"Gunput Rao was succeeded by his brother Khunde Rao, but little fitted to hold the reins of Government or to follow good advice when proffered to him. He spoke of his predecessor as a fool, but he had remarkable vagaries of his own. He is said to have spent a lakh and a quarter of rupees (£12,500) on one occasion in reward for a successful wrestler. He was fond of *pashuyuddha* as well as of *mallayuddha*—of fighting brutes as well as of men, and spent large sums of money in promoting these oriental sports, happily now not very common. When the Mutiny broke out and extended to serious dimensions, he was greatly afraid, as he well might; but the sight of the brawny legs and arms of the 92d Highlanders mitigated his fears, and called forth imitations of defence for himself in the formation of a still existent regiment with highlandish habiliments, though without the *cor* or the *corpus* of the valiant Gael. In consideration of his fidelity and friendship to the British, there was remitted to him the payment of the sum of three lakhs of rupees per annum for the payment of the Goojarat Irregular Horse, and the acknowledgment of the right of adoption on the failure of natural heirs. Trusting to

the toleration of "the Sirkar," as he denominated the British Government, he had serious thoughts of becoming a Muhammadan, and frequently sat on the bare ground to receive instructions in the doctrines of the Koran from a Brahman convert to Muhammadanism seated before him on a stool. He prepared at an immense expense a pall studded with precious stones and jewels for the tomb of Muhammad at Medina, or failing there, for the tomb of Hassan or Hussein at Kerbela in Mesopotamia, and which, there having been no prospect of acceptance by the Muhammadans, is still at Baroda. At the close of 1859 I had an interview with his Highness in the presence of the Resident, Colonel Wallace; when, after commending him for the erection of a hospital, I almost succeeded in getting him to found a high school at Baroda for the benefit of his subjects. He came to believe, from suspicious circumstances brought to his notice, and from information which he received, that his brother, Mulhar Rao, had intended to attempt to murder him for his throne; and he put him into restraint and confinement under this belief. On no account would he suffer him to be set at liberty, even under surveillance. From peculiarities in the temperament and actings of Khunde Rao, at which I have above only gently hinted, considerable sympathy was for a time felt for Mulhar Rao, especially throughout the Maratha country. Nevertheless, it was a mistake to set Mulhar Rao on the throne without an investigation of the charge of attempted fratricide which had been brought against him, more especially as Mulhar Rao had been more than an object of suspicion during the Mutiny, and reckoned from his early days to be altogether untrustworthy and injurious.

"The remarks which I have now to make bear directly on the inquiries which you have confidentially addressed to me. For convenience they will still be made mainly in a narrative form.

"The inefficient and devious administration of Mulhar Rao, and his bad choice of agents, were thought by many both in the Goojarat and Maratha country to be such as would likely bring on a crisis. The appointment of Colonel Phayre, a gentleman well known to possess the highest moral character with very extensive knowledge of the different provinces of Western India, to the Residency of Baroda, rendered the crisis, in the judgment of many, almost certain. The Commission headed by Sir Richard

Meade, and its finding, hastened its advent. It was intensified by the marriage by Mulhar Rao of Lukshmibai (illegal in a Hindoo point of view in this *kali yuga*, or iron age), and by the suffering peasantry, sirdars, officers, etc., who, more urgently than ever, sought relief from their grievances and payment of their dues. The Gaikwar, failing in his attempt to corrupt the British officers by bribery, resolved to adopt the desperate measure of destroying Colonel Phayre by poison—a catastrophe which the good providence of God averted.

"The vigorous measures which were adopted by the Government of India to bring the Gaikwar to trial for the heinous crime of which he was suspected, had, notwithstanding the circumstances above alluded to, a stunning effect upon the Marathas, many of them throughout the country fearing that he would be found guilty. I have the strongest belief that the Gaikwar had his agents soon at work on this emergency. The tone of many of the native papers was at once changed for the worse, and many of the educated natives, particularly at Poona, held defiant meetings, at which it was alleged that the British Government had no right to put on his trial an independent prince, as they termed the Gaikwar (forgetful of the subordinate position of his ancestors even in the Maratha empire). The appointment of two princes of high status in India, and a famous administrator, to sit in commission for taking and recording evidence, formed for the time being a quietus to some proud spirits; but anon the flame of discontent again burst forth, and indignation was felt that any Maratha princes should sanction the principle of sitting in a *quasi*-court for the trial of their peers. Their last 'dodge' was that of getting up a loud protestation of the actual innocence of the Gaikwar, while he and his case were *sub judice*. Never since I came to this country, upwards of forty-six years ago, have I felt so ashamed and grieved because of our educational protegés, for whom a parental Government has done and is doing so much, devoting their talents and energies, in a spirit of marked ingratitude, to the worst of purposes.

"And yet the affair is to my mind perfectly intelligible. It has long been the ambition of the Maratha Brahmans to assume the direction of the Maratha power. This is perfectly obvious from the usurpation of the Brahman *Peshwas*, who with

the Putwurdhans and Rastias, and other Brahmanical warriors, made state prisoners and ciphers of the Rajas of Satara and their Maratha nobles, as so well brought out in Grant Duff's *History*, and the condensed notices of it by Mr. Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Bartle Frere, and others. The young men to whom I now refer, and the partisans whom they have succeeded in acquiring, do not intend rebellion at present, but their object is to depreciate the Paramount Power by plausible misrepresentations, to promote a spirit of discontent among the people, which may employ them at present and eventually turn the course of events in the direction of their final aspirations. Their consciousness of the depravities of Baroda made them really fear the absorption of that State. Its preservation, under happily devised arrangement, I verily believe is to many of them in a certain sense a disappointment! Their business of grievance-mongering has had a termination sooner than they expected. They form the same party who go about the country poisoning the minds of the peasantry, and who make them dissatisfied with the terms of their holdings, notwithstanding their visible progress in social prosperity, in the extension of their fields, in the improvement of their dwellings, utensils, and clothing. Many of them I know to be a disappointment and a grief to their aged connections. A worthy old Brahman when speaking of them to me lately said, with tears running down his cheeks, 'they have become ashamed of their parents and abandon them, betaking themselves to vicious courses; what they may erelong do no man can tell.' In connection with them I would observe, in passing, that we have a *portion* of educated youth of a very different spirit from theirs. At the same time we must have a thorough revision of the educational system. We must give useful instruction to the masses, that they may not be the dupes of the designing; and leave particular classes, hitherto too highly favoured, to work their way upwards by their own merits. It has been rightly said of Scotland that there is a pathway to the Universities from every parish in the land; but the youth going to these Universities have generally to pay for their own education.

"In conclusion, keeping your queries in view, I may truthfully say that, after much observation and inquiry, I am convinced that Goojarat has all along had faith in the righteousness

and wisdom of the proceedings of the British Government, and that the Maháráshtra, exclusive of a band of self-conceited and mischievous youth (worthy of a term or two in the house of correction), now sees that the Government, though misrepresented for some time as to its motives and endeavours, is really deserving of confidence and praise. The late occurrences at Baroda will occupy a chapter in the history of India of a most instructive character; and the blessing of God will rest on those who have taught the Princes of India that they have duties to their subjects to discharge, which cannot be overlooked without the endangerment of their own position even with that benign Government which is faithful to the spirit of all its engagements.—I am, my dear Major BARING, with the greatest respect for His Excellency the VICEROY, yours truly,

"JOHN WILSON."

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SIMLA, *August* 7, 1875.

"DEAR DR. WILSON.—I am very much obliged to you for your most interesting letter on the subject of the effect of the action taken at Baroda upon native opinions in the Bombay Presidency. It is the more valuable as you have so long an experience, and many means of forming a sound judgment which officers of Government do not possess, or at least do not so fully possess.

"There are two subjects which are raised by the experience we have lately acquired upon which, at your leisure, I should much like to know what you think:—*First.* Is it desirable to impose any check upon the Native Press, or to endeavour to counteract the effect of the disloyal native papers by supporting papers which will put forward correct views? *Second.* Has the time arrived for making those who receive a high English education pay the whole cost of it, limiting the aid of the State to those youths who, by distinguishing themselves in the lower schools, show that they deserve assistance in completing their education, thereby bringing fully into operation the principles expounded in the Educational Despatch of 1854?—Yours very sincerely, NORTHBROOK."

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